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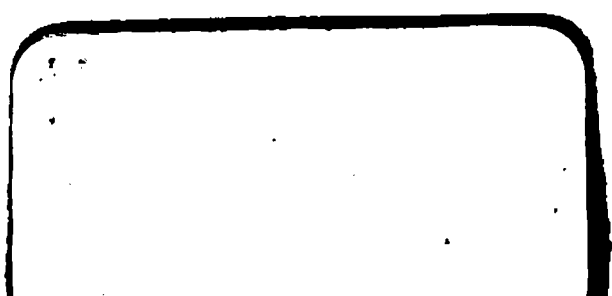
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BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

JANUARY 1876.

ART. I.—*Church History: its Scope and Relations.**

AS this day's solemnity is the inauguration of a new Chair, as well as the installation of a particular occupant of the chair, it will be seasonable if I devote the Introductory Lecture to some observations dealing with the subject of Church History generally. It may well be presumed, indeed, that the students who are to prosecute the study of Church History in company with me this session are neither ignorant of the scope of the science nor indifferent to its claims. Yet I can imagine that those who have the clearest conception of the one and the deepest feeling of the other, may find it profitable to spend an hour to-day, in noting carefully the purposes with a view to which the teaching of ecclesiastical history has always received a prominent place in the theological curriculum—the purposes which ought, therefore, to be steadily kept in view alike by preceptor and students; in noting, also, the relations sustained by this particular discipline to the kindred disciplines which find a home within these walls.

But, first of all, it is right that we should halt for a moment at the threshold, and reflect upon the fact that the Church of Christ has a history—a long and crowded history. We of this generation are not the first whom God has been

* Introductory Lecture in the Free Church College, Aberdeen, 3d November 1875. The Lecture, it is right to state, was delivered to an audience which included many friends and benefactors of the College, as well as the Students.

pleased to lift up into fellowship with Himself; to whom He has spoken the blessed word of His grace; whom He has chosen and caused to approach to Him, that they may dwell in His house. God had a people on the earth before we were born; a people who were much upon His heart, and for whom He did great things. To speak only of our own country, during how many centuries Christianity has made for itself a home amidst the rigours of our northern climate! What a long, ever-changing, eventful course the Scottish Church has run! And the Church of Christ has many other branches—branches under whose shadow men of other and more populous nations sit, and whose annals offer manifold attractions to the Christian student. The primitive Church, too, from which all the modern churches deduce their origin,—it had a history, the investigation of which conducts us back to the age of the apostles, and to the personal ministry of our Lord. Nor was the Church a new society even then. There is a sense, no doubt, in which the day of Pentecost may be regarded as the birthday of the Christian society. On that day the Church emerged from its Judaic envelope, and received the wings which were to bear it to the far-off Gentile countries. The transformation was great, but it did not destroy the identity of the body on which it passed. What took place when the Comforter came and the Gentiles were called, was not the origination of a new society, not the production of a new tree. It was only the grafting of new branches into an old tree—an olive already venerable with age. It would be long to retrace the fortunes of that good olive tree; to tell how, during the centuries immediately preceding the incarnation, the Church subsisted as a widely-extended nation, having its headquarters in Judea, but with a multitudinous *diaspora* reaching out into all nations and tongues; or to tell how, before the captivity scattered so many of them abroad, the chosen people dwelt apart, under kings and prophets of their own. This retrospect carries us back to a period contemporaneous with the uncertain dawn of Greek literature and story; but it does not conduct us to the beginning of the sacred record. Israel, under the kings, could already speak of times long gone by, which were made bright by imperishable memories—memories of patriarchal life, of Egyptian bondage, of redemption by mighty signs in Egypt and in the wilderness,

of copious legislation in Horeb, of national declension and national return to God—memories stretching back into a hoary antiquity, and everywhere so rich in lessons of admonition and encouragement, that the fearers of the Lord, when dark times befell the nation, used to recall them with fond affection, and drew strength to their hearts from the prayerful recollection of them. “I have considered (they would say) the days of old, the years of ancient times. I will remember the works of the Lord : surely I will remember Thy wonders of old” (Ps. lxxvii. 5, 11).

These words of the Psalmist, besides bringing vividly into view the fact that the Church has a far-reaching history, are of interest, as signalling one of the high purposes which the study of the history is fitted to accomplish. If the works of the Lord, His wonders of old, His acts to their fathers in early times, were such a fountain of instruction and profit to the faithful in Israel, certainly the total history of the Church ought to be to us of more abundant utility. Unless there is something strangely amiss in the way in which the work of a Church History class is conducted, it ought to contribute a valuable contingent to the equipment of our students for the ministry. This point is so important in relation to the business of our meeting to-day, that I must dwell upon it for a little longer.

When Christian, in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, came to the House Beautiful, and had slept till break of day in the upper chamber called Peace, the people of the house told him that he should not depart till they had shewn him the rarities of the place. And first, we are told, they had him into the study, where they shewed him records of the greatest antiquity. Among other things, he here saw a record of the acts done by the Lord of the hill, and the names of many hundreds that he had taken into his service : a record also of worthy acts that some of his servants had done ; as, how they had “subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, and turned to flight the armies of the aliens.” They also shewed him some of the engines with which his servants had done wonderful things. They shewed him Moses' rod ; the

hammer and nail with which Jael slew Sisera; the pitchers, trumpets, and lamps, too, with which Gideon put to flight the armies of Midian; and many other like rarities. Such is Bunyan's conception of the Church of Christ; the House built by the wayside for the solace of the Lord's pilgrims. It shews, on the part of the immortal dreamer, if not a clear perception, at least a wonderfully fine feeling of the honourable function which belongs to Church History in Christ's house. Christ having, in former times, done great things for His people, and honoured them to do great things for Him in return, it is His will and pleasure that these shall be kept in memory. The records of the past are to be laid up with care, and every succeeding generation ought to renew the memory of them. God reveals much of His mind in His acts, and those who would largely know His mind must deeply study His acts. Not seldom His acts towards the Church—towards the general body of the faithful, or some particular society—have been of such a kind as to have left on thoughtful minds, at the time, the distinct impression that His intention in them extended beyond the generation for whom, in the first instance, they were performed, and had respect to the instruction of the generations to come. We shall not err if we recognise an impression of this kind in the care which Moses took to write, in a book, the story of the chosen people during the forty eventful years of his administration; and in the labours of the long succession of nameless writers, prophets doubtless, to whom, under God, we owe the history of the Tribes under the Judges and the Kings. It was an impression of the same kind which prompted John Knox to commit to writing the story of the Reformation in Scotland, and which, on the other side of the Atlantic, found expression in the grand title given by Cotton Mather to his record of the early fortunes of the settlements in New England, *Magnalia Christi Americana*.

Nor is it only God's acts towards great communities which leave on beholders this impression of instructiveness for all times. God does not put the same difference between many and few, between great and small, as human infirmity is obliged to do. The wing of a gnat may display as lavish an expenditure of beauty and complex contrivance as is to be

seen in a planetary system. In like manner it will often happen that the story of a single life will be felt to hold forth lessons not inferior in value to those which may be gathered from the story of a famous Church. Instances will occur to you in which single individuals, untainted with vanity, when they considered the way that God had led them, had the conviction borne in upon them that the purpose of God in ordering their lives as He did, could not be limited to their single persons—that it had a wider scope, and embraced future times. Thus, when David found mercy, he said, “For this shall every one that is godly pray unto Thee in a time when Thou mayest be found;” and when Paul in his old age reflected upon his singular career, he was shut up to the conclusion that he had obtained mercy, for this cause, that in him first Jesus Christ might shew forth all long-suffering, for a pattern to those who might thereafter believe in Him to life everlasting. Similar instances could, without difficulty, be cited from the biographical treasures of the Church in more recent times; and they are exceedingly significant. For it is to be observed that, in the cases referred to, the presentiment expressed at the time has been justified by the result.

The bearing of all this on the subject in hand is obvious. The well-authenticated experiences of eminent saints, the testimonies and acts of Christ’s martyrs, the memorials of famous reformers, the remains of remarkably successful preachers and pastors, the story of the exploits of great missionaries—these belong to the rarities of the House Beautiful, and it is the business of the servants of the House to bring them out that the Lord’s pilgrims may see them. Few accomplishments are so serviceable to a preacher, as to have a memory richly stored with these treasures from the history of the Church; and one object to be kept in view in a Church History class ought, without doubt, to be, to impart this kind of equipment for the ministry. Authentic anecdotes which recall the experiences and sayings, the sufferings and exploits, of ancient worthies, are always listened to with peculiar pleasure. Bunyan relates of Mr Fearing, whose portrait is one of the most carefully drawn in the *Pilgrim’s Progress*, that “he loved much to see ancient things,” such as were shewn in the House

Beautiful, and "to be pondering them in his heart." Bunyan's sagacity has not failed him in this. Certainly there is not a congregation in Scotland this day but will be all attention to the preacher, who knows how to illuminate his expositions of gospel truth with relations of ancient things.

I do not forget that a faithful history of the Church will preserve the memory of many things which one would gladly suffer to sink into oblivion. Some of its volumes ill deserve to be entitled *Acta Sanctorum*. It has pleased God not seldom to suffer the guidance of church affairs to fall into the hands of graceless men; as if He meant to burn into our consciences His own admonition, "Cursed is the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm." No wonder if, in such cases, the history of the Church, at least as regards the administration of its public affairs, is anything but pleasant reading. Even gracious men have sometimes done ungracious things. The Acts of the Apostles tells of hot contentions between two devoted and honoured servants of Christ; and in the annals of the Church of Scotland there are records of strifes, such as that between the Resolutioners and Protesters, in which neither party can be justified. I do not say that these scandalous passages of Church history are exactly the passages to be often recalled in the pulpit: and yet I am not sure that even in the pulpit they ought to be altogether forgotten. I am quite sure that they ought not to be forgotten within our college walls. The Church History class-room ought never to become a temple for hero-worship. The Bible histories set down the bad as well as the good. They are a perpetual sermon to cease from man, and to let the Lord alone be exalted; and in this they furnish a model for our imitation. The imitation, it must be confessed, is not easy. On the one hand, the frailties and crimes of the human actors must never be so presented as to hide from view those tokens of the Lord's presence, as the sanctifier of His people, which are discoverable in the darkest times; and, on the other hand, we must set a watch upon our hearts whilst we are sitting in judgment on the sad memorials of human error. Mark the countenance of Christ when He narrates by his Spirit, in the scripture, the follies and crimes of men. You shall often see it darkened with a frown, like a cloud charged with

thunder; you shall sometimes see it moistened with tears; never once shall you see it curling into a sneer. Proud contempt and cynical scorn should find no place in the mind of a Christian student. Even in the class-room, and in passing judgment on the memories of men long since dead, if we must condemn, let us condemn with sorrow and in the spirit of meekness, remembering what sort of persons we ourselves are.

I have spent a disproportionate space on this simplest and most primitive function of Church history, to be a record of the more instructive facts relative to the lives and achievements and sufferings of Christ's servants in former times. I hasten now to add that a history, to be worthy of the name, must be something more than a repertory of anecdotes. History is not a mere congeries of individual facts. God always works according to a plan; and it is our business to inquire, in each case, what the plan is, and to bring it to light so far as we can. Here also the Bible histories are our best guides. I do not forget that, to superficial readers, these have often appeared to be only fragmentary and miscellaneous memorials of the times they illustrate. And undoubtedly they do abound in anecdotes, in individual pictures of personal and family life, to an extent that does not occur in any of the histories which have achieved a place among the classics of this species of literature. To make room for these vivid details, the sacred writers never scruple to skip over long tracts of time, to which an ordinary historian would have deemed it his duty to devote a proportionate space. The explanation of this peculiarity of the Bible narratives is, I think, to be found in the importance attached to the function of history which has been just unfolded. But you will certainly err if you suppose that the memorials laid up in any part of scripture are a mere miscellany of anecdotes. Take the Acts of the Apostles, for example. It used to be the fashion to describe the book as a collection of memorials, by no means complete, relative to the labours mainly of the two apostles, Peter and Paul; not a proper history of the apostolical church, nor at all coming up to the design indicated in the title given to it in our Bibles. But that was certainly an error. The Acts is a true history. Its design is to trace the progress of the Gospel Church, first from Jerusalem to Antioch, and then from Antioch

to Rome. Hence the scheme of the book. In the earlier chapters, Luke, after a brief record of the forty days' ministry of the risen Saviour, narrates the mission of the Comforter, draws the picture of the Church at Jerusalem in its first days, and then tells how, by a gradual process, the Lord opened the door of faith to the Gentiles. The conversion of the Samaritans, a semi-Gentile people; the conversion of Paul, the predestined apostle of the Gentiles; the baptism of Cornelius and his friends, which was the reception of the first company of uncircumcised Gentiles into church membership; the founding of the church at Antioch, which was the first Gentile church—these are narrated as the steps by which the gospel, going forth from Jerusalem, passed over to the Gentiles, and the Hebrew Church became the Church Catholic. The same unity of plan, the same epic character, dominates in the second part of the book also. From Acts xiii. onwards, the historian, fixing the reader's attention chiefly on the Apostle Paul, relates how the Church was planted in all the cities of chief note in Asia Minor, in Macedonia, in Achaia, and how at length it achieved a firm position in Rome, the mighty capital of the empire and meeting-place of the nations.

We cannot hope to be able always to trace the divine plan in the history of the Church, as Luke was enabled by the Spirit to unfold it in the history of the first thirty years after Pentecost. But a plan there always is, and we must do our best to make it out. If we are affectionately to keep fresh the memory of characteristic individual facts—doing thus, according to our ability, for the Christian Church what Plutarch did for classical antiquity—we must also labour to thread these facts on the string of a comprehensive view of the general march and intention of the history, and thus attempt to do for Church history something analogous to what has been so luminously done by M. Guizot for the history of civilization in modern Europe. It would be vain for us to attempt the illimitable task of recording the *Annals* of the Church. To give a complete narrative of the facts even of a single branch of the Church, would require more time than we can afford. And such a narrative would, after all, be far from answering the purpose of a Church History class. The labours of the annalist occupy the same

relation to the proper business of our class as the labours of the antiquary to the business of the historian. The work he turns out is not history proper, but rather what the French call *mémoires pour servir*. The voluminous narratives of Calderwood and Wodrow may be indispensable for one who desires to obtain a minute acquaintance with the story of the Scottish Church in her earlier days of heroic reformation, or in her later days of heroic suffering; but the student who should attempt to make his first acquaintance with the history by means of these laborious annalists, would soon lose his way in the multiplicity of the details. He would be unable to see the wood for the trees. His first attempt must be to take his stand on some height from which he may obtain a general view. To give him assistance in this is the proper business of the Church History class.

In the remarkable chart of all human science, delineated by Bacon in his *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, he does not fail to assign an honourable place to Ecclesiastical History: and, as it is always worth while to note what the father of the Inductive Philosophy throws out on any subject handled by him in his progress, I will take the liberty of reproducing the substance of his remarks (Lib. ii. c. 11) on the topic under consideration. In his own stately manner he defines the scope of Church History proper to be, to “record the times and diversified state of the Church militant, whether she float, as the ark in the deluge; or journey, as the ark in the wilderness; or be at rest, as the ark in the temple: that is, the state of the Church in Persecution, in Remove, and in Peace.” In this definition there is, of course, nothing new. But Bacon proceeds to call attention to two other departments, belonging in a secondary degree to the domain of ecclesiastical history, and which in his judgment deserve more careful cultivation than they have received. The first is entitled, *Historia ad Prophetias*, and has for its scope to set down over against every prediction in Scripture the event in which it was accomplished; and this, as he observes, both “for confirmation of faith, as also to plant a discipline and skill in the interpretation of the prophecies which yet await their accomplishment.” If Bacon had lived to see the immeasurable flood of books on the Prophecies which has issued from the press for the last two hundred and fifty years, he might have

changed his mind as to the comparative neglect of this topic, and have removed it from his catalogue of "disciplines deficient." Nevertheless, I do not doubt that the hint he throws out is worthy of attention, especially if care be had to take along with it the caution he appends:—that in such a work, as he suggests, "that latitude must be allowed which is proper and familiar in divine prophecies, namely, that their accomplishment may be, at once, perpetual and punctual: for although the plenitude and height of their fulfilment may often be assigned to some certain age, or even to some certain point of time, yet they have nevertheless many steps and gradations of fulfilment through diverse ages of the world." Surely it will be a right thing in itself, and, with due attention on our part to the need of "wisdom, sobriety, and reverence" (which, we are reminded, are particularly necessary here), it cannot fail to be profitable also, if, when we travel through the long history of the Church, we note from stage to stage how the events which unfold themselves accord with the predictions delivered before in the scriptures.

The other subject noted by Bacon as falling within the domain of ecclesiastical history, is entitled by him *Historia Nemeseos*. It has for its scope to trace the footprints of the retributive government of God in the vicissitudes of human affairs. God's judgments are oft inscrutable; yet it pleases Him sometimes to "make bare His arm," and to write His judgments in characters so large that he may run that readeth them. Under this head are reckoned "late and unlooked-for punishments; unlooked-for deliverances suddenly shining forth; divine counsels which, often passing through tortuous windings and astonishing mazes of affairs, at length manifestly disentangle and clear themselves." This suggestion also is worthy of being kept in view. Not that any sufficient purpose would be served by erecting this into a distinct branch of study, at least in a Church History class. It is better treated as one of the things which ought to be kept in view all along in traversing the history of the Church. In proportion as we are enabled to do this, looking at the facts which come before us, not merely as a succession of events which fell out somehow, but as a succession of divine acts done in mercy or in righteous displeasure, in the same proportion will our studies reflect the style of the

Bible histories. For these answer exactly to the Baconian title, *Historia nemeseos*. This is well exemplified (to name only one example) in the books of the Kings. In the three-fold division of the Old Testament into "the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms," the historical books (as you will remember) are reckoned as belonging to the Prophets. This division, whoever made it, discovers a fine insight into the true spirit and intention of the books in question. The books of the Kings (to keep by that example) are true *prophetical books*; *prophetical* in the proper and highest sense of the term. They are not mere chronicles of the kings of Israel and Judah. There were such chronicles, compiled by royal recorders and deposited in the royal archives, under the custody of the keepers of the rolls. It is plain, moreover, that the sacred writers made large use of them in compiling the historical books entitled in our Bibles, the books of the "Kings" and of the "Chronicles." But you are not to fancy these official chronicles to have been documents fit to rank with the scriptural books. You may depend upon it, that if, by some such happy chance as that which seems to have recovered for our use the original records of the Assyrian Kings, the explorers now at work in Palestine were some day to light on the very chronicles of the Kings of Israel and of Judah, there would not be found upon them that high prophetic or ethical intention which imparts to the scriptural books their peculiar character, and which makes them, in every chapter, so profitable for doctrine, and reproof, and correction, and instruction in righteousness. The Bible record of the Kings, like the great book of divine providence lying open around us, is a real *historia nemeseos*—a vivid record of moral retributions, bearing witness that the moral law is the law of the universe, that verily there is a reward for the righteous, that verily there is a God that judgeth in the earth.

I promised to say something about the relation in which Church History stands to the kindred branches of theological study; its relation, I mean, to Systematic Theology and Exegetics. The subject is a tempting one, and I am sorry that I have not time to do more than touch it. Happily there is little need to dwell on that part, at least, which refers to the relation subsisting between *Systematic Theology*

and Church History. All who study theology at all are now alive to the fact that every great doctrine of the faith has a history, and that one of the best aids to a thorough knowledge of the doctrine is the study of those intellectual and spiritual movements in the course of which the received statements of them originally took shape. There is no danger of this subject being overlooked in our Scottish colleges; the danger rather is that "Historical Theology" may be suffered to bulk so largely as to thrust out other subjects that are equally entitled to a place.

It is not so commonly observed that Church History is a valuable handmaid to *Exegetical* studies. Yet the fortunes of the Church and the opinions which have successively prevailed do undoubtedly often reflect a surprising light on the teachings of scripture. It is interesting to see that this fact did not escape the notice of Lord Bacon. Indeed I do not know that I can better bring out my meaning than by quoting a passage from the last chapter of the *De Augmentis*. He has just remarked that the rule, so unqualifiedly laid down by some, that the Bible is to be interpreted just as other books are, is a very unsafe one, inasmuch as the Bible differs from other books in this very notable respect, that it has for its author One who knows the secrets of the heart and the succession of times. Accordingly (he adds),

"Since the teachings of scripture are addressed to the heart, and embrace the vicissitudes of all ages with an eternal and certain foreknowledge of all heresies and contradictions, and of the various and changeful conditions of the Church, as well in general as of individual members, they are not to be interpreted merely according to the latitude and obvious sense of the place, or with respect to the occasion which led to the utterance of the words, or precisely according to the context before and after, or with an eye only to the principal scope of the words; but so that they may be understood to embrace, even in their clauses and single words, innumerable rivulets and veins of doctrine, to water every part of the Church and the minds of the faithful. For it hath been excellently observed, that the answers of our Saviour to many of the questions propounded to Him seem not to the purpose, but, as it were, irrelevant. The reasons whereof are these two: first, that since He knew the thoughts of his interrogators, not from their words as we do, but immediately and of Himself, He made answers to their thoughts, not to their words; secondly, that He spoke not to them only who were then present, but to us also who are alive this day, and to men of every age and place to whom the gospel should be preached: a principle which applies likewise to other places of scripture" (Lib. ix. cap. i.).

To the latter part of this remarkable statement I ask your special attention ; for the principle of interpretation inculcated is of much wider and more fruitful application than is generally perceived. I have long been settled in the belief that many of the great pregnant texts of scripture were originally framed with an eye to beliefs and practices which first became prominent after the close of the canon. If this be so, it follows of course that it is not a sound rule for the interpretation of these texts, to “forget all that has happened since they were written, and to inquire simply what meaning the words would convey to those to whom they were first addressed.” The rule is not without its uses, and should be often, perhaps generally, applied; but it is certainly not to be taken without qualification. The class of texts just referred to can be thoroughly understood only when they are read in the light reflected upon them by the beliefs and practices which the foreknowledge of the Spirit had in view when they were written.

There is a good example of this in Gal. iii. 13-14, where the design of Christ’s redemptive work is described to have been this, namely, “that the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ, that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith.” This statement has caused much perplexity to divines. For how are we to conceive of the Spirit as being received by faith? Faith, we are sure, is the fruit of the Spirit. To put faith first—to represent it as that by which the Spirit is received—does it not look like making the daughter the parent of the mother? The difficulty is obvious. But let us call Church History to our assistance, and see whether it will not help us to an explanation. It is a significant fact, for one thing, that this whole subject of the Spirit, the grace of the Spirit, and the way by which men may certainly receive that grace, has very largely occupied men’s minds and pens. Considering the history more narrowly, we perceive that a particular theory or doctrine about the matter came in soon after the time of the apostles, has largely prevailed, and is characteristic of some of the most extensive communities which bear the Christian name at the present day. According to this theory, the ordinary ministration of grace is tied to certain sacramental rites ; and, indeed, to these rites as administered

by the accredited officers of a certain hierarchy. Some—the Romanists especially—go so far as to represent the rites as effectual to bestow the Spirit *ex opere operato*. Let the external rite be correctly performed, the inward grace is bestowed. This, let it be remembered, is the characteristic doctrine of the great apostasy in all its branches. Keeping in mind this remarkable and wide-spread error, revert now to the text in Galatians. In presence of it, the statement of the Apostle becomes not only intelligible but luminous. Its contrary testimony is so pointed and unequivocal as to make the prescient intention unmistakable. The ministration of the Spirit, it declares, is annexed to FAITH. That is to say, if in any given company of persons God's Word is known and gladly received, there, we may be well assured, a regular ministration of the Spirit is going forward, according to Christ's promise, for the salvation of souls. On the contrary, if in any given company the Word of God's grace is unknown or rejected, there the promise does not apply, and no regular ministration of saving grace is vouchsafed. They who are honoured of God to minister the holy Spirit to the souls of their fellow-men, do this not by legal rites, but by the hearing of faith. The regular ministration of the Spirit is conditioned, not on such things as an organised hierarchy, or orders derived by unbroken succession from the Apostles (if there were such orders), nor on ceremonies punctually performed according to this or that canon;—not on such things at all, but on the knowledge and belief of the truth; the knowledge and belief of the glorious gospel of the blessed God. We receive the gift of the Spirit through Faith!

WILLIAM BINNIE.

ART. II.—*The Temperance Bible Commentary.*

The Temperance Bible Commentary: Giving at one view Version, Criticism, and Exposition in regard to all Passages of Holy Writ bearing on "Wine" and "Strong Drink," or illustrating the Principles of the Temperance Reformation. By FREDERICK RICHARD LEES, Ph.D., and DAWSON BURNS, M.A. Third Edition, with Supplement. 1872.

“**W**HEN the devil cannot upset the coach, he mounts the box and drives.” This aphorism was employed as

the key-note of a sermon delivered by the late Dr Edgar of Belfast, about the time the members of the temperance society and the teetotallers first came into collision. Grieved to see the cause of temperance, so dear to his heart, marred by fanatics, this venerable father of the Temperance Reformation in Great Britain and Ireland rushed to the rescue with all the ardour of a keenly sensitive nature, stirred to indignation by the ingratitude of men whom he had redeemed from ruin through the instrumentality of an organisation which they were now endeavouring to destroy. His text was: "Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created, to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth. For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving" (1 Tim. iv. 3, 4). Starting with the above key-note, the great philanthropist proceeded:

"Swarms of fanatics rose in Luther's day under the bright sun of the Reformation; and should it seem strange for the temperance reformation to have its extravagances and ultraisms too?"

"There is an appearance of excellence in ultraism which commends it to the unthinking mass; and the vanity of being in advance is a sufficient stimulus to many without a higher motive. It is therefore specially necessary that the fathers of reformation should regulate the public sentiment which they have created, and direct the zeal which they have called into being.

"The ignorant are readily satisfied with projects for reformation, if they approve of the end proposed. But to constitute a work good, the means of its accomplishment must be good. Owen, or Miss Fanny Wright, or others of the infidel school, may weave a fine theory for bringing the world, by a short cut, to perfection; and they may call all to admire their votaries dancing as merry as midges in the sunbeam, and, for a time, the effects may seem delightful; but look closer, and see that the theory is not founded on the Rock of Ages. It pretends to be wiser than God; it throws the Bible overboard; and, after a very little while, the painted gaudy thing melts away like the rainbow from the cloud, and leaves not a trace behind.

"So must every project perish, and so let it perish, which is not founded on truth, and which does not employ the motives and means which inspiration sanctions.

"The foundations of the temperance society are laid broad and deep in self-preservation and Christian charity, as taught in the Bible; and the instrument employed, in expectation of the divine blessing, is, the TRUTH IN LOVE. Its simple, plain, and most comprehensive pledge is—We resolve to abstain from distilled spirit, and promote temperance.

“ We place no dependence on the power of a mere pledge to maintain sobriety, where the conscience is unenlightened and the heart unimpressed. We know too much of the proverbial faithlessness of drunkards’ oaths, to suppose one who would drink for drunken excitement, after having signed the pledge of the temperance society, would be tied down to due sobriety by a pledge executed at an attorney’s office, including a full list of all intoxicating liquors, from double-distilled to table-beer.

“ It is not to take prisoners that the temperance society goes forth, but to enlist volunteers ; it is not to bind men with forms of words, as ropes of sand, but to bind them by the tie of conscience and love. The temperance society has always recommended abstinence to the drunkard : no man should sign its pledge without being acquainted with its principles ; and the drunkard who, with a full understanding of these principles, signs the pledge, and yet muddles in beer or any intoxicating liquor, is an unprincipled sot ; and though I should see him to-morrow, with half-a-dozen total abstinence medals round his neck, marching under a banner inscribed ‘ Total Abstinence,’ I would not have a particle more confidence in him.

“ The temperance society only recommends abstinence, even to the drunkard ; it does not assume the unscriptural authority, after deciding exactly where drunkenness begins and sobriety ends, of excluding from its benefits every man who may have a conscientious scruple against binding himself to abstain from that which the Saviour used.

“ To each man’s conscience we leave the question of abstinence from fermented liquor, or its temperate use, giving full warning respecting the danger to which temptation exposes the drunkard in his vitiated state of body and mind, and endeavouring to dis sever the connection between all intoxicating drinks and those drinking customs which exercise a pernicious influence in forming the drunken appetite.

. . . “ Thanks to the temperance reformation, it is a portion of human knowledge, clear and pure as light, that distilled spirit is unfit for use as a common beverage ; and that while vinous countries using mild intoxicating liquor are temperate, countries using distilled spirit as a customary beverage are drunken.”

No one who has read the Commentary at the head of this review will be surprised to find that a perusal of it has recalled the burning words of this memorable sermon. All that Dr Edgar has said here—and the foregoing is but a specimen of his utterances during his last years—will apply to the cause advocated in this Commentary, and to the principles avowed by its authors. While the work is styled *The Temperance Bible Commentary*, the doctrine it propounds is, not temperance, but total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks, whether fermented or distilled, on the ground that the use of such drinks is sinful. This doctrine it seeks to establish, not by denying that any of the wines mentioned

in Scripture were intoxicating, but by distinguishing between the various terms translated "wine," and endeavouring to prove that no intoxicating drink has, in any instance, been used for sacred or social purposes with the divine sanction or blessing.

There will be a general concurrence in one remark made in the "General Preface." Few will be inclined, especially after reading this Commentary, to question the truth of the remark, that a man's views of what the Bible teaches will be affected more or less by the particular bias of his mind in regard to the subject under investigation. The general applicability of this principle did not escape our commentators, for in the last paragraph of their preface they admit that the inquiry may, without discourtesy, be raised, "Whether the authors of this Commentary can claim to be exempt from a bias in favour of abstinence, which may have inspired and controlled their exposition?" All they can say in reply, is, "that they have been fully sensible of their liability to such an influence, and have therefore endeavoured to counteract its operation by carefully weighing all adverse arguments, and by placing before the reader the materials by which he may form for himself an independent judgment as to the correctness of the inferences drawn." This reply is not available for the authors of the Temperance Commentary alone, to the exclusion of all others. Whilst full credit may be given them for the endeavour to counteract the influence of the total abstinence bias, the assurance thus given is not an absolute guarantee against errors of interpretation; nor is it conceded that those who regard wine as a gift of God, to be received with thankfulness, are ruled in their interpretation by the love of liquor, for many of the ablest testimonies against the style of interpretation furnished in this Commentary, have been given by men who are in practice teetotallers. After all, an ultimate appeal must be, not to the character, or intentions, or talent of the commentator, but to the mind of the holy Spirit, as expressed in the infallible record, every sentence of which is divinely inspired.

But whilst the avowal referred to furnishes no guarantee as to the infallibility of this commentary, the commentators

reveal an ethical sentiment, or rather a sentiment in regard to the ethics of this controversy, which proves their unfitness for dealing with the ethical aspects of it. Speaking of the theory, "that liberty to abstain is all that is needed as an argumentative basis for abstinence," they say, that those who take this ground "will find themselves undeceived when they attempt to urge the practice upon others as a duty; for how can that be a duty, it will be asked, the opposite of which is sanctioned by both the letter and the spirit of the divine word?" Taking for granted that this is a fair statement of the position here referred to, the force of the counter argument, couched in the question put with such an air of confidence by the commentators, is not very clear. It is difficult to see how liberty to abstain can be in conflict with the duty of abstinence, or how those who hold that doctrine can feel themselves hampered in urging upon others the exercise of that liberty in the interests of their fellow-men. If I am not bound to drink, I am at liberty to abstain, and am under obligation to use that liberty for the glory of God in my intercourse with men. As to my dealing with others, I can urge the same considerations. It is no reply to allege, that the opposite of abstinence is sanctioned by the Bible. The use of a thing may be sanctioned, and yet no obligation to use it be thereby imposed. When God said, "Of every tree which is in the garden thou mayest eat," He sanctioned the use of every tree referred to; but surely none would say He made the use of each obligatory, or prohibited abstinence from any. There is a difference between *may* and *must*; and as it was *may*, and not *must*, God employed when He entrusted Adam with the goodly heritage of Eden, our first father was at liberty either to use, or to abstain, in subordination to the great law, that whether he ate, or drank, or abstained, he should act for the glory of God. Men who assume the function of commentators, should at least know enough of ethics not to regard liberty to abstain, and the sanction of use, as ethical contradictories.

But the above statement of the position of the friends criticised by the commentators, is not fair. It is simply one point in the theory of expediency. Those who hold this theory—and they embrace all the intelligent friends of temperance—hold, of course, that they are at liberty to abstain;

but to this they add another clause which is essential, viz., that they are under obligation to exercise their liberty for the glory of God. It was not in accordance with the dignity of a commentary to misstate an opponent's position in order to give a seeming plausibility to a reply.

In their preliminary dissertation, the authors set themselves to shake confidence in the Lexicons. As the standard authorities derive *yayin* from a root, signifying to ferment, it was of course necessary to set these authorities aside. In opposition it is alleged, that the Jewish Rabbins believed that "the juices of fruits did not ferment," and consequently, could not have applied to the occult process of fermentation, a term derived from a root signifying to ferment. This statement is then generalized, so as to cover, not only the Jewish Rabbins, but the ancients, and the affirmation is made, that all the ancients knew of the matter was, that grape-juice "foamed" and "boiled" like the froth of the sea, boiling water, or bitumen. This, we are told, is the sole idea expressed by the words *yavan* and *chamar*, from which the Hebrew and Chaldee words for wine are usually derived.

Thus wrote our commentators on page xvi. of their Preliminary Dissertation, but having reached page 28 of their Commentary, they became so oblivious of their former generalization, as to put on record the following refutation of it:—"Now it must have been patent to all careful observers, *first*, that the juice of the crushed grapes did ferment—'boil up,' or 'bubble'—when left and exposed to the air for some hours, and without the adoption of preventive measures; and, *secondly*, that the cause of this fermentation was the prior fermentation of something (gluten) in the grape, which had thus become a powerful ferment, *i.e.* a *seor*. This *seor* decomposes the sugar of the grape-juice (*gleukos*)—the elements of which, entering into a new chemical relation, are changed into alcohol and carbonic acid gas." Nor is one's surprise at this diversity of representation allayed by the discovery that, in the former instance, our authors are trying to prove, from the ignorance of the ancients, "in regard to the occult process (fermentation) which is now assumed to have been the origin of the name for wine," that the name for wine could not have been thus derived, and that, in the latter

instance, they are trying to prove that *Chamätz* (Exod. xii. 15) must include wine, from the impossibility of the process of fermentation escaping the notice of careful observers. The solution of this palpable contradiction is simply this: in the former case they wished to prove that wine did not imply fermentation, whilst in the latter they wished to prove that the law excluding *Chamätz* from the Passover thereby excluded wine. The fermentation of grape-juice, therefore, is "occult" or "patent," just as the one or the other may serve to prop up the theory of our authors.

In a foot-note, Liebig is cited as teaching that this foaming takes place BEFORE FERMENTATION COMMENCES, because, that in his *Chemistry of Agriculture*, he says vegetable juices become turbid before fermentation! Foam and turbidness with these commentators mean one and the same thing. As foam and turbidness, however, do not designate the same condition of a fluid, their citation of Liebig is unwarranted, and their inference rather hastily drawn. If the turbidness be diverse from, and precede the foaming, and if the foaming do not take place till after the fermentation begins, then there is no warrant for the inference (even were the radical idea that of foaming) that the liquor designated is not the product of fermentation. On their own theory, therefore, that *yayin* is derived from a root, signifying to foam, it must designate the juice of the grape after the process of fermentation has begun. The importance of Liebig's testimony as to the precedence of turbidness to fermentation, and the peril in which it places any writer who tries to dissociate *yayin* from fermentation, and derives it from a root signifying to foam, must be manifest. If the foaming begins with the fermentation, the liquid being simply turbid up to that point, it inevitably follows that *yayin* is not applicable to the liquid during the state of turbidness, or, in other words, before it ferments. Granting, therefore, which we do not, that the ancients were not aware of the fact of that occult process which we call fermentation, it does not follow that the term in question does not imply fermentation. If it signified to *foam*, it must imply fermentation, for the foaming did not begin till the fermentation commenced. Except, then, our authors can shew that the foaming implied in the term *yayin*, as derived by them, is a foaming incident to

the rush of the grape-juice from the wine-press into the wine-vat, they have no alternative but admit that it designates a liquor which has either undergone, or is undergoing, fermentation. This alternative is open to them; but in establishing this position they have to explain away every passage in which the qualities of *yayin* are indicated by its effects. And still more, inasmuch as the idea of the root is traceable in the remotest signification of a word, they are bound to shew that the idea of foaming obtains to some extent in all the instances in which *yayin* is described by its effects.

Now, as both the commentators and those with whom they differ are agreed that *yayin* comes from a root signifying to foam, the question may be discussed whether it be more natural to characterise the liquid product of the vine from the initial foaming produced mechanically, or the subsequent foaming arising from a long-continued process of fermentation? Surely there is no room for dispute here. If *yayin* were derived from the former, it could not be used as a distinguishing term among liquids at all, for all liquids do foam when subjected to mechanical disturbance. But discriminating to this extent, at the very least, the term must have been from the very outset. It must have suggested, and been used to suggest, at once, a liquid distinct from all liquids. This it could not do if derived, as these commentators say, from a word expressive of mere foaming, for the action of foaming is not a *differentia* among liquids. Not so, however, if derived from the subsequent effervescence arising from fermentation, and indicative of it. Embodying this idea, the term would be intelligible, as it would necessarily suggest a liquid which had undergone fermentation. It is no reply to this argument to allege, as our authors do, that "new names when first imposed are always expressive of some *simple* and *obvious* appearance, never of latent properties or scientific relations"; for (1), the foaming arising from fermentation is much more *obvious* than that arising from the rush (or trickle) of the grape-juice into the vat, and (2), this foaming, both in its turbid antecedents and clarified, exhilarating consequents, must have attracted the attention of any one intelligent enough to build a wine-press and direct the operations connected with the manu-

facture of wine. Nor can it be said that the term *yayin* originated in a rude state of society prior to the discovery of the process of wine-making, for our commentators tell us that the phenomenon to which it owes its origin is revealed between the wine-press and the wine-vat. The Jewish Rabbins, we are informed by this Commentary, did not believe that grape-juice fermented in the same sense as bread. Well, what of that? How does this Rabbinical theory affect the point before us? Does it follow that the Rabbins did not believe that grape-juice ferments in any sense? It does not; and even if it did, the statement, though made on page 28 with the tone of authority, would not be true: for the Rabbins tell us that the Jews, in preparing for the observance of the Passover, searched the wine in store for leaven, which of course they would not have done had they not believed that grape-juice ferments. Besides, is it not manifest that the knowledge of Moses and the prophets is not to be measured by the knowledge of the Rabbins? Let us note the unquestionable fact, that Moses, who is the first and oldest writer who uses the term *yayin*, was both a learned man and a lawgiver. On the two forms of statement in regard to this Rabbinical theory, viz., "that the juices of fruits did not ferment" (p. xvi.), and that "grape-juice did not ferment in the same sense as bread" (p. 28), no remark need be made. They do not seem to be in harmony; but as our style of thinking is not Rabbinical, we are not to judge from mere appearances, but must assume a latent process known to the Rabbins alone, which they have not seen fit to reveal to us.

On page xv. of the "Preliminary Dissertation," the ground is taken, "that a modern use has nothing necessarily to do with an ancient use of a word." The instance given in illustration is the word *prevent*. This word, which now signifies to hinder, formerly signified to help. This instance, as may be seen on the slightest reflection, does not prove that the two senses, even when opposed, have nothing to do with one another. To *prevent* is to go before, the meaning of the term depending, of course, upon the object of the party who performs the action. He may place himself in advance to thwart our progress, or he may assume that position to clear our pathway. The radical idea of anti-

cipation is retained, whether we give the term the old meaning or the new. Even the term, *villain*, which is also adduced to prove that modern meanings have no necessary connection with ancient usage, is no exception to the doctrine of etymological kinship. The *villains* of the middle ages were simply peasants and farm-labourers—not rogues, it is true—but they were regarded as of a lower class, and not animated by the sentiments of honour, by which the higher classes were governed. The transition from the ancient to the modern meaning of the word, therefore, is not so obscure as to warrant our commentators in the dictum, that the modern use has nothing necessarily to do with the ancient. In each of these instances there lingers still a savour of the original import. As Mr Mill says, in a passage cited by our friends in support of their etymological theory, “It may be good to alter the meaning of a word, but it is bad to let any part of the meaning drop.” This is good counsel, and it would be well if the authors of the *Temperance Commentary* would act in accordance with it. This they have not done. Whilst they parade it on their pages, they perpetrate the very sin it condemns. Mr Mill says it is bad to let any part of the meaning of a word drop; and yet whilst clothing their dissertation with the vesture of his authority, they let drop the very idea which the term *yayin*, in its various modifications in all the languages in which it is found, is used to convey, that of a fermented liquor.

Their application of the foregoing principle is equally unwarrantable. They represent the argument of their opponents thus:—“They go to a technical dictionary of the eighteenth or nineteenth century, quote an exclusive definition of wine as ‘the fermented juice of the grape,’ and ask us to jump with them to the crooked conclusion, ‘Therefore wine two thousand years ago never signified anything less or anything more.’” The absurdity of this representation is as manifest as its unfairness. Just imagine a lexicographer venturing to give a meaning to a word which had never been given to it before! The critics would make short work of his new meaning. There is this much, however, in the reference to dictionaries—a dictionary may be cited in proof of the usage obtaining prior to its publication. Starting with this

unquestionable principle, we may call upon our authors to quote a dictionary of any century which does not represent *yayin* as the fermented juice of the grape; or, failing the dictionaries, to quote a passage from any ancient author, sacred or profane, in which wine has any other meaning. In fact, they are sensible of the antiquity of the definition they repudiate, for they admit that Pliny (A.D. 60) defines wine as we do.

The authors, with equal irrelevancy and inconsequence, instance in illustration the word "angel." "If," they inform us, "we say, in heaven there are angels, and also in hell there are angels;—while the word 'angel' is the same, the objects connoted are, in specific quality, as distinct as the opposing spheres." Applying this marvellous doctrine to the use of the term wine, they proceed:

"As 'angel' denotes the relation of 'messenger' to some sovereign master, but cannot express the kind and quality of mastership or service, whether of devil or Deity; so the word 'wine' expresses the relationship of 'the blood of the vine,' but cannot possibly signalize the special state into which it has got—whether it is the pure *khemer*, or *mustum*, or *soveh*, or whether it is the juice transformed, by fermentation, into *intoxicating* drink."

Here, again, the analogy does not serve the cause in whose interests it has been invoked. The word "angel," in the cases stated, does not connote objects "as distinct in specific quality as the opposing spheres." The angels in heaven do differ from the angels in hell; but the difference is moral, and not specific. They are both of the same species, possessing the same moral nature, but differing in their moral condition. So is it with the term *yayin*. It does not follow from its being a generic term, that it stands opposed to other Hebrew terms for wine. It expresses something common to them all, and that one thing is, that they are the product of fermentation. Our commentators think that the use of other terms was owing to the fact that *yayin* was too vague and general. With this conjecture there is no dispute. The question is, "In what particular was it too vague?" It could not be in its unfitness to express the idea of a fermented liquor, for the commentators admit that it is sometimes—indeed, very often—employed for that purpose. Why, then, did the Hebrews invent such terms

as *asis*, and *soveh*, and *tirosh*, &c.? The answer is obvious—to differentiate the things specified, to express a distinction which *yayin* could not express. *Tirosh*, e.g., was new wine: wine of the current year, as Gesenius teaches. Our commentators take the ground that *yayin* became generic by usage, and that the Jews, in later times, had to resort to specific words, such as *asis* and *soveh*, just as the Greeks with their *gleukos*, and the Latins with their *mustum*, when *oinos* and *vinum* respectively had become too vague and general. This ground is as unwisely taken, as it is historically untrue. 1. It is unwisely taken; for (a), a generic term, developed from a specific, must retain and express the characteristic qualities of the species it was wont to describe, as that species will, as a matter of course, be still embraced under it. (b) The new species to be embraced under it must also possess some of the same qualities, or it could not be applied to them. 2. It is unhistoric, for as *yayin*, at the very outset, designated a liquor which made men drunk, this meaning must have adhered to it throughout its generic history. In a word, it is fatal to admit that the term *yayin* is used to designate an intoxicating drink, for this, on the generic theory, it could not do except there was attached to it a specific term expressing the idea of exhilaration, which these commentators say is not essential to it. If *yayin*, despite the law which regulates the development of generic terms out of specific, drop the characteristic quality of the species originally designated by it, the use of it as a specific term to designate a species possessing that quality, is necessarily excluded, except there be attached to it a qualifying term expressing that quality. As no such term is ever employed in connection with *yayin*, the conclusion is inevitable that *yayin* never lost the radical idea of fermentation, and that any liquor designated by it must be the product of that process.

In his "notes in reply," appended by him to my vindication, and published in the *Irish Temperance Banner*, Dr Lees alleges that I "do not comprehend the fundamental idea at the bottom of this discussion" (fundamental ideas are usually at the bottom), "and so pervert him, if not wilfully. No generic term like wine," he adds, "can possibly MEAN any specific attribute, because genus is *not* species. To make me affirm," he continues, "that *yayin* MEANS syrup-wine, is to pervert me."

Now, were I disposed to boast, as Dr Lees has done, I might announce in advance, not a "massacre of the innocents," but the suicide of Herod himself. In these three sentences he has disavowed his own statements recorded in his article on *yayin* in Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, and has written the death-warrant of his generic theory of *yayin*. While he charges me with the crime of perverting him when I represent him as teaching that *yayin* means syrup-wine, the article referred to makes it *mean* not only this, but several other *species*. I say *mean*, for he uses, as we shall see, the terms, "stands for," "is used for," "signifies," "denotes," "refers to," "designates," which are simply equivalents for the term *means*.

But let us examine the bearings of the principle, that no *generic* term can possibly *mean* a *specific* attribute. If this be true—and its truth is beyond question—what becomes of Dr Lees' article on "wine" in Kitto? In that article he has given, as *meanings* of *yayin*, "the grape-vine," "the grapes to be trodden," "thick grape-syrup, or honey." "This *species* of wine," Dr Lees remarks, "is still called honey in the east;" but he does not reveal the fact that this honey of grapes, or *dibs*, is never called *yayin*, or designated by any other term for wine. He also gives as *meanings*, "the blood of the grape freshly expressed," "what the Greeks *specifically* called *gleukos* ("sweet wine"), "boiled wine or syrup."

Such, according to Dr Lees, are the chief meanings of *yayin*. I say again, *meanings*, for they are introduced by the terms, "stands for," "signifies," "denotes," "designates," already mentioned, of which *yayin* is the *sole*, as it is the *unqualified*, subject. Now these *meanings* are either different *species* of *yayin*, or they are not. If they are, how, on Dr Lees' principle, can they be "designated," "signified," and "denoted," by the generic term *yayin*, which, on his theory, simply *includes*, but cannot *distinguish*, them from each other? If, as Dr Lees teaches (and, on this point at least, he is orthodox), a *generic* term cannot possibly *mean* any *specific* attribute, surely if *yayin* be *generic*, as he holds, and the above meanings be *specific*, as he has conceded in his complaint, and assumed in his article in Kitto, it cannot be employed, of and by itself, to designate them. He has, therefore, by the avowal of this unquestionable canon, delivered himself into the hands of his adversaries; for, as the meanings enumerated are

specific, not one of them can, on his own shewing, be designated by the *generic* term *yayin*, except by the help of another term expressing the peculiar *specific* attribute. As no such *specific* ally is employed, Dr Lees' canon (and his is mine) of necessity rules out every meaning he has ascribed to the term upon whose import the settlement of the question raised by Bible winists depends.

Nor is this all. The transmutation of the term *yayin* into a genus of such comprehension, renders the conception of its import all but impossible. If *yayin*, of and by itself, "stands for," or "is used for," or "signifies," or "denotes," or "refers to," or "designates" (these are Dr Lees' own terms), everything that cometh of the vine, however produced, or in whatever state, and also the vine itself, besides "comprehending" mixed wine, and "including" every species of fermented grape-juice, who will undertake the task of defining it? If *yayin* can perform these functions for these diverse commodities, what can *yayin* itself be? Its distinctive attribute, if we regard it as *generic*, must be an attribute common to them all. Will Dr Lees inform his readers what this common attribute is? What attribute is common to the vine itself, to its grapes, to grape-juice (whether fermented or unfermented), to syrup, and to honey of grapes? It cannot be *fluidity*, for this would exclude both the vine and its grapes, and also the *dibs*. It cannot be *fermentation*, for this would exclude the unfermented juice. It cannot be the *opposite* of fermentation, for this would exclude the *fermented* juice, which Dr Lees includes. In fact, by embracing solids and *quasi*-solids, liquids and semi-liquids, fermented and unfermented grape-juice, wine spiced, or mixed, or drugged, Dr Lees has given *yayin* a range almost as comprehensive as the term, *vegetable substance*. It would be difficult to find another term which would at once embrace the vine and all its products, in whatever state, and however modified, by spices and drugs. What, I ask, is this thing which, of and by itself, at one time "stands for" the grape-vine, at another "*is used for* the grapes to be trodden," at another "*is called* honey," which is now "*used for* grapes, or wine in the cluster," and again "*signifies* the blood of the grape freshly expressed," which at one time "*refers to* a boiled wine or syrup," and at another *comprehends* mixed wine, and *includes* every species of fermented

grape-juice? What can be the meaning of a term possessing such *specific* versatility, and such *generic* comprehension, as, at one time, enables it to distinguish each product of the vine from all its fellows, the vine itself from all its offspring, the various conditions of grape-juice, as fermented or unfermented, as mixed, or spiced, or drugged, from each other, and, after all these *specific* achievements, has reserved to itself a *generic* power, by virtue of which it can gather up all into one category, and stamp them, in the mass, with its own all-comprehending name? Will Dr Lees tell us what this *specifico-generic* thing called *yayin* is, which must ever be doing the work of *specific* terms, and yet wishes to take rank as a *generic* dignitary? Can he point to any similar *specific* freaks perpetrated by any other *generic* term? Can he mention an instance in which a *generic* term, without the help of another term possessing the requisite *specific* attribute, is employed to "designate," or "stand for," or "signifies," or "is used for," or, in other words, "*means*" a *species* of the genus which it designates? He cannot, for the thing is impossible. It were as absurd to search for such an instance as it would be to contend that the *generic* term, *animal*, of and by itself, at one time designates a sheep, at another its wool, at one time its milk, at another its flesh, and at another mutton pie; and that after serving these *specific* purposes, it may be employed not only to *include*, but also to *designate specifically*, every other species of animal organism, from the mollusk to the man.

This, however, notwithstanding its absurdity, and despite the violence which it does to his own canon, is precisely what Dr Lees has attempted. Holding that *yayin* is a *generic* term, and that in consequence of its *generic* character it cannot designate a *species*, he has, nevertheless, written an article in which he assigns to it, in its native nakedness, a long list of *specific* meanings. That is, he has written an article in defiance of his own canon. It is a perversion of his language, he alleges, to represent him as giving to the *generic* a *specific* meaning; and yet, with two exceptions, he has treated *yayin* as a *specific* term—as "standing for," or "designating," or as "used for," or "referring to," a *species*. In one of these instances he has coupled with it another term—the term *gephen*—but *yayin* does not in this instance stand for grape-vine, as Dr Lees states, but is, on the contrary, employed to

qualify *gephen*, and limit its comprehension to that particular *species* of *gephen* which yields *yayin*. He has not "cited," or "referred to," a single instance in which the sacred writers have added to *yayin* a qualifying term to render it capable of designating a *species*. And no marvel that he has not; for out of the one hundred and forty-one times in which *yayin* occurs in the Bible, it stands *alone*, in its native specific potency (without the alliance of any qualifying term), about one hundred and thirty-five times, the exceptions, which are only some half-a-dozen, embracing instances in which terms such as "Helbon," "Lebanon," "royal," &c., are employed to indicate the superior quality of the wine, or some incident or circumstance which the term *yayin* itself could not express. This fact, which is as patent as the Bible can make it, is fatal to Dr Lees' *generic theory* of *yayin*. If a *generic* term, unqualified, cannot designate a *species*, the Bible-wine fortress must surrender unconditionally. If *yayin*, as Dr Lees alleges, be a *genus*, of which fermented grape-juice is one *species*, and unfermented grape-juice another, it cannot, of and by itself, designate either. But the scriptures, to the utter confusion of the theory, abound in instances in which *yayin*, unqualified by any *specific* term, is used to designate the fermented juice of the grape, while no unquestionable instance of its application to the unfermented juice can be pointed out. If, then, we would abide by the teaching of the holy scriptures, we must regard *the fermented juice of the grape* as the only proper meaning of *yayin*. This we must hold, or else regard the sacred writers as uniformly violating a canon of logic acknowledged by all, and of which Dr Lees has constituted himself the special guardian.

Although the settlement of the question raised by this Commentary depends, ultimately, upon the scripture usage in regard to the term *yayin*, it may not be out of place here to examine the testimony of scripture in regard to the meaning of *tirosh*. Our commentators allege that it "is not wine at all, but 'the fruit of the vineyard,' in its natural condition." "Nothing," they tell us, "but a foregone conclusion, fostered by the mistranslation of ancient and modern versions—versions which traditionally sustain and deceive each other—could have hindered scholars from perceiving the true sense of this word (!) Neither versions nor lexicons, however, have

been consistent. The Septuagint, the Chaldee Targums, the Syriac, Arabic, Vulgate, &c., have, in one text or another, rendered the word as 'berry,' 'vines,' 'vintage,' 'fruit,' 'grapes,' &c." To this list of variation they might have added "Noah," and "judgment." From all this we are to infer that neither version, nor lexicon, is to be trusted, and that the true meaning of *tirosh* was a secret, until Julius Bate, M.A., in his *Critica Hebræa*, 1767, discovered that it means what is pressed—"the grapes"! In order that the reader may judge of the fairness of this statement about foregone conclusions, and the mistranslations and inconsistencies of versions and lexicons, the following summary of the testimony of the versions referred to, for which the writer is indebted to the Rev. Professor Glasgow, D.D., is submitted:

"*Tirosh* occurs in the Hebrew Bible thirty-seven times, and out of these thirty-seven times it is rendered in the Syriac thirty-two times by the word *khamra*, fermented juice; in the Arabic thirty-five times, by different terms used to designate fermented juice; in the LXX. thirty-six times, by *oinos*; in the Vulgate thirty-two times, by *vinum*; in the Chaldee by *khamra*, fermented juice, twenty-seven times (omitting the five instances occurring in Nehemiah, of which there is no Targum found)."

It was only by keeping this remarkable uniformity out of sight, and parading diversities which they have not ventured to enumerate, that our authors could hope to shake confidence in these venerable translations. Equally unwarrantable is the representation in regard to the diversity of the lexicons. On this point let the following suffice:

"*Gesenius* (Thes. and Lex.) renders *tirosh* by '*mustum*,' assigning as his reason that it occupies the brain by inebriation; *Castellus* renders it by '*mustum*,' and adds liquor of grapes when first expressed; *Gussetius* gives '*mustum*;' *Simon* gives '*mustum*,' '*vinum*;' *Verdier* renders it '*vinum*,' '*novum mustum*;' *Fürst* (Conc.), '*mustum*,' expressed from grapes; *Fürst* (Lex. by D. Davidson), 'what is produced from grapes, new wine;' *Buxtorf*, '*mustum*;' *Dietrich*, '*mustum*;' *Newman*, 'new wine, or juice yet in the grape, from its intoxicating quality by which it takes the head;' *Bagster*, 'new wine,' '*must*.'"

Will the authors of this Commentary who have preferred the charge of inconsistency point to any lack of harmony or uniformity in the testimony of these Lexicons? Or, failing this, will they point to any Lexicon outside this list, of equal

authority with those embraced in it, which contradicts their united, unwavering testimony, that *tirosk* is not a *solid*, and that it is a *liquid*? Such is the verdict of the ancient versions and the most authoritative of the Lexicons as to the import of *tirosk*; and the man, be he lexicographer or commentator, who ventures to affirm, in the face of it, that *tirosk* means vineyard-fruit in its natural state, and that it does not designate the liquid product of the grape in any state, fermented or unfermented, would require credentials which no university in Christendom could furnish.

In the Preliminary Dissertation, p. xix., we are told that the initial and central fallacy (of their opponents) is this:—"The word wine is undeniably applied in the Bible to a drink that intoxicated men: therefore the word always and necessarily means intoxicating liquor." Now this is anything but a fair statement of the position the commentators have to deal with. The position is not that the word "wine" is sometimes applied to a drink unquestionably intoxicating, and that this word must therefore always and necessarily mean an intoxicating liquor. The position is that the term *yayin* (the only term which it is at all necessary to discuss), throughout the Bible, from the first instance to the last, *wherever its qualities are indicated*, designates an intoxicating drink; whilst, on the other hand, there is no instance in which it can be shewn to have any other meaning.

The advocates of this position proceed upon the inductive principle, and not simply, as our authors insinuate, upon the basis of mere majorities. The Bible thus investigated, independently of foregone conclusions, knows nothing of an unintoxicating *yayin*. This position is not to be overthrown by such vague generalities about the symbolic nature of words, and the liabilities of dictionaries to err, as our authors indulge in. Granting all that they allege in regard to the vagueness of language, and all that the authors they cite meant to teach, the position they have to assail remains untouched. For example, they quote Dr Davidson as follows:—"They (the dictionaries) can only furnish the *general* signification, whereas the interpreter wants the precise sense, with its exact shade, as determined by the particular position in which it stands." This canon is unquestionable,

but it is difficult to see how it helps the cause of our friends the commentators. Dr Davidson recognises a *general* signification, and teaches that the exact shade is determined by the particular context. The exact shade of what, may we ask? Of course, the exact shade of the *general* signification. That is, this author, on whose canon these writers rely, teaches that, despite the alleged vagueness, there is a general meaning which runs throughout the particular application of words, whose shade is ever present, however modified. This author, therefore, teaches nothing but what Mr Mill teaches in the passage already referred to, when he says, that "it may be good to alter the meaning of a word, but it is bad to let any part of the meaning drop." Nor does the substantive *arena*, as used in passages cited from Lucretius, Suetonius, Pliny, and Ovid, prove anything contrary to the canon, or anything auxiliary to the cause in whose support the passages are adduced.

Whether we say, with Lucretius, "a heap of sand," or with Suetonius, "an arena"—a place of contest strewn with sand, or with Pliny, "in arena mea, hoc est, apud Centum viros," or with Ovid, "quid arenæ semina mandas?" we carry with us the idea of "*sand*" throughout. Sand, or its negative quality of barrenness, appears in every instance cited. No one has any difficulty in ascertaining whether the one idea or the other is the one meant; nor would any one think of citing the metaphorical instances as sources whence we are to derive the proper meaning of the term sand. Despite the variety indicated in these instances, no man will venture to say that there is not a primary and proper meaning with which the metaphorical meanings are not to be confounded, and from which they derive all their force.

The cause our commentators have espoused compels them to violate all these common-sense principles. Holding that the radical meaning of *yayin* is, "*the unfermented juice of the grape*," they endeavour to prove their position by referring to passages in which the term is employed in a metaphorical sense, and by adding qualifying epithets where the term is employed in a literal sense, and where the sacred writer assumes that the term itself conveys the idea without any adventitious aid. A very good illustration of the absurdity

of their position is given in a couplet which they cite from a translation of Ibycus by Bland—

“ And new-born clusters teem with wine,
Beneath the shadowy foliage of the vine.”

The idea which wine in these lines conveys, they tell us, “is as certainly that of grape-juice as if it had been expressed by that phrase.” (!) Comment here is needless. If poetry is to be read as prose, and that prose of the dullest kind, then may wine in this passage mean grape-juice. Regard the writer as saying that grape-juice teems from the clusters, and you destroy the poetry; but regard him as thrilled with poetic fervour, and you are in a position to interpret his language. You say, at once, this is not prose. It is the language of a poet whose imagination sees in the clusters, even from their very birth, before there is anything in them deserving the name even of grape-juice, the wine which cheers the heart of man.

The principle advocated by the writers quoted, and which our commentators profess to act on, is the one for which we contend. We do insist that whilst the dictionaries give the general meaning, the context must determine the particular shade. Hence, whilst we hold that *yayin* means the fermented juice of the grape, we hold also that it may be applied poetically and proleptically to the juice of the grape. Now the validity of this position is to be determined, not by general disquisitions on the vagueness of language, but by reference to facts. Let our commentators point out some instances, in plain prose, in which the term *yayin* means grape-juice in an unfermented state, and the first part of their task is achieved. Then let them shew that where *yayin* is approved of, it is always used in this sense, and their work is done. Have they done so in this Commentary? We shall see.

The first instance in which *yayin* occurs in the Bible, and, let it be observed, the first instance in which it occurs in any writing accessible to us, is found in the ninth chapter of Genesis, where it is mentioned, without any qualifying term, as the cause of Noah's drunkenness. The passage is a piece of plain prose, and reads, “And Noah began to be an husbandman, and he planted a vineyard: and he drank of the *yayin*, and was drunken; and he was uncovered in his tent.”

Now, bearing in mind the object of our inquiry, viz., the ascertainment of the meaning of *yayin* from the plain prose instances on record in the Bible, what must our verdict be as to the teaching of this passage? Is it possible to read it without receiving the impression that *yayin* was regarded by the writer as an intoxicating drink? This verdict is confirmed by every version cited by the commentators, embracing the Targum of Onkelos, the LXX, and the Vulgate.

The question, then, arises, How do the commentators dispose of this instance? 1. They remark, that "it can hardly be doubted that a name was given by the ancient Hebrews to the expressed juice of grapes," and then ask the question, "If that name was not *yayin*, what was it?" What was it? they ask. Why, they have already, in their general dissertation, given us a name for it, to wit, the term *asis*, which they themselves say "is grape-juice purely, and never seems to have acquired the ambiguous meaning of the Greek *gleukos*, and the Latin *mustum*, which," with singular consistency, they allege "were undoubtedly sometimes applied to the juice of grapes in an initial state of fermentation." Though bereft of *yayin*, therefore, the Hebrews, even on the shewing of our friends, had still a name for grape-juice—a name absolutely unequivocal, as it was never contaminated by association with even an initial fermentation. 2. They represent their opponents as inferring a universal from a particular—as arguing that because *yayin* means an intoxicating drink in the first passage, it must always be taken to signify inebriating grape-juice. This is untrue. We simply cite this as one instance, and hold that its testimony is for us, and against the commentators. We say that the first witness called, testifies that *yayin* is an intoxicating drink. In conclusion, it is to be noted that the authors of this comment on this incident are compelled, not only to give an unauthoritative meaning to the Hebrew word for *drunken*, but also to do violence to the Chaldee, Greek, and Latin equivalents, toning down the verbs employed by Onkelos, the LXX, and the Vulgate, so as to suit their own foregone conclusion. Of course, if a commentator takes such liberty as this in the interpretation of the original, he can make it teach anything he pleases.

Proceeding upon the same principle, the authors have but

little difficulty in dealing with the *yayin* brought forth by Melchizedek to Abraham. After admitting, by reference, that Onkelos renders *yayin* by *khamar*, the LXX by *oinos*, and the vulgate by *vinum*, they say, "A question may arise, whether the *yayin* of this passage is not to be understood in the sense of grapes rather than their expressed juice (as in Jer. xl. 10—Gather ye *yayin* and summer fruits), seeing that bread and grapes continue to be associated in the East as articles of daily food." On this interpretation, however, they do not place much reliance, for they immediately add, "If the common acceptation (!) of grape-juice, is preferred, the juice may have been recently expressed." That is, despite the testimony of the Targums, the LXX, and the Vulgate, and despite the meaning which *yayin* unquestionably expresses in the ninth chapter, it may here mean fresh grape-juice, or grapes, as we prefer, but not what its history thus far, and the testimony of the most ancient authorities, prove that it must mean! And all this, be it observed, we are asked to receive without one particle of proof, save the reference to the gathering of *yayin* and summer fruits in Jeremiah, and the fact that bread and grapes continue to be associated in the East as articles of daily food! As to the former, it is sufficient to remark, that the very passage cited in proof speaks of gathering oil (*shemen*) as well as *yayin* and *kayits*, and that other passages mention the gathering of *waters* together. With regard to the continued association in the East of bread and grapes, suffice it to say, that when the Orientals speak of bread and grapes, they do not say bread and *yayin*. They have a word for grapes, and they use it. And, besides, if we are to accept modern Oriental usage as the key to the usage of Old Testament times, the meaning given to *yayin* by this Commentary must be abandoned, for the Bible lands of the present day know nothing of an unfermented, unintoxicating wine.

It is unnecessary to discuss the question whether Melchizedek brought forth the *yayin* for the refreshment of Abraham and his company, or for the celebration of a religious ceremony; for in either case the *yayin* is shewn to have the approval of one who was a priest of the Most High God, and recognised in the New Testament as one of the most eminent of all the ancient types of Christ.

Into the details of the case of Lot's sin through *yayin*, it

were out of place to enter. The Commentary admits that it is exceedingly probable that the *yayin* which made Lot drunk, had become intoxicating through fermentation. The authors, however, incline to the opinion that it must have been drugged. A remark of their own, when treating of a similar suggestion in regard to the wine of which Noah drank, will serve as a reply here. We may observe here, as they do there, "It is not probable that such an incident, if real, would have been unknown to Moses, or left unrecorded if known." Lot's daughters throughout proceed on the assumption that *yayin* would make drunk. Hence they do not say, "Let us make our father drunk," but, "Let us make our father drink *yayin*." This is conclusive as to the idea attached both by the daughters of Lot, and Moses, to the term *yayin*. They do not say, "Let us give him drugged *yayin*, or fermented *yayin*," but, satisfied that the term itself carried with it the idea of unintoxicating drink, they qualify it with no epithet. As it is admitted that *yayin* here means the fermented juice of the grape, the passage may be dismissed with the remark, that the third instance is against the doctrine of an unintoxicating *yayin*.

The next instance is the one in which Jacob is represented as giving *yayin* to his father when he was about to perform one of the most solemn acts in which a father and a priest could engage—the act of blessing him as the heir of the promise, vouchsafing that of him the Messiah should come. With the light of prophecy shed on his soul by the Holy Ghost, he refuses not, but drinks, the *yayin* presented by his son. Nor does the Spirit of Christ by whom he was inspired to forecast the destinies of his sons, abandon him, or refuse to speak through him, because of the wine. The comment of our authors on this section of the sacred narrative simply illustrates the fixedness of their resolve to stand by the doctrine of an unfermented *yayin*. With the Targumists, the LXX, and the Vulgate against them, they remark that the passage does not decide whether the *yayin* was fermented or unfermented; and then quote a legend from the Targum of Jonathan, to prove "that the Chaldee *khamar* was applicable to grape-juice in the unfermented state. The passage runs thus:—Neither had he (Jacob) wine with him, but an angel had prepared and brought to him some of the wine which had been in its grapes from the beginning of the world; and he

gave it into Jacob's hand, and Jacob carried it to his father, who drunk it. Of such wine (*yayin* or *khamar*) the commentators tell us, "none need scruple to partake, even if some other than an angel were the purveyor." In this concluding sentiment all men will agree. Wine prepared from grapes, kept from the beginning of the world, will hurt no man.

Now, what is to be said of such commentating as this? Do men, who have nothing to fall back on but the legendary lore of a Targumist, expect us to accept their moral reflections as exegesis? Of course, even a legend might shew the meaning the writer attached to a word; but the passage relied on does not bear out the assertion, that the Chaldee word *khamar* is applicable to unfermented grape-juice. It does not simply say that the angel *brought* the *khamar*, but that he *prepared* and *brought* it. Yes, that word *prepared* has been overlooked in the Commentary, and the commentators proceed in their argument, as if the only action ascribed to the angel was that expressed by the word *brought*. As the legend says, that the angel *prepared* the *khamar* from these pre-Adamic grapes, it affords no proof that this term, contrary to its etymology and use, was regarded by the Targumist as one of the names employed to designate the unfermented juice of the grape.

As it is the word *tirosh*, and not the word *yayin*, that occurs in the blessing pronounced by Isaac upon his son Jacob, it is unnecessary formally to notice what our commentators have said, in this connection, on the import of that term. As already remarked, the question at issue does not depend upon the meaning of *tirosh*, or of any term save the term *yayin*. It is worthy of note, however, that whilst Isaac bestows abundance of *tirosh* upon Jacob, he gives none to Esau. Nor is it to be forgotten, that when Jacob himself, who was certainly in as good a position to judge of the spirit of his father's benediction as the authors of this Commentary, came to perform the same solemn act, he did not hesitate to include in the blessing pronounced on him, from whom the Messiah was to descend, the very *yayin* which we are asked to regard as the bane of society and the very symbol of the curse.

As there is no mention of *yayin* in the dream of the chief butler, reference to it in this controversy may be omitted. It may, however, be remarked (1), That if the vine budded and

shot forth her blossoms, and the blossoms developed into clusters, and the clusters into ripe grapes, while the butler gazed upon them, it is but natural to infer that the ripe grapes when pressed into the cup, brought forth, not mere grape-juice, but *yayin*. For, if the processes of budding, blossoming, and ripening of the grapes, described in the dream as immediately consecutive, do, in the sphere of the natural, occupy considerable periods of time, on what principle are we asked to step out of the sphere of the supernatural when we reach the action of the butler, and regard the part of the process conducted by him as if it were not embraced in the dream, and did not occupy an analogous period of time? There is no argument available against the grapes instantly bringing forth *yayin*, which is not equally valid against the shoots instantly bringing forth flowers, or the flowers clusters, or the clusters ripe grapes. (2.) That even, on the assumption of the Commentary, the passage does not prove that *yayin* means grape-juice, for it designates the liquid pressed out by the butler by no name whatever.

Commenting on that incident in which Joseph's brethren "drank, and were merry with him," our authors allege that *yishkeroo*, rendered in the English version "were merry," means "were well filled." This they do, however, in opposition to the Targums, the LXX, and the Vulgate, as cited by themselves. It is true that the verb *shakar* does not necessarily imply a drinking unto drunkenness. Its proper meaning is to drink unto cheerfulness. Had the design of the sacred writer been to express the idea of quantity, all that was needed was to add a word expressing that idea, to the verb *shatha*, already employed. This he has not done; but instead, has added a verb expressing an idea in harmony with the festivity of the occasion, which *shatha* would not express. It were a vulgar thing to say that they drank, and were well filled, or were filled to repletion—an idea utterly out of keeping with the refinement of the *quasi* regal state of their host; but it were in place for a host to cheer the hearts of his weary guests with wine, and certainly not unnatural for weary men to accept his hospitality. In view of the occasion, the consent of the versions, and the import of the Hebrew verb by which the drinking is described, we must conclude against the commentators, even when backed by the authority of Professor

Stuart, and accept the English version, "were merry," as expressing the idea of the original.

The significance of this incident, fairly interpreted is obvious. If ever there was a man who feared God and eschewed evil, that man was Joseph. And yet we find him, with no apparent scruple, giving a banquet to his brethren, and making their hearts glad, without for a moment entertaining the notion that he was thereby constituting himself a patron of drunkenness. Joseph's standard of hospitality and social ethics, was unquestionably very different from that laid down in this so-called Temperance Commentary.

The blessing pronounced by Jacob on Judah is the next claiming our attention. It is as follows:—"Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt unto the choice vine, he washed his garments in *yayin*, and his clothes in the blood of the grape. His eyes shall be (*chaklili*) red with *yayin*, and his teeth white with milk." The question is, "What does *yayin* mean in this passage?" The Commentary says it means the unfermented juice of the grape, and its chief argument is—that it is put in parallelism with the blood of the grape. This argument assumes that the blood of the grape means grape-juice, and is authoritatively refuted in Scripture; for in the only other passage (Deut. xxxii. 14) in which the expression, "blood of the grape," occurs, it is defined and explained as the equivalent of *chemer*, which, if we are not to set the dictionaries at defiance altogether, is an intoxicant. The Commentary alleges that "blood is a poetical name for juice, and is evidence of the ancient signification of *yayin* as the juice of the grape, prior to fermentation." It is much more in harmony with poetry, and with the other passage referred to, to regard it as a poetical name for *yayin*. The Commentary confesses that the juice of grapes, whether they be white or purple, is colourless, but alleges that the similitude may be borne out by the skins of the purple sort dying the juice when trodden in the vat. This is substituting conjecture for the authoritative teaching of the scripture itself, which settles the question by defining the "blood of the grape" as *chemer*.

As regards the action of washing his garments in the *yayin*, it must be borne in mind that we are dealing with poetry, and that we are not at liberty to treat it as prose. No man would think of washing his garments either in *yayin* or grape-

juice. The idea is simply this, that wine would be as abundant as water. Of course the language is in the highest vein of Oriental imagery, and, if taken literally, becomes absurd.

The expression, "his eyes shall be red with *yayin*," the Commentary admits, teaches that the colour has some relation to wine, and that the internal evidence is in favour of a causal relation. So satisfied are the commentators with this view, that they discard the Vulgate interpretation—"his eyes shall be more beautiful than wine"—given by Dr Lees in Kitto's Cyclopædia, and adopt in its stead a translation implying an external application of the *yayin* to the eyelids—"empurpled are his eyes with grape-juice."

Against all such ever-varying conjectural renderings, it is sufficient to set the fact, that the Hebrew word, *chaklili* (red), expresses not the idea of a reddening arising from an external application, but that arising from an internal participation of the *yayin*. The noun, *chaklilooth* (redness), occurs in Proverbs xxiii. 29, where there can be no doubt that it is represented as arising, not from the external, but the internal application of *yayin*; for the redness of the eyes is ascribed to the tarrying long at the wine, and not to the smearing of the eyes of the drunkard.

The Commentary refers, in illustration of the same *usus loquendi*, to 2 Kings ix. 30, where Jezebel is said to have painted her face. Well, certainly, this is a strange way of illustrating the use of *chaklili*. How can reference to the act of Jezebel, which is expressed by the verb *soom*, "to give," or "place," illustrate the usage of *chaklili*, an adjective, descriptive of a condition arising from an act not expressed at all? Instead of seeking the import of *chaklili* in an entirely different word, why not go to the other instance, where the noun, *chaklilooth*, as we have seen, occurs, and be guided by it in the interpretation of the adjective? What if Jezebel did paint her eyes by daubing them with a pigment? Does that prove that Judah made his eyes red by painting them with *yayin*? Are we to accept this recondite, far-fetched solution of the reddening, when we have one furnished to our hand by Solomon, who tells us that *yayin* abused, will avenge itself by making the eyes red?

In the Commentary of Keil and Delitzsch, Calvin is quoted:

"*Assiduo autem largioreque illius potu rubedinem contracturi sint oculi*" [and the comment runs]:—"Of wine and milk, the most valuable produc-

tions of his land, he will have such a superabundance, that, as Jacob hyperbolically expresses it, he may wash his clothes in the blood of the grape, and enjoy them so plentifully, that his eyes shall be inflamed with wine, and his teeth become white with milk."

Before passing from this scripture, it may not be out of place to notice the concluding sentence of this comment, in which the commentators seem to give us their idea of the sufferings of Christ. Our Saviour's life, according to these guides of Christian thought, seems merely to supply "the *ideal* of suffering, yet triumphant, goodness." This is what, we are told, the Targumists and the cultivated Jewish mind, could not of itself develop. It is rather unfortunate for this theory of Christ's life, that Christ himself did not single out this alleged misapprehension as the sin of the Jews; but, on the contrary, condemned them for not believing on Him as the Son of God. This *ideal* described in the comment, which the cultivated Jewish mind could not develop, is the one which Socinians and Humanitarians have developed, and which these commentators appear to have here substituted for the scripture doctrine of Christ's substitutionary, all-atoning sacrifice. Whether it is wise to accept the criticisms of these men, and recommend their Commentary to our people, would certainly seem to be questionable. Those who read it, and accept either its theology or its exegetical principles, cannot long remain very strongly attached to the faith of the gospel.

THE PASSOVER.—Although the word *yayin* does not occur in connection with this institution, it is nevertheless necessary to examine the ordinances given in regard to it, inasmuch as it is so intimately associated with the institution of the Lord's Supper, and because of the sweeping conclusions which our opponents have drawn from some of the terms employed by Moses in his instructions respecting the observance of it.

Of the terms, *seor*, *matzoth*, *chamätz*, and *machmetzeth*, the term, *matzoth* (unleavened loaves or cakes), describes what was to be eaten, whilst the other terms designate what was to be excluded. With regard to the first of these terms, *seor*, there is no room for controversy. *Seor* is one element of the ferment used by bakers, and consists of old *leavened* dough, which is used in raising the *sponge*, or batch of new dough, prior to the ovening. Dough, *per se*, however long it may be kept, is not baker's ferment

until it is mixed with *chamätz*. When the baker has combined the *seor* with the *chamätz*, he is ready to set the sponge, and the sponge consists of fresh flour reduced to a pulp by mixture with the liquid compounded of the *seor* and the *chamätz*. As the *chamätz* is the chief instrument in the *working* of the sponge, and as it is through its agency the inelastic mass of dough is *raised* and rendered fit for use, the term *machmetzeth* is employed to designate the bread thus produced, to distinguish it from *matzoth*, bread or cakes, produced independently of it.

Now, had the authors of this Commentary carried out their rationalism so far as to consult a baker on this point, they had not ventured to base an argument against the use of *yayin* in the Passover on the prohibition of *chamätz*, and everything *machmetzeth*. The prohibition, interpreted in accordance with the well-known facts just mentioned, can only be regarded as applying to bread. No bread, save unleavened bread, was to be eaten, and in order to secure this end, *seor* and *chamätz*, the two ingredients employed in the ordinary preparation of bread, were placed under the ban of a divine prohibition. In confirmation of our warrant for this restriction of *chamätz* to bread, the reader is referred to the law of the meat-offering (Lev. ii. 11): "No meat-offering which ye shall bring unto the Lord shall be made with leaven (*chamätz*).” Now, the meat-offering consisted of fine flour mingled with oil, usually made into cakes or wafers. These must always be unleavened. The fact, then, is simply this: that the law in regard to this element of the Passover feast was just the law which ruled the same element throughout the whole subsequent Mosaic legislation, and cannot, with any show of fair interpretation, be represented as excluding anything, save bread prepared with *chamätz*, and most appropriately described by the term, *machmetzeth*.

The bearing of the establishment of this point upon the question, whether "*wine*," the fermented juice of the grape, was used in the Passover, and afterwards in the Supper, is obvious. This established, they are bereft of what is, in fact, their chief argument against the use of a fermented liquor in the observance of the Lord's Supper. The exclusion of all *machmetzeth*, let it be remembered, was simply the exclusion of all leavened bread, and had no reference whatever to wine. That wine was not thereby excluded, is obvious from

the fact, that, under the law, the meat-offering of unleavened bread, from which *chamätz* was excluded, was offered in company with a drink-offering of *yayin*. (See Numb. xv.)

As confirmatory of this view of the comprehension of the terms leaven and *machmetzeth*, reference may be made to the sphere or territory from which the prohibited articles were by the law proscribed. In Exod. xii. 15, 19, leaven, *seor*, is to be put away from their *houses*, and *chamätz* and *machmetzeth* are not to be seen or found in their *houses*. In these passages the sphere of the prohibition is designated by the term *bayith*, a house, and by the term *gebul*, a territory, *terminus, finis, limes, spatium finibus suis circumscriptum* (Gen. x. 19; Exod. x. 14, 19; Deut. xix. 14, xxvii. 17; Prov. xxii. 28; Judg. xi. 18; Psa. civ. 9).¹ In dealing with the latter term, *gebul*, our translators say that it means "accustomed places, such as dwelling-houses, cellars, &c.," and do not give the LXX or the Vulgate translations. This is as singular as it is unauthoritative; for the word does not admit of such a rendering, meaning, as it does, a measure by which measurers measure land, or the bounds themselves of the measured territory, or the region circumscribed by certain limits. The LXX equivalents, as given by Fürst, are ὄριον, γείσος, βάσις, κληρονομία, περίβολος, πῆχυς, γῆ; and, in the Talmud, the term is put for the whole land of Israel which is outside Jerusalem. In the passage (Exod. xiii. 7) the LXX reads, ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ὀρίοις σου, in all thy coasts; the Vulgate, in cunctis finibus tuis; and Rabbi Leeser, in all thy boundaries. Fairly interpreted, then, the proscription of *chamätz* and *seor* was absolute. Nothing made from *seor*, and nothing which proceeded from *chamätz*, was to be eaten, or even seen in the land during the days of the feast. This, of course, is conclusive against that theory which regards the proscription as including *yayin*; for if *yayin* was to be banished from the land during the feast, it is manifest that, so far as Israel was concerned, there was an end to the use of *yayin* for that season. *Seor*, or *chamätz*, might be destroyed without any such absolute deprivation, for both could be reproduced from existing materials; but once *yayin* was banished, there could be no fresh supply until the following vintage. The interpretation, therefore, which represents *chamätz* and *machmetzeth*

¹ On *seor* and *gebul*, see Zaphnath-Paaneah, a very able Competitive Prize Essay, by William Killoch, a journeyman baker, Londonderry.

as including *yayin*, is inadmissible ; and the argument against the use of the fermented juice of the grape as one of the elements in the Lord's Supper, based upon the assumption that the exclusion of leaven involved the exclusion of *yayin*, falls to the ground.¹

The law of the Nazarite (Numb. vi. 3), as usually interpreted, by excluding *yayin* and *shaykar*, excludes intoxicating drinks. Our commentators, however, go beyond, and find a prohibition in the clauses, *chometz* of *yayin*, and *chometz* of *shaykar*. It is true the dictionaries, the Targum of Onkelos, the LXX, and the Vulgate, are all against them ; but what of that ? Dr A. Clarke is with them ; and with such high critical authority they are irresistible.

On the law of the Nazarite it may be remarked, 1. That he was not the model Israelite. 2. That as there are rules given for his separation, so also are there rules for his return to the normal life of his brethren. 3. That among these was the liberty of drinking *yayin*. 4. That whilst he was at liberty, after his return, to drink or not, as he might list, he was not at liberty to decline the presentation of *yayin* before the Lord with his sin-offering, with his burnt-offering, and with his peace-offering.

The incident of the spies and the grapes (Numb. xiii. 17-24) proves that the fruit of the vine formed, in the estimate of an Israelite, one of the chief blessings of the land. In their remarks on the *Drink-offering* (Numb. xv. 5-10), it is admitted by the commentators that, in each verse, the Hebrew word for wine is *yayin*, and that it is rendered in the LXX by *oinos*, and in the Vulgate by *vinum*. From the fact that *tirosh*, in Numb. xviii. 12, is grouped with *yitzhar* and with *dagan*, it is assumed that it is a solid. Now, it is admitted that *tirosh* and *yitzhar* are frequently grouped together, but it is not conceded that they are grouped for the reason alleged. The key to this grouping, if we are to credit Gesenius and Fürst, is to be found in the fact, that *tirosh* is the new

¹ For an exegesis of *chamätz* by *seor*, see Lev. ii. 12. "No meat-offering which ye shall bring unto the Lord shall be made with leaven (*chamätz*) : for ye shall burn no leaven (*seor*) nor any honey, in any offering of it made by fire unto the Lord." This, of course assigning, as it does, as a reason for not using *chamätz*, that no offering of *seor* was to be made, connects, exegetically, *chamätz* with *seor*, and both, therefore, with the preparation of bread.

wine, as *yitzhar* is the fresh oil. In like manner *shemen* is grouped with *yayin*, not because they are liquids, but liquids of some standing. They say that their view is confirmed by the expression, first-fruits. This, however, but confirms the common interpretation, as it gives a reason for designating the wine by *tirosh*, and the oil by *yitzhar*. The things to be offered were to be the first as well as the best of their kind; and as the Hebrew term for new wine was *tirosh*, and the term for fresh oil, *yitzhar*, it was natural and necessary that these should be the terms employed. They admit that the Versions are against them, and acknowledge that the Targumists teach the common doctrine, but tell us that this merely shows that the Jews of the captivity seem to have lost the true and certain sense of the words *tirosh* and *yitzhar*! These men know Hebrew better than the Targumists!

Verses 27–30 are conclusive on the subject of tithing. A question has been raised as to what was tithed—whether the grapes or the wine. Now these verses teach that the Levites were to offer a tithe of the tithes, and it is added, that this was to be accepted as though it were the corn of the threshing-floor, and the fulness of the wine-press, or, more properly, of the wine-vat. This proves—1. That the Levites had no threshing-floors or wine-vats. 2. That it was the product of these, and not the raw material, that was offered. 3. That such was the law for Israel as well as for the Levites. It is worthy of note that the commentators have not one word to say about this law of the tithing. They certainly should have tried to reconcile it with their theory of *tirosh*, which depends for support in part, as some allege, on the assumption that nothing but solids could be tithed.¹ In Numb. xxviii. 7, the drink-offering enjoined is to be of *shaykar*. The commentators are equal to the emergency, for they contend that “*shaykar* may be here taken, in its most comprehensive sense, as including all sweet drinks, even including *yayin* in its sweet condition.” Well, of course, if *shaykar* be so comprehensive, one may make it include any sweet drink; but if *shaykar* invariably means, as the Lexicons say, an intoxicating drink, then the comment is but a device to reconcile a theory with a passage which subverts it.

It is argued, from the verb *asaph* (Deut. xi. 14), that *tirosh*

¹ See Deut. xv. 14, on floor and wine-press.

and *yitzhar* must be solid fruits of the earth, although the Septuagint, Vulgate, the Targums, and the Syriac and Arabic, are against such inference ; and notwithstanding the fact that *asaph* is applied to the gathering of *yayin* (Isaiah lxii. 8, 9). The same triad, *dagan*, *tirosh*, *yitzhar*, occurs in Deut. xii. 17, but it is to be observed that the context shews that they receive these names because they are first-fruits of the land, as rendered fit for use. With this agree the Versions. The argument from *akal* is vain, and the principle of it holds good in no language. The same triad occurs in chapter xiv. 23, but, as usual, with evidence that the terms employed designate first-fruits. The Septuagint and the Vulgate are against the commentators. After acknowledging that the LXX gives *oinos*, they add, "The Vulgate follows with its *vinum*." Yes ; and with its *vim*, as this remark shews. *Yayin* and *shaykar*, as the twenty-sixth verse proves, are to be used before the Lord in the place where He had chosen to place His name. The Versions, without exception, are against the commentators ; but they try to modify their testimony by turning *shaykar* into sweet drink. This they regard as one of the texts of permission which the human mind is ever prone to turn into license. They might have added—and which ascetics are ever prone to take liberties with, by taking away the liberty which such texts authoritatively proclaim. In dealing with the argument furnished by this passage, for the use of intoxicating drink in religious festivals, one of the positions taken by the commentators is, that the permission of a thing does not imply approval ; and one of the instances given is polygamy. Now, polygamy was not sanctioned as wine was, which was not only permitted, but commanded, and that in connection with the central ordinance of sacrifice. Deut. xvi. 13 is important, from the light it sheds upon *asaph*, to gather, and upon the state of the first-fruits, usually designated by *dagan* and *tirosh*. As the gathering was to be from the wine-press or vat, as well as from the threshing-floor, it is clear that at least some of the articles gathered were not solids. In Deut. xviii. 4, *dagan*, *tirosh*, and *yitzhar*, occur again in a connection proving them to designate the fresh products of their kind. Septuagint and Vulgate give—the former *sitou*, *oinou*, *elaiou*, and the latter *frumenti*, *vini*, *olei*. On Deut. xxix. 6, "Ye have not eaten bread, neither have ye drunk wine

(*yayin*) or strong drink (*shaykar*), that ye might know that I am the Lord your God," the comment is :

"From this we learn, that during their desert journeyings of forty years, the people of Israel abstained from *all* kinds of *yayin* and *shaykar*, unfermented and fermented, innocent and inebriating. Hence those 'do greatly err, not knowing the scriptures,' who either deride abstinence as a novelty, or condemn it as an impracticable or dangerous habit of life."

On this comment it may be remarked that the desert life was not to be the rule in either meat or drink. There was abstinence from (*lechem*) bread as well as from *yayin* and *shaykar*. And, besides, they got no change of raiment, either clothes or shoes. The means of subsistence were altogether supernatural, and were designed to instruct Israel in the knowledge of the Lord their God. Instead, therefore, of justifying any argument from such abstinence in favour of total abstinence, as the rule of scripture in all states of society, the facts warrant the contrary; for, as even the commentators are forced to admit, the *yayin* and *shaykar* include intoxicating drinks, it is manifest that abstinence from them was no more the law for Israel than abstinence from bread, as may be seen by reference to the *song* (xxxii. 14), in which *chemer* is classed with wheat, &c., as evidence of the goodness of God to Israel.

The case of Samson (Judg. xiii. 2-25) is cited as a proof that *yayin* and *shaykar*, &c., injure the constitution. This inference is as unwarrantable as it is suicidal; for the prohibition (ver. 14) embraced not only these, but anything that cometh of the vine. Now our instructors in this Commentary eulogise the pure blood of the grape, by which they mean grape-juice, as most nutritive. Surely the argument for prohibition, if good to prove *yayin*, &c., injurious, must be of equal force against grape-juice, grapes, or raisins. What, then, becomes of the scriptural doctrine, that the vine is a blessing? From Ruth ii. 8, 9, 14, the commentators infer the superiority of water to English beer or cider. The same passage on the principle assumed, would prove the superiority of (*chometz*), vinegar, to beer, and the superiority of (*kali*), parched corn, to bread or beef.

A eulogy on abstinence is based upon Hannah's disclaimer (1 Samuel i.), but it is sufficient to reply, that the disclaimer, if interpreted in conformity with the seventh and eighth verses, embraces abstinence from food of all kinds. The passage

proves nothing, save what this Commentary denies, viz., that *yayin* is an intoxicating drink, whilst the chapter proves that it was used in sacrifice. It is somewhat significant that our commentators make no remark on the fact, that a *nāvel* of this *yayin* was offered to the Lord (ver. 24). They admit that the bottle of *yayin* was an offering, but say not one word of its qualities! Did they feel that the evidence of its identity with the *yayin* of ver. 14 was too strong to be invalidated by any general reference to genuine grape-juice?

Equally significant is their silence in reference to the *yayin* carried to Bethel by the men whom Saul met, after his departure from Samuel (chap. x. 3), and to the nodh of *yayin* sent by Jesse to the camp to Saul (chap. xvi. 20). In all these passages the LXX give *oinos*, and the Vulgate *vinum*.

The history of Nabal (1 Sam. xxv. 11, 18, 36–38) furnishes indubitable proof of the ordinary meaning of *yayin*, of *shakar*, and of the expression, *lāv tov*, when connected with drinking; and, besides, proves that David, the Lord's anointed, did not regard it as sinful to drink *yayin*. On these points the Commentary has no remark; and the commentators satisfy themselves with one or two observations:—(1.) That the phrase, "the wine had gone out of him," is in harmony with recent scientific discoveries. (2.) That the phrase employed by the LXX, "When Nabal had become sober from the wine"—"*hōs exenēpsen apo tou oinou*, Nabal"—literally signifies, "becoming as an abstainer." (3.) That Nabal had indulged his natural temperament until his nervous system was too enfeebled to recover from the shock it received on the discovery of the peril to which his folly had exposed him. It is scarcely necessary to observe that these remarks do not prove that *yayin* is unfermented grape-juice, or that *shakar* does not signify to be drunk, or that *lāv tov* does not imply the merriness of drunkenness.

"David (*vay'shakk'rayhoo*) made him drunk" (2 Sam. xi. 13). Here the Commentary tries to soften down *shakar* into *satiate* with *shaykar*, but without warrant. The LXX render the Hebrew by *ἐμθύσεν*, and the Vulgate by *inebriavit*. This passage is of importance, from the light it sheds upon the meaning of *shakar*. It is just as manifest that David made Uriah drink, with the design of making him drunk, as it is that Noah was drunk. The Commentary says that the drink was *shaykar*; but this is sheer assumption. Noah drank of

yayin (*vayishkar*), and was drunken. Does it follow that the *yayin* was changed into *shaykar* by the drinking?

"When Ammon's heart is merry with *yayin*" (chap. xiii. 28), *k'tov lāv Ammon bayyayin*. This passage furnishes additional proof that the phrase, *tov lāv*, when connected with drinking, conveys the idea of exhilaration of mind arising from the free use of intoxicating drink, and may be also cited to prove that *yayin* would intoxicate. In fact the commentators admit the latter, for they use the phrase, "given to wine," to express their estimate of Ammon's character. If *yayin* did not mean the *fermented* juice of the grape, this expression would not convey the idea they intend, except they mean to say that grape-juice, freshly expressed, when freely indulged in, naturally leads to licentiousness. If so, we reply, on their own shewing, all men should, *quoad* grapes, become Nazarites; and there should, on their theory, be a society formed to pledge men against touching, tasting, or handling anything that cometh of the vine.

But it is time to forbear. The foregoing references are sufficient to enable the reader to judge of the merits of this so-called Temperance Commentary. The authors had a difficult task to perform, and have manifested considerable zeal and scholarship in their attempt to accomplish it. But it is hard to achieve the impossible. Wellington had failed at Waterloo had his officers turned traitors, and his men deserted to the French. The commentators have brought into the field a great array of versions, and have summoned to their aid Targumists and other linguists, both Jewish and Christian; but once on the arena, these authorities have, almost invariably, borne testimony against them. It is certainly sad to follow these gentlemen throughout this hopeless struggle, and witness such treatment of the word of God. The Commentary is simply an elaborate impeachment of the morality of the Bible, based ultimately on the authority of a few men of science, whose testimony could be easily neutralised by counter-testimony borne by others.

The following excellent summary of the teaching of the Bible on this subject, from the pen of the eminent *Temperance Reformer*, quoted at the outset, will form a fitting close to this review. In a tract, adopted and republished by the

British and Foreign Temperance Society, Dr Edgar gives the following synopsis of the testimony of the Old and New Testaments respecting intoxicating liquors :

“ 1. Fermented liquor, and therefore intoxicating, was used as a customary beverage among the Jews, by the righteous and by the wicked.

“ 2. Fermented liquor, for customary use, was esteemed by the holiest men a special blessing.

“ 3. Fermented liquor was commanded by God to be offered to Him in religious service.

“ 4. Though God, in peculiar circumstances, commanded certain persons to abstain, not from fermented liquor merely, but from everything which the vine produces, yet the use of fermented liquor as an article of diet and refreshment had His full approbation and sanction.

“ 5. Jesus Christ, when on earth, Himself used fermented liquor, and created it for the use of others.

“ 6. Jesus appointed fermented liquor to be drunk in the Eucharist, as a suitable emblem of His atoning blood.

“ 7. Though prophets and apostles, and Christ Himself, were fully aware of the enormous and multiplied evils arising out of excess in the use of fermented liquor, yet none of them ever pronounced the use of it sinful, or proposed its utter extermination as the means of preventing or curing drunkenness ; but, on the contrary, they drew a clearly-defined line of distinction between the lawful use of such liquor and guilty excess. Their denunciations were hurled against drunkenness, arising from the abuse of that which might be lawfully used.

“ 8. But, notwithstanding all this, it is also the doctrine of scripture, not only that there is nothing wrong in abstaining, on proper principles, from fermented liquor as an ordinary beverage, but that circumstances may arise when, in the exercise of Christian charity, and in obedience to expediency, such abstinence may be commendable and right.

“ These truths,” continues Dr Edgar, “ commended themselves to unanimous approval till three or four years since, when a few persons, dissatisfied with the sound principles of temperance societies, or ignorant of them, imagined that they had found the grand reformer of the world in the convincing argument, that if no man drinks, no man will become drunken ; and that, therefore, no man should drink !

“ To add strength to this noble effort of reason, they made another grand discovery—That, as alcohol is poison, therefore it is immoral to use anything which contains it, no matter how diluted or modified. In the midst of their triumph, on account of these immortalising discoveries, the Spirit of Inspiration met them, and held up right before them the open pages of Eternal Truth. What could they do ? They had made the discovery that any use of intoxicating liquor is a sin against our physical nature, an injury to our corporeal and mental constitution, and therefore it is impossible that such a poison can receive any countenance from a revelation coming from God. Well, but in spite of them, the revelation which all Christendom acknowledges to have come from God,

does give it countenance—most favourable countenance. What could be done? All stood aghast; till at length one or two linguists among them said, ‘Let us look at the original—remembering that our version was made in an ignorant age—and in as far as it is the work of uninspired men, it has no authority.’¹ That they should consult the original I most heartily agree; but I most unequivocally condemn their consulting either the original or a translation to put the truth of God to the torture, for the purpose of forcing it to speak what pleases them. This is the quintessence of infidelity—proud infidelity, which raises up its own empty castle of impiety and falsehood, and then refuses to receive a revelation which would lay that castle in ruin. To rebuke and counteract, as far as in me lies, that proud infidel spirit which would compel the Bible to support falsehood, or be silent, I come before you now, as well as to give a warning of the error which, from the platform and the press, is now in circulation; and to maintain the temperance reformation on the scriptural basis, on which alone it can stand, and where alone it can prosper. So long as it continues to promote its great object by scriptural means it must prosper—God has said it; but if ever it should attempt to succeed by anti-scriptural means, from that moment its doom is sealed, and instead of being nurtured and extended by a kind Providence it will be swept from the earth with the besom of destruction.”

The accuracy of the foregoing summary is beyond intelligent challenge. It is borne out, not only by what our English Bible teaches, but by the testimony of the Hebrew and Greek originals, as attested by the ripest scholarship of Christendom, and shall abide as a fair statement of the teaching of the word of God respecting intoxicating liquor, when the “empty castles” denounced by Dr Edgar, of which this Commentary is but one specimen, shall have met the doom their presumptuous builders have so daringly provoked.

ROBERT WATTS.

ART. III.—*The Spirits in Prison and the Sons of God.*²

(1 Pet. iii. 18–20, and Gen. vi.)

OUR Authorised English Version of the celebrated passage in 1 Pet. iii. 18–20 is faulty in several particulars. In ver. 18, in the phrase, “Christ hath once suffered for sins,”

¹ *Teetotal Guardian*.

² Part of this Article appeared in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* for April 1866, and was republished by me in a somewhat revised form, as in the

the more correct reading is perhaps that of the Sinaitic and Alexandrian MSS., which has been adopted by Tischendorf—viz., “Christ hath once died for sins.” In ver. 20, the reading “once,” in the sentence, “when once the long-suffering of God,” &c., has arisen probably, as the same scholar notes, from a mere conjecture of Erasmus, and is destitute of any MS. authority. But these points, if they stood alone, would but little affect the general sense of the passage.

A serious error, however, does occur in the rendering of ver. 18. The phrase, “put to death in the flesh,” must signify put to death in the body—that is, as regards the earthly side of His being; and the antithetical phrase, ζωοποιήσεις δε πνεύματι (which corresponds to the previous θανάτωσεις μὲν σαρκί), must therefore be translated “quickened in the spirit”—that is, as regards His spirit (the πνεῦμα of our blessed Lord). There is no reference to the Holy Spirit, the third person of the Trinity (which our Authorized Version considers to be meant by that term). On the antithetical expressions, σαρκί and πνεύματι, we will remark by-and-bye.

The reference to the Holy Spirit cannot be upheld, even were it possible to defend the reading of the Textus Receptus with the article (τῷ πνεύματι), which is found in very few of the cursive, and in none of the uncial, MSS. But it may be fairly doubted whether the translation of our Authorised Version merits Dean Alford’s sweeping condemnation as one in defiance of all grammar, although the manifest antithesis between the two clauses clearly proves that the πνεῦμα spoken of is that of our Lord.

But if the *spirit* referred to in ver. 18 must be regarded as an integral part of Christ’s nature, the relative pronoun (ἐν ᾧ) at the beginning of ver. 19 must likewise refer to the same, signifying “in which spirit.” Such translations as “*wherefore*,” “*through which*,” “*at which time*,” though more or less defensible, may be fairly set aside.

It is necessary, before proceeding further, to note carefully the context in which our passage occurs.

The design of the apostle in the context was to stir up

Appendix to my *Fatherhood of God* (T. & T. Clark, 1867). I have found it necessary to alter my opinion on several critical points there referred to. The greater part of this Article is quite new, and expresses my views after mature consideration.

Christians to the exercise of patience, and the cultivation of holiness of life, notwithstanding the various trials which they experienced from the persecution of the heathen. He bids them remember that it is better to suffer, *if* we are called thereto by God's providence, for well-doing than for evil-doing. Under such persecutions, the example of our Lord and Master may well console and cheer the believer. For He is not only our propitiation, but also our example (chap. ii. 21). "Because Christ once died for sins, for us (the Sinaitic MS. adds the latter words); a just one for unjust persons, put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the spirit." If, then, His people are called to suffer unjustly, as He was, and are put to death in the flesh, they also may expect to be quickened, or made alive, as He was, in the higher part of their nature.

To this great example of suffering love and patient endurance of undeserved wrong, another similar instance is added. To those spirits, who, for their disobedience and hardness of heart, are now in the prison of Gehenna, Christ once went in spirit, and proclaimed to them the riches of His grace. To them also He had once exhibited His marvellous long-suffering. He went to them in the days of Noah, when the ark was a-preparing. Then, in consequence of that preaching of Christ in spirit, eight souls were saved in the ark, which He had commanded to be made. The blind wilfulness of the others proved their own destruction. Even so now baptism into Christ doth save us—that true union with Him by faith; not the mere partaking of the external rite, but the inner power of a holy profession, which is symbolised thereby. Christ, as the resurrection and the life, gives life and power to those who receive Him by faith, by which energy they can "in all things be more than conquerors." Wherefore His people may well be willing for a season here to buckle on their armour, and gird up themselves to a bold resolve to suffer for Christ in the flesh, following His example, and knowing, in the language of St Paul, "if so be that we suffer with Him, that we may also be glorified together" (Rom. viii. 17).

Roman Catholic theologians often cite this passage of St Peter in defence of their doctrines either of Purgatory or of *Limbus Patrum*. But the "prison" here cannot, consistently with Romish doctrine, be held to mean purgatory. Purgatory,

according to the Council of Trent, is supposed to be a place where "the souls of just men are cleansed by a temporary punishment, in order that they may be admitted into their eternal home, 'into which nothing defiled entereth.'" But the antediluvian sinners referred to in this passage were not just men defiled by sins of weakness or ignorance, but obstinate and hardened sinners, cut off in what would be styled, in Romish phraseology, "mortal sin." Of such sinners, and of them only, does the passage speak when it says, "Christ preached to the spirits in prison."

Nor can the prison be the *Limbus Patrum*, so often spoken of by the same theologians. The catechism of the Council of Trent (i. 6) informs us that the souls of the righteous who died before Christ, were confined in that locality until Christ died on the cross, and descending into Hades, released them from their imprisonment. But the antediluvians, who were disobedient in the days of Noah, when the long-suffering of God waited for them, were not Old Testament saints, but sinners of the darkest dye. And the Tridentine Catechism, while laying down the dogma of the church concerning the *Limbus Patrum*, acts wisely in abstaining from all attempts to adduce scriptural authority in support of that dogma.

Nor can φυλακή be here translated *watch* or *safe keeping*, as if the fact alone of the *safe custody* of the souls was referred to. No doubt this rendering has been adopted by scholars of note, as Schott and Wiesinger among the Germans, and Bishop Horsley and Bishop Harold Browne among the English divines. But the word indicates, as Huther, in Meyer's Commentary, remarks (a scholar whose views on the whole passage by no means coincide with our own), that, according the constant use of the New Testament, nothing else than a *locality* or *place* can be meant. The φυλακή, or prison in the other world, is nothing else than the prison of the lost, or Gehenna (see Rev. xx. 7; 2 Pet. ii. 2; Jude 6). For however the popular Romish controversialist may choose to press Matt. v. 25 as a proof of his side in favour of the possibility of purgatory being so termed, no one instructed in the scripture can for a moment uphold such an interpretation of that passage.

With as little right can the passage be cited in support of the Lutheran doctrine, respecting the descent into hades, as

set forth in the first and second part of the *Formula Concordiæ*. It is there stated that there was much difference of opinion among the theologians who professed the Augsburg Confession, how, or in what manner, and at what time, Christ descended into hell. Nothing was decided in the first part regarding the various opinions referred to. The Formula only stated that the article is one which cannot be comprehended by our senses or reason, but must be accepted by faith alone. It recommended, therefore, that there should be no discussion about the question, but that the article itself should be believed and taught as simply as possible. In the second part it is more distinctly laid down:—"We, therefore, believe simply that Christ in His whole person, God and man, after His burial, descended into hell, vanquished Satan, overturned the power of hell, and took away from the devil all strength and power." But nothing is stated in any of the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church as to the mode in which Christ accomplished this result.

The divines of the Lutheran Church were naturally not content with so general a statement, which, general as it was, contained in it the seeds of some strange doctrines. Thought can never be long restrained by such recommendations as those urged in the Formula. It became usual for Lutheran divines to adduce the passage in Peter, not merely as referring to the fact of the *descensus*, but as teaching that that descent was followed by a *concio damnatoria*, or proclaiming of judgment by our Lord to the lost spirits in hell. Other theologians were gradually led, in the very teeth of their Symbolical Books (as some of our English divines are being led in our own day), to maintain that St Peter referred to a preaching of the gospel to the dead in general by the disembodied or the glorified Redeemer.

We have not space here to give a sketch of the opinions of the Reformers and of their followers on this passage, or to point out the fluctuation in their opinions at various times, even in the case of the great reformer, Luther, himself.¹ It is, however, of

¹ A reference was made to this passage in the Articles of the Church of England, published in King Edward the Sixth's reign, which has most happily been omitted in the present Thirty-nine Articles, namely, "That the body of Christ lay in the grave till His resurrection: but His spirit, which He gave up, was with the spirits which were detained in prison, or in hell, and preached to them, as the place in St Peter testifieth."

importance to note, that *κηρύσσειν*, when used absolutely, is always used in the sense of the preaching of grace and mercy. That word, indeed, as Von Zezschwitz notes,¹ signifies properly the preaching of God's kingdom, and hence may be, and is, used (as in the case of John the Baptist's and our Lord's preaching) of a preaching in which warnings of judgment and offers of grace are commingled. But, though the word is often used absolutely to indicate a simple preaching of grace, it is never thus used of a simple announcement of judgment. Therefore it cannot consistently, with its uniform use in the Bible, be taken here to indicate a *concio damnatoria*.

Another view of this passage has been proposed, which has had defenders almost in every time,² and which Alford considers to be its only possible meaning. It is, "that our Lord in His disembodied state did go to the place of detention of departed spirits, and did there announce His work of redemption,—preach salvation, in fact, to the disembodied spirits of those who refused to obey the voice of God when the judgment of the flood was hanging over them."

Bishop Horsley is one of the most noted of the English theologians who has adopted this view. He admits that "the great difficulty in the description of the souls to whom this preaching for this purpose was addressed, is this: that they were the souls of some of the antediluvian race." Yet he proceeds to say:

"Not that it at all startles me to find antediluvian souls in safe keep-

¹ *Petri Apostoli de Christi ad inferos descensu sententia ex loco nobilissimo 1 Ep. iii. 19 eruta exacta ad Epistolæ argumentum. Dissertatio exegetica dogmatica.* Scripsit C. A. G. de Zezschwitz. Lipsiæ: Doerffling et Franke. 1857.

² Dean Alford asserts that this is the view of the great majority of commentators—ancient and modern. It may be so; but it must not be forgotten that the ancient commentators consist chiefly of the Fathers, whose minds were warped by superstitious fancies of every kind, and whose judgment is consequently of little value in such a question. The modern commentators referred to consist principally of those orthodox German theologians, who have felt themselves bound, as far as possible, to defend the opinions of their Church, by which an unnecessary mystery has been thrown over the simple article of Christ's descent into the realms of the dead. Most of the rationalistic commentators, too, adopt the same view of the passage, from a too evident desire to graft upon Scripture notions which seem, at least at first sight, to partake of the spirit of the legends of the middle ages. The majority, however, of orthodox Protestant divines since the Reformation (the Lutherans in general being excepted), have rejected this interpretation, and

ing for final salvation. On the contrary, I should find it very difficult to believe (unless I read it somewhere in the Bible), that of the millions¹ that perished in the general deluge, all died hardened in impenitence and unbelief; insomuch that not one of that race could be an object of future mercy, beside the eight persons who were miraculously saved in the ark, for the purpose of repopling the depopulated earth. . . . But the great difficulty, of which, perhaps, I may be unable to give any adequate solution, is this: For what reason should the proclamation of the finishing of the great work of redemption be addressed exclusively to the souls of these antediluvian penitents? Were not the souls of the penitents of later ages equally interested in the joyful tidings? To this I can only answer, that I think I have observed in some parts of scripture an anxiety—if the expression may be allowed—of the sacred writers to convey distinct intimations, that the antediluvian race is not uninterested in the redemption and the final retribution. It is for this purpose, as I conceive, that, in the description of the general resurrection in the visions of the Apocalypse, it is mentioned, with a peculiar emphasis, that the ‘SEA gave up the dead that were in it;’ which I cannot be content to understand of the few persons, few in comparison of the total of mankind, lost at different times by shipwreck; a poor circumstance to find a place in the midst of the magnificent images which surround it; but of the myriads who perished in the general deluge, and found their tomb in the waters of the raging ocean.”²

We cannot but regard Bishop Horsley's solution of the difficulty as eminently unsatisfactory. His objection to the common opinion, that the antediluvian sinners were finally lost, is the same which has ever been brought against any general condemnation of the wicked at all. Bishop Horsley, however, is so far to be commended, that he does not strain the text beyond its plain statement. Whatever was intended to be conveyed thereby, the preaching of Christ in the text is limited to the antediluvian transgressors, and to such Horsley the asserted *consensus* of the others disappear when we examine in detail their several interpretations of the passage. The view here advocated has been also, with some slight modifications, defended by some eminent scholars among the Lutherans, as Hofmann in his *Schriftbeweis*, though, on the other hand, scholars of the Reformed Church, like Ebrard, Güder, and Lange, have upheld the other view. Among recent monographs on this passage, the most able, perhaps, are those of Prof. Dr Schweizer, *Hinabgefahren zur Hölle als Mythos ohne biblische Begründung durch Auslegung der Stelle, 1 Pet. iii. 17-22, nachgewiesen* (Zürich, Schulthess, 1868), and the valuable articles of Mr Salmond in this *Review* on the *Dogma of the Triduum*, October 1872, and January and April 1873.

¹ It is not at all necessary to suppose that millions perished by the flood. However, this is a question which it is not our present purpose to discuss.

² Bishop Horsley's sermon *On Christ's Descent into Hell, and the Intermediate State*, appended to his Translation of Hosea, with notes explanatory and critical. London: 1804.

is willing to limit it. His followers are by no means so cautious. Bishop Harold Browne, with tolerable distinctness, suggests that Christ's "particular conference with one class [of the dead] might be the means, and certainly could be no obstruction, to a general communication with all" (*Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles*, Art. iii.). So also Prof. Plumptre and Mr Heard (in his *Tripartite Nature of Man*) boldly assert from this text that there is a hope of salvation afforded to transgressors in the intermediate state.

Dean Alford, indeed, has rounded the corner very nicely, and, like Bishop Harold Browne, hinted what he felt he could not at once broadly assert.

"Why these [the antediluvian transgressors] rather than others are mentioned—whether merely *as a sample of a like gracious work on others*, or for some special reason unimaginable by us, we cannot say. It is ours to deal with the plain words of Scripture, and to accept its revelations as far as vouchsafed to us. And they are vouchsafed to us to the utmost limit of legitimate inference from revealed fact. That inference every intelligent reader will draw from the fact here announced:—it is not purgatory; it is not universal restitution; but *it is one which throws blessed light on one of the darkest enigmas of the divine justice: the cases where the final doom seems infinitely out of proportion to the lapse which has incurred it.* And as we cannot say to what other cases this *κρίσις* may have applied, so it would be presumption in us to limit its occurrence or its efficacy. The reason of mentioning here these sinners, above other sinners, appears to be, their connection with the type of baptism which follows. If so, *who shall say that the blessed act was confined to them?*"

The process of thought in the above is very interesting to note. Horsley's notion that the reason of the preaching referred to was "some special reason unimaginable by us," is alluded to, but felt to be unsatisfactory, and hence let drop out of view. If Scripture does not lead, imagination must run ahead. Wherefore we are first informed that it may be *possible* that the antediluvian sinners were only mentioned as a *sample* of a class upon whom a gracious work is performed; then the intelligent reader, it is concluded, will not fail to draw the proper conclusion from this passage,—that in cases where the doom on earth appears too heavy for the sin it succeeds, the balance is righted in the other world. In fact, who can dare to say that, "as a man soweth, so shall he reap," for there is a hope that in the intermediate state he may obtain that mercy which he refused to accept in this world?

We must also protest emphatically against Alford's remark, that it is presumptuous to limit the occurrence, or the efficacy, of Christ's preaching to the dead. St Peter, so far forth as may be concluded from the text, did limit it to the antediluvian transgressors; and why should they be thought presumptuous who refuse to go beyond the text, and who maintain that Scripture gives us no grounds whatever to believe that the gospel will be offered after death to any of the human family?¹

We must now state our view of the text—a view supported in all its essential features by the opinions of distinguished critics; and we desire to point out that it is easy to meet the difficulties so often adduced, especially by modern critics, against the usual interpretation of the Reformers, while advocating a view which is in substantial agreement with their interpretation.

In opposing those expositions which consider the passage to refer to some preaching of Christ to the dead in the unseen world, particular stress must be, in the first place, laid upon the fact that St Peter speaks of Christ preaching to "the spirits in prison," not as if that preaching were a new fact specially revealed to the apostle, and communicated by him to the Church of God, but as a fact well-known in that day by all believers, and which might well be adduced to encourage them

¹ We wish to steer clear of falling into any over-statement of the case. There may be mercy extended to some sinners in the other world to an extent which we cannot conceive, but Scripture is absolutely silent on the question. Lange (*Bibelwerk*, 1 Pet. iv. 6) and other writers argue that repentance is possible beyond the grave, since, as they assert, many passages of Scripture plainly imply that the final sentence is not passed on the wicked till the day of judgment. Acts xvii. 31; 2 Tim. i. 12, 18; and 1 John iv. 17, are appealed to in proof of this. But such texts merely prove that the sentence on the righteous and unrighteous will be publicly pronounced at that great day, not that the state of either can be changed in the interval between death and judgment. The parable of Dives and Lazarus goes far to disprove such an idea. A criminal is not condemned until his trial has taken place, but his good conduct in the interval between his arrest and conviction is not taken cognizance of by the judge. Scripture everywhere declares that the actions and conduct of men in this world will be taken account of at the great judgment day, and that here is the place for accepting the offer of the gospel. This language is plain enough to exclude all hope, so far as Scripture is concerned. It is, however, possible that salvation may be granted to some in the intermediate state; but there is no proof to that effect. It is wiser for us also to be silent on points on which Scripture gives us no information. Scripture has been strained on both sides of this question.

to patient well-doing in days of trial. But no preaching whatsoever of Christ to departed souls, whether before or after His resurrection, is elsewhere even obscurely referred to by the apostles (even when reference is made by them to the descent into hades). Nor is it a fact mentioned elsewhere in Holy Scripture. When the early Fathers of the Church, as for instance Clement of Alexandria, refer to such a preaching of Christ, they appeal, in proof of that preaching, solely to the statement of St Peter in the passage under consideration. This fact, which cannot be gainsaid, ought in itself to lead us to be cautious in examining whether the passage in St Peter can bear the meaning assigned to it, especially as we know that the Fathers were by no means very critical expositors of Holy Writ.

There is a difficulty as to the word ζωοποιήσεις. Its proper meaning is certainly "quickened;" but as the πνεῦμα of Christ was never in a state of death, a difficulty has arisen in the minds of some critics. To get over that difficulty, several have maintained that the word must be used here in the sense of "kept alive." This, however, is unnecessary. It is the conscious personality of Christ which is referred to. The word may, therefore, well be taken in its proper signification. Death had passed upon Christ as a person. It was by the power of His *pneuma* that He was quickened to another life in the intermediate state. Huther, to preserve the full meaning of ζωοποιήσεις (which is often used in reference to the resurrection, John v. 21; Rom. iv. 17; 1 Cor. xv. 22, &c.), considers that the *pneuma* signifies the spiritual state of existence into which Christ passed when He rose from the dead, although that critic does not identify the *pneuma* itself with the "spiritual body." Huther consequently considers the preaching to the spirits in prison to have taken place after Christ's resurrection. Hence, too, he is led to argue that the πνεῦμα (*spirit*) is here opposed, not to σῶμα (*body*), but to σὰρξ (*flesh*), and to assert that Christ after His resurrection had indeed a σῶμα, but no σὰρξ, which seems directly opposed to the statement of our Lord in Luke xxiv. 39; although no doubt the flesh there spoken of, though the same outwardly, was very different in its nature from that before His death. (Compare 1 Cor. xv. 37-41, and the apostle's reference there to both σὰρξ and σῶμα.)

The passage states, not that the risen Christ went and

preached to the spirits in prison, nor that Christ in the quickened spirit, went and preached to them, but rather that Christ in the spirit, *i.e.* *quoad* the spirit side of His being, Christ *quoad* πνεῦμα, that is, in a superhuman spiritual mode of His being. Or, in other words, Christ Himself as the λόγος ἀσαρκος, the Pre-incarnate Word, preached to the antediluvians. We are not told how, but it was most probably through some manifestation of Himself in angelic guise. As the angel, who so often appeared in patriarchal and later days to the fathers, was the angel of the covenant; so that angel, or Christ, *quoad* his πνεῦμα, which was not of man, or derived from man, wrought graciously in the world before the flood; and preached, though in vain, as far as the majority were concerned, of grace and mercy. There is no necessity whatever for supposing that it was through Noah that the preaching took place, although he is styled by the apostle "a preacher of righteousness" (δικαιοσύνης κήρυκα, 2 Pet. ii. 5); and this latter view is opposed by the use of the expression, πορευθείς, in verse 20. Noah was one of those preached to, though not among those who were disobedient.

Another difficulty raised against the Reformed exposition, namely, that it is harsh to regard "the spirits in prison" as meaning "the spirits who are now in prison," is not formidable. Of the datives, τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν, ἀπειθήσασιν ποτε, κ.τ.λ., either may be considered as explanatory of the other. If the first be regarded as the principal, and the second the explanatory, the meaning of the passage is, "he preached to the spirits in prison, namely, to those who were once disobedient in the days of Noah." To this translation there are two objections, which can, however, be obviated in a more or less satisfactory way: (1), the absence of the article τοῖς before ἀπειθήσασιν, and (2), the aorist participle (see *Schweizer*, p. 29, *sqq.*). But the second dative may equally well be regarded as the principal, and the first as the explanatory, in which case the meaning would be, "He preached to the spirits in prison, when they were disobedient in the days of Noah."

Nor does the πορευθείς of ver. 20 present any difficulty. No doubt, from a comparison with the same expression in ver. 22, a local transference from one place to another is indicated, but it is just as natural to use such an expression about Christ's proceeding from the Father to this world of ours and

preaching to the antediluvians, as it is to use the expression of Christ going from Calvary to the place of departed spirits.

For the full criticism of the passage in all its details we must refer to the treatise of Schweizer, noticing, however, that verbal criticism on either side cannot decide the sense of the passage. From a purely critical point of view either line of exposition may be upheld, whether that defended so ably by Huther, von Zezschwitz, Wiesinger, Alford, and others, although with great difference in details, or that maintained, with equal variety of opinion upon the several details, by Hofmann, Weiss, and Schweizer. The charge of want of scholarship is wanton, whether adduced against the one interpretation or the other. From a purely critical point of view, the passage must be admitted fairly to be one on which a variety of opinion may be held.

It is only on exegetical grounds that we can hope to arrive at any tolerably satisfactory conclusion. And here we must take into consideration the passage in chap. iv. 6, which is closely related in meaning. Happily there is but little contest about its translation, and the Authorized Version is sufficiently accurate for our purpose. "For this cause [*i.e.*, because Christ will judge the quick and dead] was the gospel preached also to them that are dead [or as Alford, 'to dead men also,' *i.e.*, as well as to living, which translation is also admissible], that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit."

Dean Alford explains this passage as referring back to the former, with, however, the important variation, that he views the "dead," here named, to refer not only to the antediluvians, but to the dead generally. "The want of the article does not justify any limitation of this word; for the article is also wanted before *νεκρός* in ver. 5, which indisputably is universal in its reference." His idea is that the verse means:

"Our Lord is ready to judge the dead: and with reason: for even they have not been without opportunity of receiving His gospel: as the example which was adduced in chap. iii. 19 shews. For this end the gospel was preached even to the dead, that they might—not indeed escape the universal judgment on human sin, which is physical death—but *that they might be judged* [aor., be in the state of the completed sentence on sin, which is death after the flesh] *according to* [as] *man as regards the flesh* [this first clause following *ἵνα* being the subordinate one, of the state which the *ἐν γὰρ τῇ σαρκὶ* left remaining], *but* [notwithstanding] *might live*

[prea. of a state to continue] according to God [a life with God, and divine] as regards the spirit."

If this exposition be true, it follows, as a matter of course, not only that the antediluvian sinners, drowned in the flood, were saved *as a body*; but, also, that what occurred in their case occurs commonly to all the dead. The passage would then teach that the dead have the gospel proclaimed to them after death, and, as the verse leads us to infer, with almost universal success; while the very reverse may be predicated with respect to preaching in this life.

In reply we note that ἐκηγγελίσθη is a genuine past tense, "was preached," or "has been preached" (such is the sense of the aorist pass.), referring, therefore, to a transaction conceived as past when the apostle wrote. That though the *dead*, from the close connection of verse 6 with the verse preceding, must refer to the literally dead, and not to those dead in sin, and the omission of the article renders it possible to refer the statement to the dead in general; yet, on the other hand, that omission does not prevent a less extended reference, if the context should require it.

But in the context the apostle is setting forth certain incentives which might tend to support believers under unjust persecution. It certainly would be strange (as Mr Salmond has noted in his article in this *Review*) to speak of the kindness and goodwill of God towards the dead in general, and even towards the most depraved transgressors, as a motive to encourage the righteous not to shrink from their fidelity, notwithstanding the hostility of the ungodly.

The apostle, also, as Schweizer has well observed, draws a comparison in this passage between believers in Christ and their Master himself. As Christ is now "alive for evermore;" had been, as man, put to death in the flesh (σαρκί), but quickened in the spirit (πνεύματι), so those spoken of here must have been alive when the gospel was preached to them, in order to justify the comparison that they might be judged as men in the flesh (σαρκί), but live according to God in the spirit (πνεύματι). Had they been dead when the proclamation of the gospel was made to them, the evident comparison between them and their Lord would utterly fail.

Mr Salmond has thus paraphrased the exhortation of the apostle in the entire section:

“Live to the will of God; think of the vileness of your former pagan life, and have done with it for ever; the heathen will blaspheme you, when they see you foreswear their vices; but though they justify their persecution by slanderous assault upon your character, be not moved; there is a time when all will get their rights; Christ is Judge. He is ready to judge both quick and dead; take comfort from the thought that He comes to pronounce on the cause of all who have died, just as certainly as on that of all who may survive; for with this very purpose was the gospel preached to your deceased brethren, that, although dying under the hand of their persecutors, and bearing in their bodies the judgment of death like other men, they might yet live as God lives, in a spiritual mode of being—a life higher than the earthly.”

As regards the character of the antediluvian transgressors, who were disobedient in the days of Noah, notwithstanding the favourable way in which they have been regarded by Horsley and others, Scripture leads us to infer that their crimes were of the darkest hue. What else means the statement, “And God saw that the wickedness of man was great on the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually” (Gen. vi. 5)? or “The earth also was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence. And God looked upon the earth, and, behold, it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth” (vers. 11, 12; see also ver. 13)?

The sixth chapter of Genesis in its earlier verses gives us the account of the origin of this terrible apostasy. The “sons of God” mentioned there were the professors of religion in that day, the descendants of Adam (among whom the Sethites were pre-eminent), who kept up the worship of God. Cain had separated himself, and gone away to a land eastward of Eden, the land of Nod; the family of Seth, and the other children of Adam who adhered to them, remained in the habitation of their forefathers. There, in front of Eden, was their home; there was reared their family altar. But it would seem that, probably after the death of Cain, in the days of Enos, the son of Seth, the scattered members of all the families began again to associate in sacred rites before the ancestral altar, and “to call upon the name of the Lord” (Gen. iv. 26). That there was a close intercommunion between the families (probably after the death of Cain), the similarity of the names in the genealogical lists of the two families is almost sufficient to prove. The professors of religion left their proper homes, and were fascinated by the arts of the daughters of men, as the

Cainite women seem to have been termed, in much the same way as the Israelites, in later days, by the daughters of Midian (Numb. xxv.), and led first to commit whoredom with them, and afterwards to become united in regular matrimonial alliances. Such alliances soon led to fearful irreligion and general immorality.

It is impossible to decide with any degree of certainty what is the meaning of the word *Nephilim*, in Gen. vi. 4. That word may signify *giants*, *robbers*, *tyrants*, or *apostates*. It is not certain that "giants" is the correct translation in Numb. xiii. 33, and that translation, though adopted by our version in Gen. vi. 4, is almost meaningless there. "Apostates" is perhaps as good a meaning as any other in that passage, and the first "apostates" in that passage were these professed "sons of God," who, drawn aside by lust (like Zimri in Numb. xxv. 14), brought about the unhallowed union between the professed godly and ungodly; and the second apostates were their children, the fruit of those intermarriages, who seem ultimately to have exceeded their forefathers in wickedness.

We reject with horror the notion advocated by some, among whom are such great names as Delitzsch and Kurtz (of "the Fathers" we make little account in such a question), that by "the sons of God"¹ are meant angels who intermarried with earthly women. Such deeds of the flesh do not correspond with them, and our Lord's words in Matt. xxii. 30; Mark xii. 25; Luke xx. 35, 36, are, we hold, decisive against the notion. It is a weak reply to say that our Lord there speaks only of what the angels do not do, and not of what they never could have done, for the Creator has implanted no desires in any of his creatures, for the satisfaction of which no provision has been made.

¹ The exact expression, בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים, is not often found in the Bible. The phrase seems generally to point out not *angels* in the common acceptation of that term, but *righteous men*. Compare Hosea i. 10, where the Israelites are called בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים. Compare also the cognate expressions used in Deut. xiv. 1; Psalm lxxiii. 15; Prov. xiv. 26; Isaiah i. 2, xliii. 6; Jer. iii. 19, and the common use of the phrase, "*sons of God*," in the New Testament, where it is applied only to *righteous men*, and not to angels. In Job xxxviii. 7, the phrase, בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים, is indeed commonly supposed to signify *angels*; but unnecessarily. The verse runs thus, "When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy." It is just as admissible to explain the phrase, "*sons of God*," by the foregoing expression, "*morning stars*," as to say that the latter explains the former, and that both must mean *angels*.

But the punishment of these apostate sons of God—these antediluvian transgressors—is supposed by some to be alluded to also by St Peter and Jude (2 Peter ii. 4; Jude vi.). The angels¹ there mentioned as having fallen may have been none other than those rebels against God. In popular explanations, indeed, they are identified with the fallen angels which fell with Satan, yet it can be shewn with tolerable certainty that they ought not to be identified with them. The angels in Peter and Jude are described as even now in a state of darkness and confinement, in a place called Tartarus, reserved against the punishment of the great day of the Lord, while the angels which fell with Satan are mentioned as roaming about our earth, and believers are exhorted to contend against them. The angels in Peter and Jude are, too, identified by most expositors with “the sons of God” of Genesis. Peter gives no particulars of their sin, but Jude gives us further information. The seventh verse of his epistle runs as follows: “Even as Sodom and Gomorrah, and the cities about them [about Sodom and Gomorrah, to wit, Admah and Zeboim], following fornication in like manner to these,” i.e. the angels formerly mentioned,² “are set forth as an example,” &c. Now the sin of “the sons of God” was first that of contracting unholy marriages. The phrase, לָקַח נָשִׁים, as Keil correctly remarks, proves most distinctly that the connection was that of regular marriage, not mesalliances of a monstrous character, as is supposed on the angel-hypothesis. But Gen. vi. 4 might lead us to conjecture that afterwards there was more promiscuous intercourse, and may be the ground on which Jude states

The laws of Hebrew parallelism require that both expressions should bear the same signification. The passage, in our opinion, describes poetically the stars as rejoicing in chorus together at the introduction of a new planet among their number. Similar poetical figures are found in other passages of Scripture, as Isaiah xxxv. 1, 2; lv. 12, &c. The use of the expression, “sons of God,” in Job i. 6, and ii. 1, is generally brought forward as a conclusive proof that angels are designated by that term, but it may even there be employed in the sense of the professors of true religion in the days of the patriarch. In those passages Satan is described as appearing in the midst of the congregation of God’s worshippers, confronted there, however, by Jehovah Himself. Compare Zech. iii. 1–7, and Rev. xii. 10. See also Lee’s *Commentary on Job*.

¹ In Rev. xii. 7, 11, we have the name *angels* used of Christian men. See verses 11, 12 of that passage; also compare Rev. xxii. 8, 9.

² It ought, however, to be borne in mind that *עָרָאִים* can grammatically be referred to Sodom and Gomorrah, or by synesis to their inhabitants. See Huther in *Meyer’s Comm. in loco*.

that their sin consisted in *πορνεία*, or fornication. The angels in Jude are further said to have "kept not their first estate" or "dignity," but to have "left their own habitation," or "their proper habitation," even as we have shewn "the sons of God" did.

But view them as identical, and what is the result? That we have positive Scripture warrant in asserting that the earlier rebels against God were punished not only with the death of their bodies, but with the eternal destruction of their souls. But Gen. vi. 4, 5, tells us plainly that the sin of their descendants was even greater, and that the world grew riper for punishment instead of improving in virtue.

Place alongside of this conclusion, then, the fact, that *if* 1 Pet. iii. 19, 20, and 1 Pet. iv. 6, teach that Christ preached in Hades to these antediluvians, they teach likewise that, at least, the great body of them were saved there, which is contrary to the conclusion we have arrived at above.

And, also, that *if* the common Reformed view of the passages be abandoned, Scripture then teaches not only that there is a hope of salvation for the majority of mankind, if not for all, on the other side of the grave.

Either, too, the passages in Peter must be understood in some such way as we have interpreted them, or we shall be driven to hold that angels have fleshly feelings as ourselves, with this important difference, that there is no provision made for their lawfully gratifying the same.

But each or any of the above conclusions, which we must adopt if we deny the ordinary Reformed interpretation, are full of difficulties, and we arrive, therefore, at the conviction in the end, that the theological and exegetical difficulties which beset all those interpretations which view the passage in St Peter as referring to some preaching of the gospel in Hades, vastly surpass those which may be urged against the common interpretation.

C. H. H. WRIGHT.

ART. IV.—*The Science of Religion and Christian Missions.*

THE "Science of Religion" is the term now generally applied to a comparative study of the various religions of the world. Its method is to note and classify all the religious phenomena which the history of man presents; its object is to discover what principles are embodied in these phenomena, and thus to arrive at the ultimate principles or truths of religion. It is far from having arrived at maturity. It is only groping its way: painfully collecting facts, and seeking to discriminate between what are essential and what accidental, adopting tentative principles of classification, and trying whether they will yield worthy results, or whether they must be abandoned for others. But it has adopted as a basis the principle that all religions must be tried by the same rule—that the same principles must be applied to the study of Christianity, Hinduism, Mahommedanism, and whatever religion may come within its cognizance. Is this a study which it behoves the Christian church to foster or to resist?

At the threshold two objections to the study meet us, one raised in the name of Religion, the other in the name of Christian Theology. The former is, that religion is too sacred a topic to be made the subject of scientific investigation; the latter, that the truths of the Christian revelation are too well established to allow of their being correlated with the legends and doctrines of false faiths. Let us examine these objections separately.

The first is, practically, that religion is, in its essence, too entirely subjective to be treated of by science. The man who has felt the power of faith within him, for whom God and eternity, sin and salvation, have been changed into the realest of realities by the power of a life of which he is conscious, but which he cannot explain, may doubt whether others can explain that power better than he can himself, or whether those who deny it are capable of treating scientifically a subject, of the very basis of which they are practically ignorant. The answer to this objection is, that it is true that such a power exists; but that is a fact which the science of religion must take into account. Nay, this is the element which differentiates it from the cognate science of theology.

Systematic or theoretic theology, treats of "what man is to believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of man." The field from which it draws its facts is the revelation, natural or revealed, which God has given of Himself. Comparative theology treats of what man has believed concerning God, and what duties he has believed that God requires of him. Its field is the various creeds and worships that prevail, or have prevailed, on the earth: we here quit facts of revelation for facts of history. The science of religion treats of how these creeds and worships have satisfied that subjective power, that religious craving, whose existence we have allowed, and how they have affected the lives of those who have held them. Its field is the same as that of comparative theology, but it takes also into account that principle which every man feels, and no man can define, and which changes the teaching of theology into a living religion.

The relative position of these three sciences may be better understood by comparing them with the physical sciences of anatomy, comparative anatomy, and physiology. Anatomy treats of the structure of man's body; comparative anatomy treats of the structure of the bodies of all animals; physiology, in so far as it applies to animals, does the same, but it takes into account also the phenomena of their birth and death, of their growth and decay; in a word, of their life. But this very word, life, predicates a power, the secret of which no physiologist has been able to discover. It has been called "germ force," "constructive power," "vital activity," and so forth, but it has hitherto escaped analysis, and, to all appearance, must ever continue to do so. It is for each one a fact of consciousness; beyond that, it is discoverable by its manifestations; but what it is, is not known. But though physiology has to deal with this unknown power, it is not less on that account a science. It recognises the unknown power as unknown, and deals with its manifestations. It is this unknown power which makes physiology the science of the living and not of the dead body.

So is it with the science of religion. Comparative theology deals with the various ideas concerning God, His will and government, which man has held. The study of these would be of no practical value, if it were not for that element in man which gives them for him a practical value; which

remains unsatisfied till it has laid hold of them, and which compels him, according to them, to shape his life and conduct. This element the science of religion takes into account, and the fact that this element cannot be analysed or understood, does not make the science less a science.

And what is this element? The name which the Christian theologian will probably be most ready to apply to it, is *πνεῦμα*—spirit—the name applied to it by Paul. But spirit has in English quite an indefinite, or rather quite another meaning. Max Müller, who has done more to systematise the comparative study of religion than any other man, proposes to call it the “faculty of faith;”, and this term, or the more general one, faculty of religion, we will adopt in the sequel. By it I mean that power which enables a man to see the unseen, to apprehend the infinite, which makes him conscious of a power and will above man’s, and of his obligation to obey it; which transforms theology into religion, a dead statement of doctrine into a living power.

It is well that we should understand clearly what is, and what is not, the place of this religious faculty. It has not to do with facts of history or of reason. The life of Christ is a fact of history, not in the first instance of religious faith. His death and resurrection are also historical facts, not points, with which the religious faculty has anything to do. His miraculous conception seems more removed from history; but even for it we go, first of all, to the historical facts as given in the gospel; that Mary, before knowing any man, gave birth to a child; that she was informed by some messenger other than earthly, that the child would be conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost; that Joseph was informed of the same fact in a dream. These are statements which must be received or rejected on the same grounds as other historical statements. Then comes the theology of Christianity, which declares that there is a God whose will must be obeyed, and disobedience to which is sin; that all men are sinners, and exposed to eternal death; that the vision of Mary and dream of Joseph were realities, sent by God, declaring truly the nature of Christ’s birth; that Christ, as God’s Son, was sinless; that His death was an atonement for the sins of men, and His resurrection a seal that that atonement was complete. All this is a mere intellectual process. The religious faculty has as yet nothing to do with it.

It is a theology, not a religion, and may exercise no influence on the life of the person who holds it, as the life of many an orthodox Christian too sadly proves.

But whence has theology drawn the facts on which it grounds such conclusions. It draws them from observation of nature and history, and from certain writings which claim, or are claimed by theologians, to be inspired by God, and, as such, a true exposition of His will and providence. But here, again, the assumption comes in that there is a God; how has that been arrived at? The person who has accepted it in the dry light of intellect may have come to the conviction of the divine existence merely by accepting tradition, or by the weight of evidence addressed to the reason. Arguments from design, and so forth, may convince the intellect of the existence of God, just as certain arguments may convince the mind of the existence of light and sound. A person born blind may, or may not, believe that there is such a phenomenon connected with combustion as light, by which men can perceive the existence of objects millions of miles away; but it is evident that he can have no practical understanding of what it is, nor can it be of practical value to him. If a man be deaf and dumb, he may be taught to understand what another says by watching the lips of the speaker; and, by a certain use of his own lungs and of the muscles of his throat and mouth, to express himself audibly. He may believe that he thus, in a certain way, communicates with the ear of the person with whom he is conversing, or he may believe that he communicates only with his eye. But it is obvious that, at the best, sound is for him an indefinite intellectual conception, as light is for the blind. Ears and eyes alone can make them practical realities. So, too, ontological and teleological arguments may convince the intellect that there is a God, and may thereby lead to a theoretic acceptance of the whole of Christian theology, but they cannot make it a practical power in the life. For this the religious faculty is needful—that power which makes me feel that there is a higher will than man's; that duty is a reality, not a mere idea; that God is a truth, not a mere conception; that His law must be obeyed, not merely understood; that I, having disobeyed His law, am a sinner—that power which makes me long for assurance that He is at peace with me, and for strength that I may obey him. As a

Christian I accept Jesus Christ as the satisfaction of this craving. In all the incidents of His life which history makes known to me, I see what gives me more and more security. Feeling at peace with God, I am encouraged to strive to obey Him. Thus Christian theology is for me changed into the Christian religion. These are truths which, as Paul says, are "spiritually discerned." When it is said that the Christian religion rests on facts, and not on opinions, this means that Christian theology presents, for the satisfaction of the religious faculty, historical facts, especially one—the resurrection of Christ—which confounds all human experience, and is an enigma, but for the explanation it offers. On the other hand, the religious faculty begets a yearning for peace with that God whose existence it apprehends, which is satisfied only by the great fact which history presents. But we must be careful not to take the religious faculty as evidence in the province of reason or of sense.

And what is the evidence that such a faculty exists? I can only say that for me consciousness is the evidence, as I believe it is also for nearly all mankind. The basis for a science of religion is, not that there is a belief in God among all men, but that there is in all men a sentiment which finds its legitimate satisfaction only in such a belief. In some the sentiment is blurred, perverted, weakened, and its manifestations may be scarce discoverable, but even with the lowest savages it may be found.

This is ultimately for each one a matter of experience. Some do deny that they are conscious of having any such faculty, and such denials, given in good faith, we are bound to accept. It is obvious that for such persons a science of religion must be quite different from what it is for those who are conscious of having the religious faculty; and it is not likely that any system propounded by them will find general acceptance among mankind. Positivism, as a system of religion, proceeds on the basis of rejecting all the testimony of the religious faculty, and admitting only the results of observation. And if intellect, acuteness, and breadth, within its own limits, could recommend any system to men, that system would have the best chance of being accepted. It has a most wonderful analysis of the constituent elements of a religion; but its only doctrine is "the sum of all positive knowledge, the consensus of all science," and, as a religion, it is without power or followers. It is again

coming before the public, and, unable to comprehend why it should be scouted alike by men of science and by men of faith, is exhibiting its complete provision: its double purpose—to regulate social as well as individual life; its twofold function—an objective intellectual centre, and a subjective emotional centre; its essentials of “doctrine, worship, and government”—and is plaintively pleading, “All these things have I kept; what lack I yet?” It reminds me of a scene I once witnessed. A deaf mute was standing in the street turning the handle of a barrel organ from which the bellows had been removed, evidently utterly unable to comprehend the amusement he was causing, or wherein his organ differed from others. There was the case, there were the works, there was he turning the handle, there were the notes opening and shutting—what lacked he yet?

Professor Tyndall, on the other hand, is fully sensible to the music, but doubts the existence of the instrument which produces it, and explains it solely by the sense of hearing. Few have expressed in more impressive words than he the feeling of awe which often fills the mind—“when the stroke of action has ceased, and the pause of reflection has set in . . . breaking contact with the hampering details of earth, to associate him with a power which gives fulness and tone to his existence, but which he can neither analyze nor comprehend.” In his reply to Mr Martineau, he allows the “organs of divine apprehension,” but maintains that they are subjective to the core. So, too, are the organs of material apprehension, but not so the matter which they apprehend. Elsewhere he says: “He (Mr Martineau) professes to *know*, where I only claim to *feel*. He could make good his contention against me if he would transform, by a process of verification, the foregoing three assumptions into objective knowledge.” But does Professor Tyndall mean to say that it is the feeling which causes the feeling, or something distinct from the feeling which produces it; and if so, how can this be verified but by feeling? A Hindu Vedantist would soon turn tables on Mr Tyndall, if he were attempting to instruct him as to the nature of heat and sound. “He professes to know what I only claim to feel; he could make good his contention against me if he would transform, by a process of verification, the assumption of heat and sound into objective knowledge.” And what process of verification could

Mr Tyndall offer but that he felt the one and heard the other ? This is no ideal argument ; it is just what I have heard again and again from Hindus, educated and uneducated alike. Having had experience of human thought in India, as well as in Europe, I believe that there are more men who deny the reality of material, than who deny the reality of spiritual, phenomena. One of the greatest of Hindu philosophers argues for the existence of matter, because it depends on the same evidence as the existence of spirit.

Professor Tyndall has, no doubt, a perfect right to reject the "objective frames" which his neighbours try to make this feeling fit, if he believes that they simply "distort and desecrate it." If he offers them an "objective frame," which does not seem to them to distort and desecrate it, they will accept it. But they will as little rest content with acknowledging the mere existence of the feeling of a superior power, as they will with Comte's ignoring it, or insulting it by offering what is suited only for sense and reason. To enter further on this would be foreign to our present purpose. The time we have spent in the examination of this preliminary difficulty will not be lost, if it clears the way to a better understanding of the subject. We have seen that the science of religion takes into account, nay, assumes, the existence of that very faculty, the existence of which is made an objection to religion being scientifically considered. It recognises that faculty as beyond its analysis, and contents itself with noting and classifying its manifestations.¹

But what the science of religion requires is, that we should assume that this same faculty exists in those of other faiths than our own, that this same power manifests itself in all religions. This faculty which, in the Christian religion, is exercised on the teaching of Christian theology, is, in other religions, exercised on the teaching of other theologies. We

¹ "If philosophy has to explain what is, not what ought to be, there will be, and can be, no rest till we admit, what cannot be denied, that there is in man a third faculty, which I call simply the faculty of apprehending the Infinite, not only in religion, but in all things ; a power independent of sense and reason ; a power, in a certain sense, contradicted by sense and reason, but yet a very real power, which has held its own from the beginning of the world, neither sense nor reason being able to overcome it, while it alone is able to overcome both reason and sense."—MAX MULLER, *Science of Religion*, p. 20.

have thus one religion common to all mankind ; and we have the various religions of the world, each differentiated by its own theology. There is a common religious sentiment leading man to worship some unknown power. Theology seeks to answer the question, What is the Power thus to be worshipped ; what is the worship It requires ? And, according to the answers given, we have the Christian, Mahomedan, Hindu, or Buddhist religions. These are the facts with which the science of religion has to deal.

Here we are met by the second objection—that raised in the name of Christian theology—that this science puts the Christian religion on the same platform with other religions, the Bible on the same platform with other books ; that this shews a want of faith in its truth and divinity, dishonours its claims, and lowers its authority. And it is just this objection, present in the minds of most Christians, if not formally expressed, which shews the need of the Church of the present day being instructed in the science of religion. For here a preliminary consideration comes in—Is not the Church of the present day characteristically a missionary church ? I do not wish to prove that she ought to be so, or to inquire whether she should be so more than she is. It is a fact that every section of the Church has missions to the heathen, sent with the purpose of converting them to the Christian faith ; and that, not by the force of authority, not by the power of the sword, but by the force of conviction, by the teaching of the gospel, the only means which her Lord has authorised her to use. Thus the Christian Church annually sends her agents to a field where they are obliged to take up the very position which, it is objected, is dishonouring to the Christian religion. No community has a right to send its representatives to a position which it would be wrong for it to occupy, for which it is not willing to prepare them, and in which it is not ready to give them intelligent and sympathetic support. Those whom we seek to convert make the same claim for their sacred books as we do for ours. The first Mahomedan Maulvi with whom I had any conversation on religion, insisted that all verses quoted from the Koran should be accepted as decisive. He acknowledged the Gospel as inspired, but he denied that we had the pure text ; and if there was anything in it opposed to the Koran, he was certain it must be the interpolation of a later age. A learned

Darsanist¹ Pundit, with whom I had once to discuss some questions in philosophy, refused to admit any "objective" authority but the Rig Veda, on which he said his philosophy was founded. He had never read it, but he believed it was divine; and he assured me that if I could point out any error in it, he would conclude that some clever fellow had inserted it in the copy shewn to him. This may seem very absurd, but it would be as absurd for the missionary to insist on the Mahomedan or Hindu accepting the verdict of the Bible, unless he can give them sufficient reasons for so doing; and he can give these only by appealing to other principles common to both, by which the Christian book and their books may be impartially tested. That is, he must place the Bible on the same platform with other books.

It is often said that the work of the minister at home, and of the missionary abroad, is the same. But it is the same only in so far as the truth to be proclaimed, and the end to be sought—the starting-point and the goal—are the same. The whole course between is as different in each case as the obstacles which oppose the progress of the truth are different.

The chief foe which the home missionary has to encounter is irreligion; the chief foe which the foreign missionary has to encounter is religion. The evangelist who goes among the godless masses of our population, has to deal just with their godlessness. The religious faculty is with them exercised on nothing, they are "without God in the world." His power with them lies in the fact that this faculty, though dormant, still exists. His object is to rouse it into exercise. If he can but make them face the questions of "righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come," the battle is half won. They may take refuge in procrastination, indifference, or incredulity. They may stifle the religious sentiment, but they cannot bring it into opposition. They may resist its claims, but if these prove too powerful for them, they have nothing to do but to appease them by accepting the gospel. The foreign missionary, on the other hand, finds the religious faculty in full exercise in those with whom he has to deal, occupied with a counterpart of that which occupies his own. His difficulty with them is, not that they are godless, but, as Paul found the men of Athens, that they are too "gods-revering." The first effect of his

¹ A follower of a Darsana, or school of Hindu philosophy.

reproval of any godless practice into which they may have fallen, will most probably be to drive them back on a more earnest worship of the gods whom they have been taught to revere, a more faithful performance of the religious ceremonies in which they have been trained. Nay, further, he may find that this counterpart to his own object of worship has fortified itself by a league with those very sins and vices which we are wont to associate with irreligion. An attack on those sins and vices, which it should be the aim of religion to destroy, may have the effect of rousing the antagonism of the religious sentiment itself, which has yielded itself to be possessed by them. Take, for example, the sacred book most popular among the Hindu-speaking population of India—the *Prem Sagar*—which gives the exploits of Krishna in their latest dress. It would be difficult to find a book with a more immoral theology, or which has practically fostered more filthy practices as divine worship; but its religious basis is not so far away from that of Christianity. A king puts the question to a sage:—"I have been sunk in the shoreless sea of worldly cares, my iniquity is boundless, how shall I reach the bounds of this ocean of existence, and be free?" And the whole book is an answer to that question. An attack on the adulteries of Krishna will, in the first instance, rouse the opposition of a Hindu's religious faculty, by alarming him, lest in listening to it he should lose his hope of that "liberation" which it has been the object of all his worship to attain.

The foreign missionary is thus brought face to face with real religions—religions whose followers claim for them as implicit a faith as the adherents of Christianity claim for it; but religions which, in their present form, seem in utter opposition to it. His position thus differs from that of the minister or evangelist at home very much as the position of a soldier in an invading army differs from that of a soldier at home. The latter may have rebellions to suppress. His very presence is a check on the possible dissatisfaction which might otherwise develope into rebellion. But he has not to contend with the constituted government of the land; on the contrary, he is backed by all its authority and resources. The invading soldier, on the other hand, has all the authority and resources of the country he invades to contend against, and he would rather welcome risings and rebellions in it as favouring

his end. That is the aspect which the foreign field first presents to the missionary who goes to labour there. All the power of the religious sentiment seems in arms against him, and he soon begins to feel its bitter hostility.

But is it really an entirely alien kingdom which we thus go to win; and, if so, what is our warrant to seek its conquest? As we look at the foe, we recognise some of their banners, and these the royalest, to be the same as those under which we march; some of their cries, and these the loyalest, to be the same as those which stir our hearts to battle. We find that they bow before a power which we too own, and to which we may appeal in enforcing the claims of that faith to which we seek to win them. An illustration nearer home will help to illustrate this.

Few of the worst types of paganism present a worse aspect than the Christian religion presents in Sicily, or exercise a more disastrous influence on the moral condition of the people. There, the "Bull of Composition," annually sent from Rome, till within a few years, remitting the guilt of all offences according to a fixed tariff, has produced an amount of depravity with which the Italian Government has declared itself all but unable to cope. Between the purest forms of Protestantism and this, perhaps, the worst development of Roman Catholicism, there is scarcely a less moral and religious gulf than between the purest forms of Christianity and the worst developments of Paganism. Yet the Protestant, in speaking to the Roman Catholic, does not speak to him as altogether an alien in religion. Besides appealing to him on the basis of the law, written on the hearts of all men, he may also appeal to him on the basis of a common authority in religion—the Bible. He may shew how the truth therein contained has been corrupted, how practices utterly opposed to its first principles have been superinduced upon it; how it thus condemns alike his sin and that miserable imposture which pretends to cover his sin. Thus it is that in the controversy between Roman Catholics and Protestants, a certain amount of comparative study of religion has been developed, for not only have both the same religions wants to satisfy, but both appeal ultimately to the same authority to satisfy them. Yet the Protestant at the outset of the controversy asks the Roman Catholic to yield a fundamental principle of his faith—the authority of the

Church. If he refuses to do so, there can be no common understanding between them, and he shews a doubt whether it will abide the test of Bible scrutiny.

Take an instance, now, in which the Protestant has to yield something. The Christian, in seeking to convince the Jew, has a common basis in the scriptures of the Old Testament. He does not give up his belief in the New Testament as the Word of God. Surely not one Christian in a thousand would think of subordinating it to the Old Testament; but as little does he think he is dishonouring it or denying its authority by setting it aside in arguing with his Jewish opponent, and consenting that his arguments should be tried by the Old Testament alone. It is only on such a basis that a discussion could proceed, and if he were to refuse to adopt it, he would shew a fear that the claims of the New Testament might not be confirmed by the Old: by adopting it he shews his perfect confidence in the result. Practically, the modern church has learned the duty of "to the Jews becoming a Jew," that she may gain the Jews.

But when it comes to the question of becoming a Greek to the Greeks, a Hindu to the Hindus, a Buddhist to the Buddhists, which involves the yielding, or at all events holding in abeyance, the divine authority of the Old and New Testaments alike, the wrench seems too great, and it is not surprising that earnest Christians should shrink from it. Leaving them, we seem at first utterly lost. We see no historical basis on which to unite with those of other faiths; no common authority in religion to which we may appeal. Yet this is the position which the first great missionary of the Church took up,¹ and this is the position which must be adopted by the Church of the present day, if it would win Greeks—Hindus, Buddhists, Mahommedans. And it seems, too, as if there must be some common basis. The very fact that religious worship is paid, that forms of expiation and propitiation exist in nearly all lands, seems to shew that there is some authority anterior to Old and New Testament alike, to which, without abating one jot of our reverence for these books, we may make appeal. But what is that authority? How have the different faiths of the earth, while originally owning it, come to be so far apart from one another and from the Christian faith?

¹ Acts xiv. 15, xvii. 22-29.

Here is a whole field of investigation which the Church, in her theological schools and popular instruction alike, has hitherto quite neglected. It is not surprising that it should have been so. Theologians have, whether in the study or in the pulpit, to do with the practical problems before them, to meet actual errors with which they come into contact; not hypothetical opinions, which, though they may exist in some part of the earth, can neither affect nor be affected by them. After the Reformation, Reformers were in contact only with Roman Catholics, and then theology defined itself in opposition to them, or to heresies that sprung up in the midst of themselves. Maritime discovery and commercial enterprise did indeed bring the countries of Christendom into a certain relation with those of other faiths, but it was long ere the idea of any responsibility regarding them entered the minds of Christians. Forgetful of the pit whence they had themselves been dug, and the rock whence they had been hewn, they considered that they had nothing to do with teaching the truth to those who had not received the Bible. It had pleased God to leave the heathen without the knowledge of Him, and what were they that they should interfere with the ordinance of God? Altogether without antagonism, even at home, they were not. Deists and atheists did attack the Christian faith; but theirs was only a negative opposition. A demonstration of the existence of God and of the inspiration of the Bible was all that was considered needful to meet them—all that Christian theology offered to meet the religious difficulties of mankind.

Even after missions began, it was hardly to be expected that the theology of the Church should at once change its front to meet the exigencies of the new position which it was almost unwittingly being led to occupy. They were small in their beginnings. The true nature of their work was not fully appreciated. Information regarding the religions in face of which they found themselves came in slowly, and while it was taken for granted that a knowledge of the religions controverted was needful, it was also taken for granted that only those who personally undertook the work required it, and that each one might pick up that knowledge for himself.

But now we have recognised that the field is the world. The Church professes her purpose to occupy it fully, to obey her Master's behest to disciple all nations. Partly through

these very efforts, partly through the efforts of independent investigators, the whole field of the religions of the world is being opened up to us. The vast stores of literature which these faiths have inspired, the immense amount of religious thought which has been exercised upon them, the acute and often profound dialectics by which they have been defended, are no longer a myth, or unknown. The necessity of girding ourselves for real work, of studying carefully the vast mass that lies before us, if we would do anything more than scratch the outside, is daily becoming more evident. Yet all this field of Christian duty is ignored by the Church in training the ministry or instructing the Christian community. The various theological seminaries, at all events those connected with the Presbyterian Churches, provide the same education for all who enter them, and this education is adapted, not for the wider field of the world, but for the narrower field of home.¹ The most carefully matured schemes for training the Christian ministry, with the light of past experience, of the wisdom of Church courts, and the twenty-fourth chapter of Luke's gospel to guide their framers, seem not to contemplate the possibility of that ministry being called to a wider service than "beginning at Jerusalem."

Books on theology, too, go round the same rut as before, or quit it only in so far as opponents at home have quitted theirs. Hodge's *Systematic Theology*, for instance—the most up to the present age of all books on the subject—scarcely notices the bearing of Christian doctrine on the beliefs of the great majority of mankind. Pantheism does bring in a notice of the Indian phase of that doctrine, only, however, to shew that pantheism is a moral failure—a perfectly legitimate use to make of the history of the Hindu religion. But all the struggles of the religious instinct under pantheism are ignored, and thus both is the unsatisfying nature of pantheism less strikingly exhibited, and the corresponding satisfying nature of Christianity less powerfully enforced. Atheism is dismissed in a few words as impossible, although it is the professed principle of a religion which counts nearly as many adherents

¹ The Free Church has, to a certain extent, remedied this, by establishing a Chair of Evangelistic Theology, which recognises the aggressive nature of Christianity.

as the Christian. Here, again, the desperate struggle of the religious principle, its irrepressible forcing up of itself through the crushing weight of dead negations, presents a far more striking refutation of atheism than a few lines declaring it to be impossible. It may be said that it is not the province of theology to treat these questions ; and that this should be generally accepted, is quite sufficient to account for the fact that our theological halls do not foster in the students who enter them the desire to become missionaries.

The clear definition of doctrine is no doubt supremely necessary. It is of first importance that our views of God should be true and pure, for, as they are, so will be the character of the religion we profess, and of its influence on mankind. The difference between Christianity and Hinduism is just the difference between "Christ is God" and "Krishna is God." But we are now, by our missions, brought into contact with those who do believe that Krishna is God. Nay, more ; we have undertaken to bring them over to our creed. Every student who enters on his studies for the ministry should, if true to the spirit of his profession, contemplate the possibility of his being called to labour in this work. The Church that calls him should, if true to the spirit of her mission, seek to inform him, and seek to inform herself, what in the heathen creed hinders, and what favours, the acceptance of the Christian creed. Yet, is it not true, that these are points on which the Church is about as ill informed, and on which missionaries are sent out as ill prepared, as when the pioneers went at the beginning of this century ?

Those who wish to learn what has been done in this respect may do so independently of Church teaching. There are books in which the relation of Christianity to other religions is treated of, and attempts are made to treat the religions of the world on a scientific basis, which the student or general reader may study if he feels interested in the subject. Many of the plans proposed are such as cannot find general acceptance. It was at one time not uncommon to treat all heathen religions as if they were corruptions of Biblical theology ; heathen mythologies as if they were distortions of Old Testament narratives. But the same facts have been laid hold of to prove that Biblical theology has its origin in heathen mythology, that Jewish ritual has sprung from Phallic

worship—the worship of the male and female principle—which is looked on by some as the origin of all religion. Even at the present day supporters of this theory are to be found. Their reasoning is generally distinguished by an intense dogmatism and a crude philology, which makes it liker monomania than anything else.

A more modern theory is the Arkite theory, which supposes the worship of the mountain, ship, and flood, to be the foundation of all religion. One of its advocates says that it starts from this as a given point, “without explaining how this worship was begotten; only denying that it was developed intellectually out of Fetishism, Ophism, Mithraism, Phallism, or any other known mythology; and affirming, on the contrary, that it explains and embraces them all.”¹ This supposes that man had come the length of being able to construct a ship, without having been conscious of a higher power before which he must bow in worship. If the science of religion had produced only such theories as these, its profitableness might well be questioned. But one great objection to such systems is, that they are not truly scientific. The science developed in them consists more in the skill with which facts are explained or ignored, to suit a hypothesis that has been accepted on an insufficient induction.

It is different, however, when such a man as Max Müller takes up the subject. He has made a special study of the science of language, and this has guided him in the study of the science of religion, closely connected as the two are in the earlier stages of their development. Assuming this connection, he applies the principle of the classification of languages to the classification of religions. As there is evidence to shew that there was a common Aryan language, before it branched off into its various dialects from English to Hindi; a common Semitic language, before it branched off into Hebrew, Arabic, and cognate dialects; and a common Turanian language, before it branched off into its various dialects, from Chinese to Finnish—we may classify the various religions according to these centres of language. In addition to these, there are the languages and religions of Africa and Polynesia, which have not yet been sufficiently investigated to be correlated with the others, but which may find their own place when it has

¹ *Man's Origin and Destiny.* Lesley.

been determined. This, the author believes, offers "a truly historical basis for a scientific treatment of the principal religions of the world."¹

Now this is evidently a basis which leaves the investigator quite free in his opinion as to what is true and false in religion. It assumes nothing as to the character of religion, but supplies a *cadre*, which may be filled up as the investigation proceeds. Each new form of religious thought that may be discovered, can be referred to its ethnological source, and when a sufficient induction has been made, we may proceed to examine what religious principles or truths have had special acceptance with each race. At the worst, if this basis be found inadequate, it can at any time be abandoned without prejudice to the discoveries to which it may have guided. It is with only a limited number of religious phenomena that Max Müller has dealt, but even from them it is evident that the above classification may have to be abandoned so soon as the subject-matter of religion is taken into account. While the Semitic religions seems to have followed an entirely different course from the Aryan, it is difficult to distinguish between the nature-worship of the Aryans and that of the Turanians in its earlier stages.

On the investigations which have been made under this plan, it would be foreign to the purpose of this paper to enter. The adoption of this scheme does not imply the adoption of any specific theory that may be framed under it, and that must be tested by the whole mass of evidence adduced in its support. Scholars will pursue the study from their point of view, and for their special end; theologians from their point of view, and for their special end. The former will investigate rather the early books of various faiths, the earliest language of mankind, to discover, if possible, the starting-point or points of all religions; the latter will examine rather the practical working of the various faiths in the lives of those by whom they are held, to discover what faith is best fitted for being the universal religion of man. The one cannot dispense with the other; the labours of both are needful to cast light on this greatest of problems that man can study. What we have to thank Max Müller for in the above scheme, is, that it offers a basis on which Christianity may be studied along with

¹ *Science of Religion*, Lect. III.

other religions, alike without any assumption in its favour, and without any prejudice to its claims ; on which, too, the observations of missionaries, gathered in every part of the globe, may be utilised for furthering the great end for which they are labouring.

Science will not give life to religion. History shews that all attempts to construct a religion on scientific or philosophic bases are as futile as all attempts of chemistry have been to construct a living being. Julian, Akbar, Comte, are specimens of men who have attempted to found religions on such bases, but without that conviction, that impulse from within, which alone can give them reality and power ; and their religions died with them, or rather never existed. Yet science has its use in religion as in other things. Science cannot supply fighting power or fighting enthusiasm to a nation ; but, as recent events in history have shewn, it can utilise these with terrible effect. It can make them successful, and thus, by a reflex action, develope and increase them. Science, too, will not give moral or proselytising power to a religion. That lies deep in the inmost convictions and aspirations of its followers ; but it can give direction to that power, shew the difficulties in its way, and the means most likely to overcome them. Nay, if the power exist, if the convictions be sincere, the aspirations living, they will not rest content till they have prompted to the investigation of every difficulty that opposes, the mastering of every means that may aid the great end desired. If the missionary spirit of the Church be living, it will make her not less careful in studying how success may attend her efforts, than the kingdoms of this world have been in studying how, by arms or diplomacy, their sway may be confirmed. It is high time that we should set ourselves to know the religious problems before us in heathendom, as thoroughly and scientifically as those that have for ages been before us in Christendom—to study the significance of the facts that have been collected, to recognise the lessons which they teach. Is the work of missions to be persevered in, or is it to be abandoned ? If it is a hopeless or profitless work, as some maintain, let us have the facts clearly set before us which make it so. If it is to be persevered in, let us do the work intelligently and earnestly, and not trifle with it, as we have been doing hitherto. The mis-

sionary efforts of the Church are scarcely more intelligent than they were when these efforts began to be made. Students pass through their theological course with as little conception of the relation of the Christian faith to other faiths as did students seventy years ago. Those who go abroad are as little prepared for the work as were the first pioneers. Those who remain at home are as little able to offer intelligent sympathy to their brethren abroad. As a consequence, the Church is practically struggling in the dark with the whole power of heathendom. Abundant details are indeed given in missionary reports, and these prevent the smouldering interest of the Church from becoming extinct; but in absence of broad information regarding the faiths with which Christianity has to contend, they cannot develope that interest into the burning, steady zeal needful to command success.

And, as a result, the majesty and power of the religion of Jesus Christ is, to a corresponding extent, concealed from its own followers. Its personal applicability and power may, indeed, be personally experienced. But the wider truth, that it is suited for all mankind, and is needed for their regeneration, though oft repeated and assented to, can never have the same meaning for one who has not studied the other religions of mankind, as for one who has. That study alone can shew how universally recognised are those religious and moral truths on which Christianity is based—how universally they have failed to retain the knowledge of God in the minds of men—how universal is the need of that higher power which we believe is found in Christ Jesus. In studying the sacred books of other religions, we are often startled to meet some high truth which we had fancied the exclusive property of our own. At first we may be inclined to resent its being there as a theft or a forgery. Attempts have not been wanting to shew that such truths found in other religions have, in some way or other, filtered from Bible sources; as attempts have also been made to prove the reverse—whereas they belong to our common humanity; they are an expression of the law written on the hearts of all men—a reading of the witness, without which God has never left Himself in the world. A missionary, writing from the centre of China, says: “What do the people say to me? ‘The names of persons and places stumble them sadly; but the spirit of those writings is the spirit of their own sacred

classics, and proves to them that the whole world is one family.' This, to our ears, may seem a poor compliment. I accept it with great gladness, and give God thanks for it. And now that I am absorbed in the study of the Chinese classics—now that I recognise the striking similarity between the Confucian and Christian virtues, I look every day more triumphantly forward to the dissemination of the scriptures, Old and New Testaments alike."¹

But that study will also shew how little these truths have availed to preserve the pure worship of the true God, to save religion from being the apologist instead of the reprover of vice. A complete study of the religions of the world will lead us through many a maze of dark error, through many a depth of immorality, in which the only relief is just that they are religions, that they evince the existence—scarcely vital, it may be—of that sentiment which we have seen to be the basis of all religion. The mere study of comparative theology—of different beliefs and forms of worship—cannot but have a disgusting and hardening effect on the soul. Scholars may go back with delight to the earliest recognition of a heavenly Father which human language has preserved, may try to study religions in the mind of their founders, and deprecate judging of them from their perversions, as judging the health of a whole people from its hospitals. Practical students have to deal with what is; with expressions whose first significance is lost, with religions in which the first intention has already proved a failure, or developed its legitimate fruit of bitterness. These often exhibit a hardness, a vileness, a stupidity, that make it questionable whether the information to be gained compensates for the moral loathing excited, or the danger incurred of moral callousness being superinduced. The only safeguard is to recognise in them all the struggle of the religious principle, fain to satisfy itself even with such husks; then that very darkness and vileness is changed into a wail for help. If any one were to bring us earth or mud to eat, and to tell us that there were human beings that did eat it, the effect would be to excite our disgust. But when, in the famine of 1869 in Rajputana, I saw emaciated orphan children picking up the earth and eating it, not to be restrained even by the fear of corporal punishment from trying to fill

¹ Rev. John Macintyre, *United Presbyterian Record*, January 1874.

their bellies with it, I could look on it only as an evidence of the power of that instinct which had led them in earliest infancy to draw nourishment from their mothers' breasts, and which made food a necessity for them even now. It was not for me to question why God, in His providence, had left them so destitute, that their appetites had become thus depraved. There was one clear duty before me, to supply them with wholesome bread, to lead them to nourish themselves on it, before the false appetite had utterly slain their vital powers. So, too, when we hear of the vilest excesses of the shakti-worshipper, or the most senseless jabberings of the savage before his fetish, we may recognise even there the same hungering after God which prompted the highest forms of nature worship, and which the Holy Spirit may yet quicken into the worship of the same Heavenly Father that we adore. It is not for us to question why He has been pleased to leave them so long without knowledge of Him, to sink into such depths of spiritual destitution. One duty only that very destitution cries irrepressibly to us to fulfil—to offer them Jesus Christ, the true bread of life.

JOHN ROBSON.

ART. V.—*The Protestant Doctrine of Evangelical Perfection.*

PERFECT and perfection (τέλειος and τελειότης), when employed in relation to the believer, bear in the New Testament two different senses. Τέλειος comes from τέλος, and may denote either the man who has in actual fact attained or accomplished the end of his being, as contrasted with the man who has not done so, or it may denote the man who conceives his end aright and pursues it, in distinction from him who misconceives it, or him who lives from hand to mouth without any continuous purpose in his life at all; in other words, either the man who has got to his journey's end, or him who is on the right road to it. The word is used in both these senses in the New Testament; e.g., in Phil. iii., we find both in the compass of a single short passage. At verse 12, Paul disclaims having already attained or being already perfect (οὐχ ὅτι . . . ἤδη

τινὲς ἵνα μὴ), and, on the contrary, declares that he is still following after, to apprehend that for which he is apprehended by Christ, and that he is still pressing on towards the mark for the prize of his high calling. This perfection is that of the attainment of the goal of complete and sinless conformity with the will of God ; and is regarded by the apostle (as we gather from verse 11) as accompanying the resurrection from the dead and the entrance into glory, and as forming for him here an object of strenuous pursuit rather than of actual acquisition. But in the very next sentence (ver. 15) he includes himself among those that are perfect. "Let us," he says, "as many as be perfect (τέλειοι), be thus minded." Now, it is plain that the perfection he here ascribes to himself cannot be legal or sinless perfection, because he has just disclaimed that, and because in this very sentence he counts it the mark or mind of those that are perfect, that they disclaim it likewise. It is, in his view, an express characteristic of those he calls the perfect, to maintain a sense of their imperfections. They are to be so minded as he has been describing himself to be ; they are not to consider themselves to have attained, or to be already perfect ; they are to follow after, to apprehend that for which they were apprehended by Christ ; to forget the things that are behind, and reach forth to those that are before ; to press on towards the mark for the prize of their high calling. Who, then, are the "perfect" ? Not those who have attained, but those who are rightly striving to attain ; who, with a clear and true conception of the divine purpose of their life, are setting themselves in sober earnest to work that purpose out. This will be at once apparent from a consideration of one or two other passages. Τέλειος is in various places contrasted with νήπιος and βρέφος. In distinction from the infant who is yet fit for nothing, and the boy who is only slowly preparing for life, stands the fullgrown man, the τέλειος, who is actually living, if I may say so, who has entered upon the work of life. 1 Cor. xiv. 20 : "In vice be infants, but in understanding be fullgrown men" (τέλειοι). From an earlier part of the same epistle (cf. ii. 6 with iii. 1) we gather that the apostle regarded τέλειος as being equivalent to πνευματικός, the spiritual man, who, being no longer carnal, and no longer a babe in Christ, but having sufficient knowledge and grace, can walk upon his own limbs, can go

upon his own judgment, needing not to be directed, and declining to be judged by other people. The word is used with entirely similar purport by the author of the epistle to the Hebrews. Milk, he says (v. 13, 14), is the food of babes, but strong meat belongs to those that are of full age; to the *τέλειοι*, the perfect, whom he proceeds to define as "those who, by reason of use, have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil." In short, the perfect man may be taken to indicate him who understands what it is to be a Christian, and tries to live accordingly. The imperfect man—the babe in Christ, or the entirely carnal and worldly person—has not yet acquired this understanding. The Christian writers probably borrowed the word from its usage in connection with the ancient mysteries, where it designated the attainment of an adequate proficiency in their secrets. It expresses the possession of the essential attainments of all true Christians, and neither a higher life, to which only a few are called, nor a sinless condition, which is reached only in the kingdom of glory. The perfect man is thus the completely furnished Christian, who rightly understands the end of his Christian calling, and strives faithfully to realise it. This I take to be its meaning also in the passage in the Sermon on the Mount, which has been put to such various uses. Christ is urging upon his hearers that they, as the children of God, were called to a higher righteousness than that of the heathen and the publican; that they were to exercise the divine graces of mercy and forgiveness, and were thus to be like their Father in heaven with a family likeness, and to be perfect even as He is perfect. The comparison with God does not refer to the quantity, but solely to the quality, of what is to be performed; and to be perfect is tantamount to exhibiting the character proper to children of God, proper to men reconciled with God; in other words, to true Christians, who know what the end is they are called to, and are sincerely anxious to have it accomplished. As one is a man, and no longer a child, when he exercises the functions and does the work of a man, so one is perfect, is spiritual, when he exercises the functions and does the work of a Christian.

The sum of what we have collected from biblical teaching on this subject, then, is, that evangelical perfection consists in the

exercise of the proper normal functions of Christian character, and is accordingly the property of all intelligent believers. The perfect is not a higher style of Christian, with a severer rule of life, and a nobler destiny ; all Christians who are not still, so to say, at nurse, all who can swim by themselves, are perfect. On the other hand, legal perfection, the complete fulfilment of the moral law, is an attainment which is only acquired in a state of glory ; and it is a mark of the perfect Christian to have in this life a profound and abiding sense of his imperfections.

Now, this teaching has been exactly inverted by the Church of Rome, through its distinction between legal precepts and evangelical counsels, by means of which it establishes a mischievous division of Christians into classes, assigning a lower standard of Christian attainments for the common rank and file of the Church, and a higher standard for an aristocracy of more aspiring, and, in its view, devouter spirits, who, by assuming the monastic vows, may acquire a perfection higher than that of the law of God, and may thereby earn so much merit that, after justifying themselves, they have still a considerable balance to put to the credit of their less advanced brethren. Legal perfection, the fulfilment of the moral law in every point, is an inferior aim which all Christians may perfectly accomplish ; but evangelical perfection consists in the renunciation of everything that could tempt one to transgress the law,—of worldly estate, of domestic joys, and of self-will,—and is the distinction of an extremely limited order of men. The possibility of perfect observance of the law is obtained, as it was among the early Celestines, and is still with modern perfectionists, by imposing important restrictions on its range ; by denying, for example, that concupiscence bears the character of sin, or, indeed, that anything does so which does not involve a voluntary and conscious consent to a breach of the known will of God. It shews, however, what an odd patchwork theological doctrines often are, that the other part of Romanist teaching on this subject, the over-valuing of the monastic virtues, must have taken its rise in entirely different views of the law of God from the semi-pelagianism which ultimately prevailed. The evangelical counsels were originally only important safeguards for the better observance of the precepts, and they were dictated by an anxious, an almost oppressive,

sense of the unattainable height and depth of the divine law, and by an earnest desire to choke sin at the very heart by destroying the liking for it. It was a false method, and it involved various wrong and pernicious notions; but it was adopted at first as a means to extirpate that very concupiscence which later Romanists pronounce to be in no sense sinful at all. The one part of Popish doctrine thus affords a curious commentary on the other.

From this view, from its arrogance, from its self-righteousness, from its weak estimate of sin, from its inadequate appreciation of the law, from its false ideal of Christian life, and from all the practical evils that accrued from these errors, Protestants have revolted with such horror that they are extremely chary of approaching the subject of the perfection of Christians; and, indeed, it is only on Calvinistic soil that, from certain peculiarities in that system of opinions, theologians have felt themselves compelled to take up the question at all. The Lutheran takes no special interest in the work of progressive sanctification. Of course he has no mind to disparage it, and, if asked, will at once acknowledge that the regenerate ought to make gradual progress day by day; and that at death, when he enters glory, he will be completely perfect. But his sole and engrossing interest lies in the present; not in working out increasing holiness, but in getting and enjoying present justification. He is even disposed to look askance at the whole question of perfection, as savouring of the legal spirit. A conscious endeavour forwards, in the Christian life, is apt, he conceives, to endanger humility, and to decoy one away from a simple faith in divine grace for salvation. A righteousness of works is his particular aversion, and in his zeal to shun that evil, he is apt to forget that there is laid upon the Christian a real work of righteousness which it is his business to accomplish. With the Lutheran the Christian warfare is, in a manifold sense, a "fight of faith." Its great object is to preserve his faith, and this for two reasons, 1st. Because, under the Holy Spirit's guidance, faith of itself affords him immediate assurance of his salvation in the feeling of joy and peace that accompanies it. He deems it as absurd to doubt the reality of a justification which makes him now happy, as it would be to doubt the reality of the sin which had before made him miser-

able. But, in his opinion, he may lose his faith, and with his faith his assurance, and with his assurance his peace, and, once more the prey of profound conviction of sin, he seeks to rekindle repentance and faith at those means of grace which had lit them up at first. His life he thus finds to be a constant *pœnitentia*, a continuous falling and rising again; and this is the characteristic of the Christian walk, that takes chief hold of his mind, and not so much its steady progress, in spite of those falls. 2d. The other reason is, that he believes faith will of itself yield works. If one has faith, why should he give a thought more to works? They are indeed best not thought of; for to think of them brings a snare. They will come of themselves. Luther once said, that to say the believer ought to perform good works, is as preposterous as to say God ought to do so. The believer does good works, as the sun shines and the flowers bloom, because it is his nature to. True, no man is all believer. There is still much untamed evil in his members that refuses to obey the rule of his new and better mind, and still needs the help of the law to subdue it. The Lutheran has a profound consciousness of the tenacity of indwelling sin, which keeps him indeed from thinking that, in every sense, all is gained when faith is gained, but which also keeps him from even surmising that he will ever, in this life, eventually overcome it. With all Protestants, he counts monastic perfection a false ideal, and absolute moral perfection an ideal unrealised on earth; but he differs from other Protestants in the indifference, if not the positive discouragement, he shews to conscious efforts to realise it. The growth in grace is, in his conception, one we run more chance of marring than of helping by our own husbandry.

The Calvinist looks on the matter with quite other eyes. In his mind good works, the observance of the law, and progress towards moral perfection, assume for the believer an importance which the Lutheran cannot endorse. The Lutheran, as we have seen, finds the evidence of his personal salvation in the joy he experiences in believing. But, says the Calvinist, this feeling of joy, like all other feelings, may be deceptive; and the only real test of our faith is the observation of how it wears and what it yields. Our perseverance and our good works, as the fruits of our faith, are its only true and satisfactory *criteria*. But by good works we do not mean this work, and that, and

the next, for all outward works may be performed apart from the right inner motive, and they therefore afford no trustworthy test. What is meant is the inward purpose of obedience, together with the outward works that flow from it. A clear, continuous purpose of the will is that in us by which we can be least deceived. From these considerations it will be at once manifest how the subjects of progressive sanctification and Christian perfection should have, for the Calvinist, a profound personal interest. His perseverance in the life of faith, his persistent purpose of new obedience, his steady growth in holiness, become for him the marks by which he is to judge whether he be a child of God or no. Theoretical needs, springing from the more systematic treatment which theological topics received in the Calvinistic churches, may have contributed to the same result; but the first impulse to it was, without doubt, the urgent practical necessity of the religious life which I have now mentioned.

In taking up the question of perfection, the old Calvinistic theologians adopted from the schoolmen the distinction between *perfectio partium*, perfection in the sense of entireness, perfection which possesses every essential part or organ, and *perfectio graduum*, in which these parts have attained their completest development, and discharge their functions with absolute accuracy. The latter is sinless or legal perfection, and is never attained by the Christian in this life, though he is, and ought to be, ever striving on towards it. The former is the part of every Christian even here, and constitutes what is called evangelical perfection. Sometimes it is described as a *perfectio sinceritatis*, as consisting in a true faith, and in single-hearted and undivided loyalty to the divine will. Sometimes it is described as made up partly of imputed, partly of inherent, righteousness. The imputed righteousness is, of course, the perfect righteousness of Christ, by virtue of which God regards and treats us as righteous, while we are yet far from being so in fact; and the inherent is partly a righteousness of purpose and partly of performance. In their purpose of new obedience all Christians are alike; but in performance each differs from the other. There are degrees and varieties of Christian attainment, regulated by the bent of individual character, and other causes. So far, then, the Calvinistic view of evangelical perfection corresponds with what we have already

found to be the apostolic doctrine, and understands by the phrase a clear conception of the nature of our Christian calling, and a clear purpose and endeavour to fulfil it.

But, according to the old dogmatic, he who was evangelically perfect must needs keep in view, as a further and final end, to become legally perfect. True, this end was unattainable on earth, on account of the tenacity of hereditary sin, as the Lutheran teaches, or of the continued connection with the body, as the Calvinist prefers to think. It was attained only at death, and then by all believers, as a condition of their reception into glory. But it must be aimed at here, and it must be in good part even overtaken here. Otherwise the effect ascribed to death would be magical. Death is, indeed, a supreme crisis, and may well work psychological changes of transcendent consequence, but its influence on the work of holiness cannot be reckoned large. For all sin has not a corporeal origin, and it therefore does not necessarily vanish with the body. Holiness is a spiritual thing, and can neither be made nor unmade by a purely physical event. It is a gradual growth, and in growing, must obey the laws of personality. Calvinistic ascetic accordingly insists largely on the progress of holiness in this life as a preparation for a step towards the enjoyment of perfect holiness and glory in the next; and of some Christians it at times ventures to pronounce that before death they had reached very near indeed to that state in which they would be found on the other side of the veil. This regard on the part of Calvinism for the principle of continuity, and for other psychological laws, pertains to the deeper scientific character of its theology over that of Lutheranism.

Another point the Calvinist makes is this. We have already seen him declaring good works and progressive holiness necessary, in the first place, to secure assurance of salvation; and in the next, to prevent death from being invested with a purely magical influence; and now, in the third place, it is necessary, as the essential means and instrument of blessedness. Happiness comes from holiness; as the latter increases, so does the former; and final and complete blessedness becomes the part of the redeemed in glory, who is purified from evil through and through, and is now spotlessly holy, as God is holy. The joy of the saints in heaven consists in the full communion of the soul with the Lord, which is spoken of in the Bible as seeing God, and among

divines, as the beatific vision. Now it is the pure heart that sees God, and if we are to see the Lord as He is, we must be like Him, and be pure even as He is pure. Now this is a concatenation which is quite foreign to the thinking of the Lutheran. In his mind, blessedness flows in upon the soul directly and at once in justification. After his profound depression on account of sin, he is enraptured with the forgiveness he has found, and can conceive no nobler or fuller heaven than he there and then enjoys. Calvinists, on the other hand, hold that believers in this life grow up into meetness for heaven, and that they may even now acquire an increasing share of the purity, and a deepening foretaste of the bliss, that await them hereafter.

With all this, however, they are resolute that no Christian on this side the borderland has ever yet attained complete perfection ; that, indeed, it is unattainable in the body. But, as a rule, they are far from saying it ought not to be aspired after. Samuel Hopkins would seem inclined to this view, and says we are better without it. "It is," he says, "on the whole most wise and best . . . that the saints should be sanctified but in part while in this world, and attended with much imperfection and sin to the end of life." It is so, because "if they were perfectly holy, they would not be fit to live in this disordered, sinful world ;" they would not receive the education they now do from the trials of life ; and they would not so effectually have learnt the depravity of their own heart, or "the power, wisdom, goodness, truth, and faithfulness of the Redeemer." This teleological view of our present imperfections is quite in keeping with the genius of the Calvinistic theology. The remains of sin serve for spiritual exercise to the pious. They train him to humility, to patience, to entire dependence on divine grace for all good. They wean him from the world ; they fix his heart more firmly on the pure and enduring joys of heaven ; and they incline his mind to accept death with a more cheerful spirit. Calvin quotes with approval from Augustine, that he has no objection to admit a perfection which implies a constant consciousness of imperfection, because such a consciousness is essential to the preservation of humility, which is the very quick of the Christian character. Perfection may be the goal of the Christian life, but, says Calvin, penitence is the highway ; for, as the work of grace goes on, it unfolds

depth on depth of sin in us, and by revealing it, bestirs us to fresh repentance and renewed application of the blood of Christ, in which it is all wiped away. The goal must needs be kept well in sight, but must never be mistaken for the highway.

This Protestant doctrine has suffered various important modifications at the hands of Methodism. That system gives a more specific definition of the *perfectio partum*, and it acknowledges, and in fact becomes the apostle of, a *perfectio graduum*. The perfection of parts in the Christian, the distinctive form or idea of the Christian life, what it specially consists in, is love to God, excited, under the blessed influence of the Holy Spirit, by faith in the redemption of Christ, and exercising so great power over the man as to free him from all that may be called sinful, from the guilt, the power, and the indwelling of sin. Some Christians may not attain such perfection in this world, and others may do so early in life, but in the case of most it supervenes a little before death, when the light of the day that never sets is already breaking upon their spirits. Their perfection, however, does not exclude all natural infirmities. It may be accompanied by much ignorance and other traces of feeble character. But such weaknesses are neither in themselves sinful, nor the consequence of anything that is so. They are not due to the remains of original sin, but only to the continued union with the body. In this appears a resemblance to orthodox Calvinism, which also holds that our infirmities will vanish with our body, but strongly maintains at the same time that, while they are there, they are sinful. The perfect man of Methodism, however, is not dispensed from obedience to the law of God; it is in that very obedience that his perfection consists. In obeying the law he attains his perfection, not so much by a sustained progress as by successive leaps. It may possibly accompany justification, but, as a rule, it comes later. It is not wrought out by the regenerate, any more than regeneration is wrought out by the penitent. It is not, indeed, wrought out at all. It comes upon the Christian—comes suddenly, in an instant, like regeneration, from the Spirit of God. Another point is, that the perfect man may grow more perfect. He may keep on increasing for ever in the love of God. He may also lose his perfection, just as the regenerate may lose his regeneration, and the penitent his

penitence. Grace of any degree may be lost, and he who to-day struts in all the glory of perfection, may to-morrow have to go back to his letters, and fight his way up again from the first. This peculiarity of their doctrine, however, plays a valuable part, in counteracting certain mischievous consequences their system would otherwise involve. For a perfection that may be increased, and, above all, a perfection that may be entirely lost, will never suffer its possessor to fold his arms in indolent contentment with his attainments. He will be spurred on to higher things, or kept ever on the watch, lest when he thinks he stands, he should be on the brink of falling.

No evidence can be given by which we may surely test another's perfection. The perfect man may not be so active in outward Christian work as ordinary Christians; he may not be so gifted in prayer; his perfection is an inward thing, and dwells apart from outward labours in the secret things of the heart. We must therefore take his own personal testimony to his perfection, for we have no other competent evidence; and the only check we can subject it to, is—(1) the previous character of the person for honesty and truthfulness; (2) the consistency of his outward conduct with his profession; and (3) the correspondence of his experience, as related by himself, with the scriptural account of the processes of the religious life. So far of others; but how is the man himself to judge of his perfection? It must not be taken as sufficient proof of the fact that he feels no sin. We must, in addition to this, have the positive testimony of the Holy Spirit, which is given chiefly in the sense of joy and peace which the believer experiences. It is no violation of humility for a person to believe himself to be perfect, or to declare his belief in public; for if God in His providence has made him perfect, it is not that he should luxuriate in his attainments in selfish solitude, but it is for the sake of the Church, that he may become a spur and an example and a guide to his less fortunate brethren.

Now, the taproot of Methodist doctrine on this subject is the shallow appreciation of original or indwelling sin that obtains in that system. Methodism deserves to be held in everlasting honour for its zealous promotion of living religion in unspiritual days; but in its defective view of sin, it has adopted a cardinal error, from which a whole system of false religious psychology has followed. Methodism bears traces of

Lutheran influence, and in various quarters approaches very near to Lutheran doctrine. Its view of penitence is Lutheran; its doctrine of immediate assurance is Lutheran; but it wants altogether the Lutheran's profound sense of the tenacity of that hereditary corruption, whose extent he only begins to see, and whose power he only begins rightly to feel, at regeneration. With the Methodist, the subjective feeling of peace, the rapture of the new-got reconciliation, seems to drown all trace of the pollution that still cleaves to our nature. And this result is aided by his imperfect understanding of the psychological laws of moral character. He does not seem to recognise the fact that an old habit and a constitutional tendency cannot be got rid of in a day; that a bent once contracted cannot be removed by a single pull, however strenuous and for the time successful that pull may be. There is a resistance in rooted natural bias that he does not dream of. He has no conception of the principle of continuity as a law of all being. Moral changes, whether from ill to good or from good to ill, are all, in his view, affairs of a moment. He construes the whole religious history of man as a series of sudden crises. The fall was a sudden crisis; an instantaneous plunge from the inconceivable purity and holiness of the state of innocence, into an abyss of sin, and a degradation of moral character, whose horror words fail him to paint. Penitence is a sudden crisis; the sinner wakes up as from a dream, and is all at once conscious of his dismal condition, and involved in the sharpest sorrow. Again, regeneration is a sudden crisis; the penitent sinner, anxious, unhappy, desolate, crying in the pitiless night, and longing bitterly for the morrow, sees at length a great light suddenly break upon him, even the divine comfort of the blessed gospel, and is restored by an instantaneous transformation to—it may be—the original purity of his state in paradise. That lasts as long as the faith and love of the new life are still strong upon him; but these may relax, and if he sin again, that is a new fall. He may fall, he may rise again; and in either case the transition is a sudden crisis. So is the attainment of perfection; it is not a slow acquisition, it is a sudden gift. Now, it is not to be denied that our religious life, like all our life, passes through crises; but one finds fault with Methodism only for attributing to them effects which they cannot possibly produce. If, now, we ask why the Methodist

should have formed this false estimate, the reason lies ready at hand. It springs from the undue weight he assigns to religious emotion, which naturally runs higher at such epochs than in the ordinary course of life; and the reason why he attributes such undue weight to religious emotion is, that it is in religious emotion he discerns the testimony of the Holy Spirit, and obtains the assurance of his personal salvation. Assurance is the pivot on which many important differences of doctrine among the Protestant churches turn; and the Methodist finds his in the joy, the rapture, that attends believing. The praxis of his system, the whole bearing of its practical working, is accordingly directed to the end of maintaining such a feeling of joy; and this brings me round again to what I have already said, that the nursing and cherishing of the subjective feeling of peace, keeps out of his view the extent of the moral defilement that still adheres to our nature.

Like many other systems, Methodism bears the impress of the religious experience of its founder. With religious feelings early developed, John Wesley had for long years subjected himself to strenuous spiritual discipline, with the purpose of bringing his life nearer what God would have it to be. But the even tenor of such holy living was interrupted, when he was labouring as a minister in Georgia, by new experiences. He was smitten of a sudden with an intense feeling of sorrow for sin, and this remained unsolaced till, on his return to London, he was reading Luther's commentary on the Romans, when he experienced an equally intense feeling of joy and assurance that his sins were taken away. Henceforth he prized as the most precious elements of spiritual life these accesses of intense religious emotion; but as the aims and efforts of his previous spiritual history could not cease to exercise an influence over him still, his doctrine of perfection may be regarded as the continuance under the new influences of his early struggle after personal holiness. The summit was the same, though where he had before to toil slowly and painfully upward, he could now be lifted suddenly on the wings of religious emotion.

I shall pass from this remarkable religious movement to the theory of an important German divine of the present day—Professor Ritschl of Göttingen—in whose system the doctrine of Christian perfection plays a part of the first rank. His view

is built essentially on the lines of the old Protestant doctrine, though he diverges somewhat from them in one or two particulars, and gives to the whole topic a fuller development and a more outstanding prominence in the Christian system. His theory has already been brought before the readers of this *Review*,¹ so that I shall do nothing but refer to its leading features. He separates broadly legal perfection from evangelical. The former is a dream. The positive statutory moral law is, from its very nature, incapable of being fulfilled by a finite being. It stands ever before us as a *Thou shalt*, and enjoins at every single minute the performance of every possible and actual duty to every person in the world. It binds us to serve our fellowman in Burmah or Peru, as certainly as our friend in York or Edinburgh. Now, it is clearly impossible to observe this without omission. If we do one duty, we must neglect others; for we can do only one thing at a time. The law is too broad for us to overtake it. And this is not due to the fall. It is not our natural corruption that makes us unable to fulfil the law. It is our essential finitude. Though we had never fallen, though we were freed from sin to-morrow, in the state of innocence, in the state of glory, we should still be as far as ever from filling out the measure of the law's demands. That can be done only by an infinite being. It is thus plain that man can never reach perfection, if by perfection be meant the complete fulfilment of all the law lays down. Only a god can fulfil it. Mystics, who have not the sense of law, may talk of their perfection, may talk even, as they do, of their deification; but this "begodded condition," as Henry More calls it, is nothing but enthusiasm. No man, with a sober appreciation of the law, can ever think of his life as being perfect, can ever regard it, if he look to the demands of the law, with that confidence, with that sense of having whereof to boast, which Paul speaks of possessing; or can ever acquire the assurance of his personal salvation, or that feeling of joy to which we are so often summoned by the inspired writers, and which is the feeling of perfection.

If we are to attain these—and we are expected to do so in the New Testament—then, instead of the boundless and impracticable obligation which the law seems to impose, we must discover some principle by which the demands of the law may

¹ No. XCI. January 1875, p. 137.

be brought into harmony with the conditions of individual life, and our individual duty may present itself to us with the roundness and completeness of something which is fairly within our power, and which we may look back on with a certain sense of satisfaction. Now that principle is, that in all we do, and say, and are, we ought to make of ourselves and our history a whole after our kind. This principle Ritschl identifies with the law of gospel obedience, connecting it in a peculiar and somewhat ingenious fashion with the religious feelings that properly flow from the Christian sense of conscious reconciliation with God. The desire to make of ourselves a whole, and so to be in ourselves something, with an independent value of our own, and not a mere insignificant part of the material world, is, in his mind, the source and aim of all religion. What one seeks in religion is, to escape from his subordinate position as a part of nature, and to make himself a whole by union with a supernatural being. The heathen thinks he finds this diviner and completer life of independence of the world and all its ills, in ecstatic states and crises of a purely physical origin. The Jew sought the same result in a participation in the destined divine government of the world ; but as this government was bound up with national politics, it was a thing that never was, but always was to be ; so that the Jew, though rightly construing the union with God as a moral one, never was able to gain the feeling of present, as distinguished from predestined, victory over the world. Christianity alone gives such a guarantee, and in doing so proves its divine origin as the only religion which really attains the end which all religion aims to reach. It is only through the Christian conception of the kingdom of God—it is only through the consciousness of working in a sphere, and for ends, that are far above the play of the natural forces and the restraints of physical necessity, that one feels himself to be a whole, and to substantiate the estimate pronounced by Christ, that our life is worth more than the whole world.

But the entrance to this kingdom can be effected only by renunciation of sin ; and this is wrought by reconciliation with God through the redemption of Christ. The kingdom of God is accordingly the sphere where men exercise towards God, and towards one another, the spirit of men who have been forgiven much. This spirit shews itself in the first place, in relation to

God, in an implicit faith in the continued providence over them of Him who has redeemed them, and who will cause all things to work together for their good; and this faith is exhibited in humility towards God, and patience towards the world and its ills, and is sustained by the constant exercise of prayer. In relation to man, the same spirit conduces to active promotion of one another's good; and if our labours in this direction are to be worth anything at all, we must not dissipate them in trying too much or too many things; we must not follow the uncertain guidance of what Fichte calls a "morality that seeks adventures;" we must know what we are to live for, and concentrate our activity on a specific life-work. That is to say, it is through our daily calling we best subserve the purpose of the divine kingdom, and contribute our share to the general welfare. This part of Ritschl's doctrine seems to have a peculiar interest in his own eyes, as it will doubtless have in those of many others in our day, when so much is said about the sacredness of work. He finds a theological basis for it in the statements of Paul, that we ought to abide in the ordinary calling we pursued when the Christian call found us (1 Cor. vii. 20); that unless we follow some calling, and work for our living, we have no claim on the church for support (2 Thess. iii. 10-12); and, finally, that we ought to rest our confidence on the fact that we carry out a work (Gal. vi. 3, 4); and that he applied to himself the same standard, and regarded as the ground of his satisfaction, of his "boasting," the fact that, in his calling he had accomplished a work that should stand before the divine judgment, and be the guarantee of his blessedness (1 Cor. iii. 5-8; 1 Thess. ii. 19). A similar sanctification of our secular calling Ritschl finds in the Augsburg Confession (ii. 6, sec. 49, 50), where Christian perfection is stated to consist in "reverence towards God, and confidence through Christ in His favour towards us; in prayer to Him, and the sure expectation of His help in all we undertake in our ordinary calling, and in the diligent performance of good works in prosecuting our calling."

The only other point in Ritschl's theory of which I shall take notice is, that he does not count that perfection of believers, which consists in faith, humility, patience, prayer, and steady work at our calling, to be at all impaired by the perception of checks and imperfections in the exercise of these functions.

We may never get beyond such imperfections ; we may never feel ourselves done and ready, and as good as good can be ; we may always be able to see some flaw, some serious blot, some failure, some omission, some weakness, in all we do ; but perfection is not an affair of quantity, but of quality, and so our life-work may make a whole of its kind, though not so big a whole as we might desire ; our faith may be really faith, though now it is weaker, and again stronger ; and, on the whole, so long as our heart beats a true response to our reconciliation, and the Christian aim keeps ever predominant, a certain latitude may be allowed for error and deviation, as in the case of all organisms, without thereby impairing the essential character and perfection of the new life itself. The spiritual life is a whole, so long as the free choice which accepted God stands ready to quell all hostile suggestions ; and if outbreaks of mistrust and impatience are yoked with the purpose to control and subdue them, they constitute, in the qualitative sense, really evidences of perfection.

Now the features in this theory which are of most interest, and which the author has taken the most pains to delineate, are the definition of evangelical perfection, as consisting in being a whole after our kind, and the stress he lays, in following out this view, on work in our calling, as the channel through which the pith of our service to the community must flow.

To take up the last point first, it is certainly a valuable thing to shew us, that if we are not to waste our life, our good works must take the form of a life-work, and that life-work must centre round a particular calling. That calling may be only a manual trade, but its service is not therefore the less important ; for what contribution to the happiness of a neighbourhood could be less spared than that of the tailor who makes its clothes, or the cobbler who mends its shoes ? The humblest artisan, if he rise to the conception of the kingdom of God as a sphere in which every man does a work after his kind for the good of the whole, and that work is mainly that of his ordinary calling, may exercise, as Luther says, the quality of a spiritual person, and feel himself a fellow-labourer with God in realising the ends of His kingdom.

The other chief element in Ritschl's theory is open, perhaps, to more criticism. That our perfection, under the gospel, consists in making of ourselves a whole after our kind, is quite

true ; it is substantially identical with the doctrine of the old divines, that it consisted in a *perfectio partium*, in our being an organic unity, wanting nothing essential to our nature as Christians, though having, it may be, nothing in its fullest development. But in seeking a Christian basis for this view, our author has confounded, or unduly commingled, the ethical aim of being a whole with the religious desire for fellowship with God. I cannot agree with Ritschl that these two are one and the same thing. It is not the desire of being a whole, instead of a part, which is the source and aim of religion, but the 'desire for spiritual, instead of purely physical, fellowship ; as is shewn by the fact that, after this desire is fully gratified in the Christian kingdom of God, we are still only parts, and not wholes—parts, however, of a spiritual, and not now of a material, system. You may say that in this spiritual fellowship you are treated as a person, not as a thing ; but a person may be a part, and a thing a whole. How is a man to be taken as more distinctively a whole than an oak or a mountain ? Each may be a part or each may be a whole, according as you look on it. And the point we seek in religion is to be a spiritual whole rather than a material whole, or a spiritual part rather than a material part. It is as spirit we value ourselves so highly, and not as being a whole ; it is as spirit, and not as a whole, that Christ values us so highly, when He says one soul exceeds the whole world in worth. As spirit, we are akin with the Deity, and know ourselves to be so. We have a soul above matter, which refuses to say to the clod, "Thou art my fellow," or to the worm that inhabits it, "Thou art my brother," and which will neither bend to the constraint of physical necessity, nor submit tamely to the buffetings of the material forces. Among the primitive heathen, who had neither the idea of the unity of nature, nor that of the independence of spirit, religion was very much just a means of getting to the windward of the hostile, half-spiritual powers of nature, and of escaping from an anxious, vigilant fear of them, by securing against their assaults a spiritual, a supernatural alliance with more beneficent beings. In higher forms of pagan culture, such as Buddhism, where the belief in the unity of nature has been acquired without that of the independence of spirit, the repugnance to the idea of submitting to matter, and rolling for ever in the whirl of physical change, seems only to have won so much the more extraordinary

intensity, that the desire to escape from that whirl into utter annihilation, has become the ruling motive of the religious life. If the alternative be, matter or non-existence, then welcome non-existence. In both cases we find the wish to step forth, like the spiritual beings they feel themselves to be, clear and free from all the trammels and tyranny of matter; but in neither case is there the faintest trace of the idea of becoming a whole, unless you identify wholeness with freedom or with spirituality.

The religious instinct, then, which seeks a supernatural spiritual fellowship as a guarantee for our superiority to the material nature we live in, is one thing, and the ethical purpose of making of our life something whole and complete in itself, is quite another thing; and I cannot help thinking that Ritschl has unduly confounded them together in his theory. They may be combined, however, and ought to be so; as in Christian life, so in theological doctrine. They may be combined, but not identified, as has been done by Ritschl. Our actual work is shaped into a unity, by being transformed and guided by the spirit of that spiritual fellowship with a reconciled God, which we enjoy in the kingdom of heaven. Christian fellowship is a fellowship with a God of love, a God who forgives us, who redeems us, and who in His gracious providence makes all things work for our good. Love becomes thus the principle of the Christian life, and, as Methodism has rightly seen, is the positive constituent of evangelical perfection, just as it is also the sum and substance of the moral law. Love to God and love to man are one principle. This may be shewn in many ways. For one, he who loves God with the love of one who has been himself forgiven, will exercise a forgiving spirit to others. Again, love to God implies our intelligent sympathy with His nature, and will, and desires—that is, with His loving-kindness towards men. Again, love to man is the means by which love to God receives expression. Love is an affection which, of its very nature, prompts to acts of kindness to the person beloved, and languishes if such an outlet is denied it. It must be immediately translated into act, and this is not merely the expression of the emotion, but the instrument of its growth. The moment you do your neighbour a kind turn, you begin to like him better. A love which never seeks expression in act, is dead and delusive, and a love which never gets expression,

cannot thrive. Now, in the case of love to God, there is this peculiarity, that its object is beyond the sphere of sense. God is unseen; Christ has ascended. How are we to reach Him in heaven to tell Him our love? In His kindness to us He has not left us without a provision for this necessity. He has asked us to recognise Him in any of our fellow-men that stands in need of our help. "Inasmuch as ye did it to one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me." . . . "Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it not to me."

Love to God and love to man, then, are one and the same principle; and this principle of love, which is only possible for one reconciled through Christ, is the characteristic and the power of the new life. It is the single trunk, from which all the branches and foliage of that life spread. By its means, too, we perceive the essential unity that subsists between legal perfection and evangelical, which in Ritschl's system seem put too far out of all relation with one another. The law is the multifarious expression of love in all its many-sided applications. Love is the fulfilling of the law, and he is evangelically perfect whose life, amid many shortcomings and failures, is still ruled by this principle of love, which is the spirit that dictates and transfuses the law. He may fall into many sins, and betray many imperfections, but if he understands this principle clearly, and strives earnestly to obey it, he is pursuing the end of his being, and exhibiting the essential character of Christian perfection.

If we ask now for a fuller delineation of the nature of this principle, I do not know any better account of it than Ritschl gives. As towards God, it shews itself in implicit trust to His providential guidance as the Father of His people, in humility, in resignation to His will, in patience under His dispensations, in the constant exercise of prayer. And as towards man, if our active love to them is not to run to waste, we must choose and concentrate our work for them into the channel of a particular profession. The principle to guide us in making this choice is that of becoming a whole after our kind. JOHN RAE.

ART. VI.—*Ultramontanism in France.*

De l'Etat présent de l'Eglise Catholique-romaine en France. Par l'Abbé E. MICHAUD, Docteur en Théologie. Paris : Sandoz & Fischbacher. 1875. [This work, printed in Brussels, and sold by the publishers, Murgmardt & Co. (Brussels), is "prohibé" in France.]

THOSE who wish to know something of the power of the Ultramontane party in France, and of the tendencies of modern Romanism, could not do better than study this book. They will there be able to trace the gradual encroachments of the Jesuits, who, step by step, have rendered themselves all-powerful in France, and are continuing their crusade over Europe. In the first chapter of his book the Abbé Michaud¹ exposes the tactics by which the Ultramontanists have succeeded in gaining the ascendancy in France :

"Their first step was to annihilate the individual beneath the priest, the priest beneath the bishop, the bishop beneath the Pope, or rather beneath the Romish congregations. When this was done, a lay party was to be organised, which would be supposed to be doing exclusively the work of advanced sharpshooters upon the infidel rationalists and free-thinking politicians, but which would in reality rule over every one—individuals, priests, bishops—for the benefit of the Romish congregations, and the greater glory of the Pope. This result once obtained, the Jesuits had only to lay hold of the Romish congregations at Rome, and of the Pope, and, in France, of the Ultramontane lay party. In this way the Jesuits would be masters of the situation, and the Roman Catholic Church in France would merely be one of the administrative provinces of their order."

The author proceeds to shew how faithfully their plan has been carried out, till the whole country has been bound hand and foot, and is now at the mercy of its deadliest foes.

The aims of the Ultramontanists are essentially *political*. They lean by turns upon each party that is in power—Legitimist, Orleanist, Bonapartist, Republican—and each party, aware of their influence, seeks to prop itself up by playing into the hands of the clergy. But the ultimate aim of the Jesuits is to restore Henry V., and to bring back the state of things which obtained before the Revolution of 1789.

¹ Our author was at one time a priest of the Church of Rome, but left it under protest after the promulgation of the Immaculate Conception, and joined the Greek Church. He is honest, liberal, and well-informed, proving all his statements from documents, some of which are even favourable to Rome.

So long ago as the Restoration, the Cardinal de Bonald wrote : "The Jesuits have endowed Europe at once with a *political* and a *religious militia*." In 1826, one of the members spoke thus before the House of Deputies : "It is said that during the days that preceded or followed the Restoration, a *political* association was formed to prepare the return, so ardently desired, of the Bourbons, and to raise round their throne a *rampart of devoted adherents*." And M. Montolosier, who knew the Jesuits well, called them *conspirators*, bound together by an oath, even to the effusion of blood. If this was the case under the Restoration, how much more so since the Vatican Council ! In 1871 Mons. de Ségur published a pamphlet to establish the royalty of the Count de Chambord, and having deposited it at the feet of the Pope, received a letter full of congratulations. On the 1st of January 1872 the Cardinal Archbishop of Chambéry, desirous of securing the triumph of an Ultramontane candidate, wrote to the priests of his diocese : "Recommend all your electors to go and vote, and to elect a good Catholic ; tell them it is an obligation of conscience not to be shirked, under *pain of their committing a heinous sin*." The apparitions of the Virgin in Alsace and elsewhere are nothing but political stratagems. The Ultramontane papers gave the following account of one of these : "The Virgin bore in her hand a flaming sword. . . . Suddenly the lady in white waved her sword over numerous warriors, who came to range themselves at her feet," &c. . . . And again : "At the feet of the Virgin a terrible combat was engaged between French and Prussians. The French are led by a general mounted on a white horse, and, wonderful to relate, this general has only one of his feet in the stirrups—one of his legs seems stiff.' Beside him floats the white banner with the *fleurs-de-lis*, &c." In almost every one of her appearances, the Virgin ceases not to announce the approaching advent of Henry V. The continual pilgrimages and processions are organised for the same end. The burden of the pilgrims' hymns and their shouts of exultation all end with, "Long live Henry V. ! Long live the Pope !" A number of members of Parliament took part in the pilgrimage to Lourdes, in 1873 ; and out of 107 members of the ladies' committee, 97 were Legitimists. It is clear that the Pope counts upon the eldest son of the Church to restore

¹ The Count de Chambord is lame.

his temporal dominion. This makes it worth while to notice a little work which appeared last year, written by an Abbé Beaujard, and recommended by the "Semaine religieuse" of Paris. It is entitled, "Little Geography of the Future, followed by a word to the King of Prussia," and is intended to instil, from the present moment, the ideas it expresses into the minds of "youth and childhood." The Pope is here styled, "He who is superior to kings and leaders of the people; he who brings to mankind the decrees of heaven." Rome and Jerusalem, with the Holy Land and St Peter's patrimony, are claimed for him. The author wishes that Œcumenical Councils be held at Rome, and universal State Congresses at Jerusalem, under the eyes and influence of the Pope; that the Roman Catholic calendar be universally used, and the events of history grouped round the Pope.

Need we point out to what dangers France is exposing herself in throwing herself into the arms of this politico-religious confederation? Between it and the liberal party there can be no peace, since the principle of political and religious equality, acknowledged since the Revolution, is abomination in its eyes. Take, for instance, the following extract from an oration by an officer in the French army, Captain de Mun, upon the rights of the governing classes:

"I affirm that the brutal dogma of equality is a lie; I declare that it is dangerous. . . . It has produced these insensate theories, according to which all functions are accessible to every one; all would have the right to interfere in the government and in the public affairs. . . . It is not true that the direction of public affairs is not the legitimate privilege, and, as it were, the hereditary right, of certain classes. . . . To those to whose lot has fallen fortune, intelligence, and the benefit of instruction, belongs *the right of commanding*, of governing, and the duty of protecting the weak; *the part of the others is to obey*. . . . to accept with Christian resignation the more modest but not less useful part that Providence has assigned to them. (Applause.) You would not wish that this land of France, blessed by the miracles of God, should remain in the hands of the Revolutionists who at present detain and use it for their own ends."

This speech was made under the government of M. Thiers. Captain de Mun next proceeds to declaim against those who try to enlist the working-classes on their side:

"Let us also recruit the working-men. . . . Perhaps at first you will only be able to gather a few. Do not be discouraged. . . . The day will come in which we will call ourselves Legion, and throughout the

whole world the wretched handful of Revolutionists, condemned to helplessness, will be reduced to vociferate to heaven the cry of the apostate, 'Galilean, thou hast conquered.' Ah ! *to those let there be no pity shewn, for they are not the people—they are Hell.* It is therefore a crusade that I am preaching ; who would dare to throw obstacles in our way, when we are seeking, by only sure and lawful means, the ground of *social reconciliation !*' (Thunders of applause.)¹

After such an incendiary speech as this, we can hardly be surprised to hear of the alliance between the Ultramontanists and the Socialists. Since the end justifies the means, why should the Jesuits scruple to make use of the Socialists in the meanwhile, till the time come to crush them, and reign alone upon the ruins of the existing order of things ? The proofs of this monstrous alliance are too patent to leave any doubt about it.

In the end of July 1874, upon the occasion of the closing of the Catholic circles at Berlin, an association was concluded between the Ultramontanists and the Socialists. M. Hasselmann himself was present at the meeting of the Ultramontanists, and voted along with them the adoption of the statutes.² It is matter of public notoriety that of late the Socialist and the Polish deputies in the Reichstag have always voted along with the Ultramontane deputies, and that a new paper has been got up at Aix-la-Chapelle, entitled *Christlich-socialen Blätter*, the editors of which are Romish ecclesiastics.³ In Holland and in Switzerland there are signs of the same alliance having taken place. Besides this, a letter published by the *Opinion Nationale*, 28th July 1874, shews that a certain agreement exists not only between the Ultramontanists and the Socialists, but even between them and the Communists, in the Carlist affairs. This letter is from an honest Ultramontanist who went to defend the cause of Don Carlos in Spain, and who, seeing with what sort of mates he had got himself coupled, denounces in these terms the things of which he had himself been an eye-witness :

"What was not my deception, when I at once recognised in my battalion refugees from the insurrection in Paris, whose faces I had seen at Geneva. At first I thought that these individuals had surreptitiously introduced themselves into our ranks ; but my last illusion vanished when

¹ From *Le National* of 27th August 1874.

² See a despatch of the *Agence Havas*, 31st July 1874.

³ See the *Mercure Allemand*, 30th January 1875.

letters from my own country informed me that there existed a recruiting office in Geneva known only to the refugees, and that they had come away in considerable numbers. Still, for a long time I thought that our chiefs did not know these details; but when I heard one of them answer my observations by saying, quite coolly, 'If we would gain the end, we must make use of the means,' my only thought was how to escape safe and sound out of their hornet's nest. . . . I, who saw the wretched remnants of the Commune of Paris arrive at Geneva, can assure you that the identity between them and certain battalions of the Carlist army is complete."

Our author adds, by way of warning :

"In so far as France is concerned, if ever there were a complete fusion between the Socialists and the Ultramontanists, the result would be an immense danger, not only for the destinies of France, but also for the tranquillity of the other States of Europe, and for the progress of true civilisation. But is not the way preparing for this coalition? According to the *Univers* of 27th August 1874, Mons. de Ségur, President of the Congress of the *Workmen's Catholic Works* of Lyons, said on the 25th August, at the first sitting of the Congress, that the board of the union of the *Workmen's Catholic Works* had recently received a letter from one of the authorised personages of the International Society, in which he proposes to the directors of the union to unite with the International Society, recognising that they are both pursuing the same end,—that is, the moral and material amelioration of the working-classes, the family, religion, property, and the State."

Whatever may be the upshot of these negotiations, it is certain that the Ultramontanists form of themselves a real International Society, bound together by common interests, and sworn to defend the Pope to the death.

In four consecutive chapters the Abbé Michaud proceeds to prove with what unremitting zeal the Jesuits are working to get into their own hands *the army, the working-classes, the press, and the instruction of the young.*

The army.—They have filled the army with chaplains who watch vigilantly to see that the soldiers are present at the mass on Sundays and feast-days.¹ They have their military circles, where amusements and libraries, &c., are provided. The Jesuits are also contriving to fill the military school of St Cyr with their partisans. The *Univers* admits that "the

¹ Here, again, the Jesuits get things in their own way, for, according to the law, the assemblage of troops must be above 12,500 to justify the necessity of a Protestant chaplain, and 145,000 that of a Jewish chaplain. Hence, since an assemblage of troops to the number of 145,000 does not exist, there is never a Jewish chaplain, and, since it very seldom attains the number of 12,500, the result is that there is very rarely a Protestant chaplain.

company is on intimate terms with our military school of St Cyr." "It is certain," adds the Abbé Michaud, "that the Jesuits are just now urging as many of their pupils as possible into the military career. In 1859 only five of their pupils entered the military school of St Cyr; on the 30th July 1874, out of 3207 pupils, the Jesuits furnished 775."

There is a group of officers animated by the same spirit as Captain de Mun:

"Their official position, the congratulations addressed to them in governmental regions, and the manner in which they are exalted by the Ultramontane party, give them a real influence, and in a manner oblige their comrades who are desirous of advancement to imitate or at least approve them. The three monarchical parties all profess clericalism while the republicans affect an irreligion which shocks many officers and soldiers, and thus furthers the Ultramontane cause both in the army and in the country.

Nor is the navy overlooked. There is a school under their influence for the merchant navy, and at the same time for preparing young naval officers.

The working-classes.—But the mainstay of the party is in the working classes. They spare neither money nor trouble to enrol the working-men under their banner. *The Workmen's Catholic Circles* began their existence in 1871; at present there are 119 in France alone, directed by 2000 members, and frequented by 10,000 workmen. In these circles the workman finds a select library (in harmony with the Ultramontane spirit), saloons for games, newspapers, billiards, gardens fitted up with gymnastic apparatus. So-called scientific literary and professional lectures are given, &c., &c. We may judge of the spirit which animates these circles by a word quoted from *La France Républicaine* of Lyons, 1873. "The honest men of the catholic committees give a present of a revolver to the poor creatures whom they entice into what they call the Workman's Catholic Circles.¹ These societies are

¹ The same thing is taking place in Belgium. The *Presse Libérale* of 9th November 1875, says:—"According to a correspondence from Marchienne (Charleroi) in a Catholic newspaper, there have been sold within the last six weeks, mostly to the miners of the basin of Charleroi, more than 60,000 muskets with bayonets or cavalry carbines. The price of these arms was six shillings at first, but it has come down to about half-a-crown. The working classes, organised and embodied in their most fanatic and savage elements by the clergy and their adherents, are buying up arms at half-a-crown, and

so pleasing to the Pope that "he has gratified all the members of them with a series of plenary indulgences, and with the entire remission of their sins in the article of death." We cannot here enumerate all the associations and societies founded in the same spirit. There is a *Christian art* society, under the presidency of M. Gaume, which directs religious imagery, religious music, scenic representations, &c. And the Jesuits not only take the father in hand, there are societies of Christian mothers, *young men's* societies, societies for shop girls, for children, &c. The working-classes are enticed into these societies by material advantages. Assistance is given them when ill, and good places are found for them when they are out of work, &c.

The press.—The Ultramontanists have nearly the whole of the press at their command. "The volume, the review, the large daily papers, the little weekly and even daily papers, the almanac, the simple fly-leaf; nothing is wanting." Their means of spreading their literature are immense. They print their popular tracts by millions of copies, and they are sure to have readers, because they address themselves to the folly of mankind; besides which, they catechise the members of their societies, to make sure that they have read the tracts given to them. "Thanks to the administrative favours with which they are loaded by the government of Marshall M'Mahon, they have all the resources of colportage at their disposal."

The instruction of the young.—All the foregoing advantages would be nothing, if the Jesuits could not get the instruction of the young into their own hands. The law gives the priest access to all the communal schools, and, in virtue of their *lettres d'obedience*, female teachers belonging to religious houses are exempted from the necessity of being provided with a certificate of capacity. In this way many nuns, utterly incapable and grossly ignorant, keep schools, and contrive to stifle the day-schools kept by well-taught women. In 1873 the clergy received 30,000,000 francs (£1,200,000) from the budget of public instruction, besides which the congregation receive for their free schools large sums from the budget of

even at two shillings, coming, says the *Moniteur Belge*, from foreign countries, nobody knows from whence!! A fortnight ago a single ironmonger sold seven hundred of these muskets in one day, and the miners spend their Sunday afternoons in practising shooting at the target."

public worship, municipal and departmental subventions, the use of religious edifices, pilgrimages, parish fees, &c.

A third part of those children whose education goes no further than primary instruction, are taught in the congreganist schools in France. The Jesuits have the higher branches of instruction even more in their own hands.

“In spite of the results, parents, seduced by the promises made to them, and by some advantages at which they are gratified, send their children to the congreganist schools. The directors of these schools always take care to put the price of boarding lower than that of the lay schools.”

There are now three bishops on the board. The Bishop of Orléans has at present, in a great measure, the direction of the higher branches of education of the university of France, which it has long been their aim to ruin, besides which the government has granted them leave to establish universities of their own. In order to get hold of resident and day governesses, the Jesuits have organised at Paris a series of retreats for them. “They procure lucrative situations, and well-paid lessons, for those who are docile, and promise to be zealous ultramontanists.” Such are some of the means used, “to prepare a generation that will not apostatise,” according to the wishes of the Pope.

Universal suffrage, as it is practised in France, is also favourable to the schemes of the Jesuits, in this way, that, by giving material assistance to the poor, they obtain their votes.

But the question naturally arises, Whence do they raise money for all their different schemes? They receive immense legacies and donations; their lotteries bring in large sums, as well as the masked balls given at the opera, in favour of different charities. This money often finds a destination different from what the donor intended. The surplice fees, which the priests receive for the religious ceremonies, especially in Paris, are something extraordinary. It is calculated that the priest of the Madeleine alone receives £4000. The pilgrimages are another source of wealth. Here is a specimen of an appeal sent to Paray-le-Monial, for the pilgrims to fill up :

“Uniting myself with all French hearts who form the same desire, I engage myself, O my God, if Thou wilt deign to hear me—First, to consecrate in alms the sum of, &c. ; Second, to inspire others with the same

resolution." The "mite of filial love to our Holy Father, Pius IX., says that Pius IX., a prisoner, is obliged to live upon alms, that his greatest grief is to see himself without resources, and that consequently a universal subscription is opened."

Another subscription in connection with Notre Dame de Lourdes, and headed by Madame M'Mahon, says that the donor whose gift amounts to a minimum of one hundred francs, will have their name inscribed in a golden book laid up at Notre Dame de Lourdes. Then there are the miraculous waters of Lourdes, and a wondrous *liqueur*, which is said to surpass all other liqueurs.

After several other considerations, the Abbé Michaud starts the question, Will France be able to escape out of the net which is being so skillfully and warily drawn round it? He gives three reasons why the plot cannot succeed, in spite of appearances to the contrary.

1st. The Ultramontanists are, after all, but an infinitesimally small minority in the country. Napoleon used to say "that ten persons crying out make more noise than a thousand who are silent." The ten who are crying out in favour of Papal Infallibility are making more noise than the ten thousand who do not believe in it, and are silent. Then our partisans are obliged to confess that they are in the minority. The *Univers* even admits that the hatred of Ultramontanism in France is manifested by its policy.

2d. Ultramontanism has the public conscience against it:

"It enjoys a certain favour, because it has the religious edifices for it, which the public has been accustomed to frequent; because the government is favourable to it; because it is still the fashion not to have any other *official* religion; because the fashionable newspapers uphold it; . . . because it only *has mass which lasts but an hour*, which is so convenient! . . . But in France the fashion does not last long, and however strong it may appear, in the end it never has the upper hand of the public conscience. . . . Therefore Ultramontanism has no future in France. It is a sickly crisis, which will pass."

3d. The Ultramontanists themselves do not believe in their own principles, or at least the majority do not. How many are Roman Catholics by birth, by the exigencies of their position, or by timidity or human respect, or by the habit of routine? How many Papist doctors are there, who, like M. Beecheron, of the *Figaro*, are reduced to defend the miracles of La Salette by arguments such as these:

“Those who once believe what is contained in the holy scriptures *have no longer the right to speak of their reason*, and to sit side by side with the Voltairians. *Reason no longer exists*; powerless to find the Truth, powerless to satisfy the wants of the soul, subdued by the divine ethics of Christ, *reason is dead*—nothing remains but faith.”¹

Evidently men who pretend to be *reasonable*, and who place *Romish faith and reason* in such flagrant opposition, are laughing at Romish faith while making a show of it. A religion founded upon money and politics cannot last. “The gods of ancient Rome are dead, and decently buried in universal indifference; the god of modern Rome, the Pope, will die and be buried in like manner.”

What, then, is to take the place of Ultramontanism in France? The Republicans affect an irreligion which is, perhaps, more apparent than real. Shew them a religion that does not destroy, but elevates and ennobles the faculties, and satisfies the wants of the whole man, morally, intellectually, and socially, and no doubt many of them would listen to its claims. Here are the words of a writer in the *Revue Politique et Littéraire*, in a letter addressed to the Bishop of Angers upon the liberty of instruction in its higher branches:

“Let me tell you that we number in France a good many young men who are not the enemies of religion. We have inherited no hatred against it, and we remember the liberal movement of Lacordaire and Gerbet in 1830 with respect. He who has the honour of addressing you was a Catholic, a sincere Catholic, up to his twentieth year. But what would you have us do? On opening our eyes, and looking how things go on round about us, we found, alas! very little affinity between the spirit of the Gospel and that of the Church. The day came in which we found ourselves compelled to choose between Catholicism and liberty, and we chose liberty.”²

The Ultramontanists instinctively feel that Protestantism is their great enemy, as light is the enemy of darkness, and therefore they do all they can to confound it with free-thought—styling it “the father of irreligion, of indifference, and immorality.” The pamphlet from which these words are quoted is entitled, *Protestant and Catholic Nations*. It is very widely circulated, and has received the approval of the bishops. It is there expressly said:

“It was this current of infidelity (Protestantism) which was the cause of the French Revolution, and which, after having annihilated among us

¹ See the *Figaro* of 4th September 1873.

² See *Revue Politique et Littéraire*. Paris, 16th October 1875.

all respect and all authority, also overturned or shook the social order among the other Catholic peoples of Europe. It is this which for almost a century past has been the cause that these nations have no true constitutions. It is this, in short, which, by letting loose the anarchy of despotism upon them, has produced this comparative absence of security and internal peace, which impedes their march and weakens their life. . . . The Protestant system naturally leads to religious scepticism—that is, to Atheism, and, consequently, to cupidity, to the corruption of morals, and the degeneracy of the character.” . . . “Therefore it is clear,” adds the Abbé Michaud, “that the Ultramontanists in France must be desirous to make an end of the Protestant churches, and particularly of these great Protestant nations, Germany and England.”

We have before us a pamphlet, entitled *Protestantism*, written by a Belgian advocate,¹ purporting to be an answer to M. de Laveleye's *Protestantism and Catholicism*,² full of the grossest calumnies and falsehoods imaginable. Protestantism “leads fatally to free-thinking; it is the first step.” “The Reformation was the letting loose of hell upon earth.” Society is perishing for want of Catholicism and authority. Protestantism is either Cæsarism or anarchy; it is self-contradictory.

“For the last hundred years France has been Voltairian and infidel; Spain is dying, because it has rejected Catholic unity.” . . . The Protestant nations will not be able to maintain their civilisation, unless they reject their horrible doctrines of the Reformation; and the nations which are Catholic only *in name* are on the verge of ruin, because, having rejected the Catholic principle, they are a prey to the revolutionary demon!”

The author concludes by a violent appeal to the worst passions of the populace, which he very adroitly charges M. de Laveleye with exciting:

“Authors who treat of these matters lightly . . . are more guilty than can be expressed. . . . It is time, indeed, to give the mutineers a paternal rebuke when they have depicted the partisan of religion under the most odious colours, . . . Christianity as a vast imposture, free-thinking and Protestantism as safety, progress, liberty! Would these writers be surprised to see the youth whom they are modelling, and the people to whom they are throwing as fodder everything they have loved, honoured

¹ *Le Protestantisme, courte réponse à M. de Laveleye*, par Jules Camaner, avt. Closson & Cie., Rue St Jean 26. Bruxelles, 1875.

² *Protestantism and Catholicism*, &c., with an *Introductory Letter* by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. John Murray. 1875.

³ The Protestants cut down on St Bartholomew's Day, 1572, and banished at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685, caused the French Revolution; but it would be hard to say what Protestants the Inquisition left in Spain to kill it!

practised, adored, till now, turn to account the lessons of their masters, and rise like a single man against the common enemy, the Church, that leprosy which must be stamped out? The people have a natural logic of their own. Madmen are they who play with this dangerous child, whose fearful fury, once roused, will break into shivers both those who have lighted and those who are stirring it up! We do not prophesy in affirming that the next Revolution which is now preparing will be first anti-Catholic and then anti-social. The priest will precede the rich man, and the citizen will follow close upon the monk."

What is this but throwing fire-brands, arrows, and death among a fanaticised population? Could words say more plainly, "Let us make an end of the Protestants and free-thinkers before they make an end of us"? But the Ultramontanists had better beware. "Whoso diggeth a pit shall fall therein, and he that rolleth a stone, it shall return upon him."

C. DE FAYE.

ART. VII.—*Tischendorf and Tregelles as Editors of the Greek New Testament.*

Novum Testamentum Græce. Ad antiquissimos Testes Denuo Recensuit. Apparatum Criticum omni Studio Perfectum Apposuit, Commentationem Isagogicam, Prætexuit Constantinus Tischendorf. Editio octava. Lipsiæ. 1864–1872.

The Greek New Testament, edited from Ancient Authorities; with the various Readings of all the Ancient Manuscripts, the Ancient Versions, and earlier Ecclesiastical Writers (to Eusebius inclusive); together with the Latin Version of Jerome, from the Codex Amiatinus of the sixth century. By S. P. TREGELLES, LL.D. London. 1857–1872.

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: A New Translation, on the basis of the Authorised Version, from a critically revised Greek Text, newly arranged in Paragraphs, with Analyses, Copious References, and Illustrations from Original Authorities; New Chronological and Analytical Harmony of the Four Gospels, Notes and Dissertations. A contribution to Christian Evidence. By JOHN BROWN M'CLELLAN, M.A., Vicar of Bottisham, Rural Dean of North Camps, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Vol. I.—The Four Gospels, with the Chronological and Analytical Harmony. London. 1875.

Constantin Tischendorf in Seiner Fünfundzwanzigjährigen, Schriftstellerischen Wirksamkeit. Literar-Historische Skizze. VON DR JOH. ERNST VOLBEDING. Leipzig. 1862.

THE death of Dr Constantin Von Tischendorf (7th December 1874), followed only too soon by that of Dr Samuel P.

Tregelles (24th April 1875), affords a favourable, if at the same time a melancholy, opportunity of endeavouring to estimate not only the results of the labours of these two distinguished men, but also the state of the science of biblical criticism at the present moment, of the principles connected with it now contending for the mastery, and of its prospects for the future. No two men have done more for the science to which they devoted, and for the sake of which they may even be said to have sacrificed their lives, than the two whom we have named. Although it will appear in the course of the following pages that we must award to one of them a pre-eminence over the other in the most important department of their work—the construction of the New Testament text—it is impossible not to feel that both of them are alike worthy of the grateful recognition of the Church for the extent of their labours, and the single-heartedness with which they devoted themselves to the task which they had undertaken.

They led, indeed, very different lives, and received a very different measure of recognition, both from the Church and from the world. The first, whatever the obscurity of his earlier years, rose rapidly to a position of distinction, not only in his native land, but throughout Christendom; was enrolled as a member of most of the learned societies of his day; received liberal pecuniary aid for the prosecution of his studies from different European governments; was the honoured of kings; and had his name on every lip wherever biblical pursuits were valued. The second struggled with difficulties to the last, had little encouragement, either in money or applause, from the Church which he served so well, and pursued his labours supported only by the consciousness of the good cause that he had chosen, and by the hope that he would be successful in advancing it. The lives of few scholars engaged in the same pursuits have afforded greater contrasts than the two of which we speak; distinctions of every kind gathering around the one, the other left for the most part uncared for, except by a few whose own path was encompassed by nearly equal difficulties.

Yet the difference is easily accounted for. The labours of the one were of a kind to keep him continually in the public eye. Each year of the thirty years and upwards during which he was spared to work, found him giving fresh publications to the world, and these embracing either newly-

discovered treasures of the materials for biblical research, or treasures which, though well-known before, were now for the first time made easily accessible. The wonderful rapidity with which he worked awakened astonishment. The value of most of what he published was unquestionable. Even the haste with which he issued his editions of the New Testament, according to his critical impressions at the moment, and regardless of the fact that these impressions wanted a thoroughly scientific basis, and were changing with each successive stage of his inquiries, helped to gain for him the attention which he enjoyed. Besides which—we say it in no spirit of reproach, for it was perfectly natural—he loved distinction, and took full advantage of that measure of it which he had so honourably gained. The labours of the other, again, were concentrated on one aim alone. To establish the principles upon which a correct text of the New Testament ought to be constructed, and to construct that text, was his single object throughout the whole period of his active life. Anything else that he did was completely subservient to this ; and the publication of his text by subscription, in successive parts, tended rather to confine it to a few subscribers, than to interest a wide circle of readers.

In addition, it may be remarked that the seed sown by Tischendorf fell upon a soil prepared for its reception. Germany had long been the home of biblical study, and the principles of Griesbach and Lachmann, with which those of Tischendorf chiefly coincided, had much greater weight there than those of Matthæi or Scholz. There was no prejudice, therefore, for the great Leipsic worker to contend with. He wrought on lines with which his fellow-countrymen were familiar, and of which they upon the whole approved. Tregelles, again, stood in opposition to the strong conservative tendency of the whole English Church. In the universities and rectories of England Scholz had reigned supreme, and most of those who took an interest in the subject had so identified the Word of God with the traditional text, that it seemed almost an act of sacrilegious daring for an unknown man—a nonconformist, too, without either the prestige or the advantages of the national establishment—to attack the quiet reign of long settled views. Lastly, we can hardly put out of sight, in accounting for the different standing of our two critics during their lifetime, the simple circumstance, that the

one was a German, the other an Englishman. The virtues and the sins of men are alike credited to their children for generations; and so much had Germany taken the lead of this country in all theological inquiry, that its students found in their German birth-place alone a claim with many to regard, while birth as an Englishman was a disadvantage hard to overcome. No doubt there is often met with in the orthodox Christianity of England a most unreasonable suspicion of every theological speculation and inquiry coming from Germany. The name of the country is synonymous with heresy, infidelity, and atheism; and all that it has achieved in Christian scholarship is abused and condemned with marvellous simplicity by persons who do not know how large a part the speculations they denounce are playing in their own religious nourishment. But, on the other hand, we witness every day, in numbers out of sympathy with orthodoxy, a not less unreasoning admiration of all fruits of foreign, as compared with fruits of native, growth. Hardly less ignorant than the class already mentioned of the real merits of the subject of which they speak, they despise home opinion, when not in their own favour, as if it were necessarily superficial, ignorant, and prejudiced. An array of references to German authorities is, in their eyes, like a Macedonian phalanx; it cannot be broken. "Oh that my countrymen were all black," was O'Connell's celebrated exclamation, as he thought that he in vain claimed from an English Parliament justice for Ireland. Oh, we exclaim, that our scholars would get their works translated into German, and first published in that tongue, that they might make their due impression upon many who claim to be the leaders of advanced thought in our time, and to whom the lettering of a theological book is so much more weighty than its contents. At all events, we cannot help seeing in the respective birthplaces of our two scholars, part of the explanation of the widespread fame of the one, in contrast with the comparative obscurity of the other. But time has its revenges; and when the controversy as to the true principles of textual criticism is settled, it will surprise us much if it be not found that that critic to whom, of the two now before us, the least share of recognition was given while he lived, has left behind him the more enduring memorial of critical sagacity and skill.

The object that we have in view in this paper will permit us to notice only in the briefest possible manner the leading facts in the lives of the two scholars we have named.

Lobegott Friedrich Constantin Tischendorf was born on the 18th January 1815, at Lengenfeld, a manufacturing town of Saxony. His father, we are told, was a physician of considerable reputation in his own neighbourhood, his mother a woman who made it her effort to train up her children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Until their son was fourteen years of age, his parents educated him at one of the elementary schools of his native town. They then sent him to the local gymnasium at Plauen, and after five years spent there, to the University of Leipsic. At the university Tischendorf soon distinguished himself. An essay of his on the teaching of the Apostle Paul, *De vi mortis Christi Satisfactoria*, written during the second year of his residence, was rewarded by the Theological Faculty with a prize; and, following the example of early authorship so common among his countrymen, he almost immediately published it. In 1838 he closed his studies at the university, receiving another prize for a treatise, *De Christo pane vitæ sive de loco Evang. Joann. c. vi., vv. 51-59*. This also he immediately published; and its merit is sufficiently attested by the fact, that Lücke thought it worthy of his notice in the third edition of his Commentary on the Gospel of St John. Other literary productions of the young theologian belonging to this period of his life, or to that immediately succeeding, may be left unnoticed, although it is not devoid of interest to know that, amidst his graver studies, he indulged himself in the fields both of poetry and romance, and that the distinguished composer, Meyerbeer, wrote to him expressing his intention to set some of his songs to music, while this was actually done for one of them by the still more distinguished Mendelssohn. It was in very different fields, however, that Tischendorf's life-work was to be done. These efforts can only be regarded as tokens of his mental activity, and as the amusements of his lighter hours. He had chosen theology as his pursuit; and, as early as 1839, when he was only twenty-four years of age, he had left the situation in the country, to which he had gone at the close of his university course, in order to return to Leipsic for the purpose of preparing there a critical edition of the Greek New Testament.

About the same time, too, he published a "Critical and Exegetical Dissertation on Matt. xix. 16, *sq.*;" and this again was immediately followed by a "Historical-Exegetical-Critical Dissertation on the so-called Recensions of the Text of the New Testament, with special reference to the theory of Scholtz." He had previously obtained his degree of doctor of philosophy, and with the last-named publication as the evidence of his fitness, he was now received into his university as one of its teachers in connection with the Faculty of Theology. Everything was favourable to his work, the time, the country, most even of all, the companionship, for Winer and Illgen and Niedner were members of the Faculty, and seem to have welcomed the presence of their youthful associate with more than ordinary warmth. One thing alone was wanting, and pity it is, for many reasons, that the want existed to the extent it did; yet it is needless to lament over it, and perhaps after all the want has always been quite as much the strength as the weakness of learning; that thing was money.

It was while preparing his edition of the New Testament, to which we have just referred, and which appeared in 1841, that Tischendorf had its direction given to that part of his labours, in connection with which, even more than with any other, his name will always be remembered with gratitude and admiration by the Church. He became alive to the immense wealth of materials bearing upon the text of scripture that lay hidden, partly in the great libraries and more private collections of Europe, partly in the monasteries of the East; he saw how little had been done in the way either of making them easily accessible or of carefully collating them, and he resolved, as far as possible, to supply the defect. From this time, accordingly, onward almost to the close of his career, his life was in a singular, probably in an unprecedented, degree the life of a traveller as well as of a scholar. At different times he examined the MSS. preserved in the libraries of Paris, Utrecht, Oxford, Cambridge, London, Vienna, Munich, Dresden, Hamburg, Wolfenbüttel, Zurich, St Gall, St Petersburg, Moscow, Turin, Milan, Modena, Venice, Rome, Naples; while for the same purpose he visited the chief spots in Turkey, Egypt, Palestine including Sinai, Syria, Asia Minor, and Greece, where he supposed that similar treasures might be found. The more important of these places he visited more than once, and in

several he spent no inconsiderable length of time, searching, comparing, collating, and transcribing, with a patient diligence unequalled except by that of those who had originally penned the MSS. Of the amount of labour involved in this—involvement, indeed, in the proper editing of even a single ancient MS., if of any extent—it is impossible for those who have not made MSS. their study to form an adequate conception. The difficulties occasioned by the carelessness of the original scribe, by the often minute handwriting, by the faded ink, by the discoloration produced through age or damp, or sometimes even through the application of chemical mixtures, used with the view of restoring something at least of distinctness to the text, and all these heightened by the necessity of distinguishing the alterations of different correctors in different ages, as well as by the knowledge of the fact that only absolute correctness will give value to what is done; such difficulties, and others upon which it is unnecessary to dwell, make the collation or transcription of a MS. a task which nothing but enthusiastic devotion to the study will enable any one to accomplish. Tischendorf speaks himself, in language which we gladly hail as more modest than the occasion would have warranted, of the *indefessa studia* which for two years he expended upon the *Codex Ephraemi*, in the National Library at Paris; but the successful execution of that work established his reputation, and smoothed his whole future course.

What he did accomplish in this way we cannot here even attempt to describe. His biographer, Volbeding, devotes almost the whole of his treatise, extending to ninety-eight closely-printed large 8vo pages, to little else than a description, short in each case, of the various books which, as the result of such labours, he was yearly enabled to produce. The mind grows weary in attempting to follow the list, and begins to abandon in despair the effort to comprehend that so much could be executed by one man. To this zeal, and not merely to the good fortune supposed by many to have waited upon him as a collector, Tischendorf owed his great discovery of the *Codex Sinaiticus*. He made his own good fortune, and he is entitled to the full credit of having done so. We could wish, indeed, that the mystery, which still hangs over the stove-basket of the romantic story of that great discovery, had been in some degree at least dispelled by his biographer; but of this

there can be no doubt, that the discovery did fall to the man of all the scholars of Europe most entitled to make it, and with that we must be content. On the whole, nothing more wonderful than the work of Tischendorf, in this department of his labours, was ever presented to the world. Even his own boasting in regard to it in the *Prolegomena* to his seventh edition of the Greek Testament, and his jealousy of other labourers, may be forgiven for its sake. In the presence of that magnificent apparatus for the criticism of the text, which, mainly through him, has now been brought within the reach of every one, it is impossible to dwell upon little flaws of character and temper which would have been unpardonable in men who had done less real service to the Church. On the ground upon which we are now standing, Tischendorf far surpassed all who had gone before him; and kindling as his example ought to be to his successors, it is probable that it will be long before any one, *aut similis aut secundus*, will arise. It is pleasant to think that, in carrying through these labours, which could not fail to be attended with great expense, he was by no means left without friends; and the names of Von Falkenstein at Leipsic, the banker Seyfferheld at Frankfort, Favre Bertrand at Geneva, Kestner at Rome, and his fellow-labourer Schulz at Breslau, deserve in this respect the most honourable mention. Even the government assisted him, and, through the representations of Von Beust and Von Falkenstein, he found a warm and liberal patron in Frederic Augustus, king of Saxony, in grateful recollection of whose kindness he named, it must be allowed somewhat strangely, the forty-three leaves of the *Codex Sinaiticus* first discovered by him, the *Codex Frederico-Augustus*.

It is unnecessary to occupy time in speaking of Tischendorf's earlier labours, not as a collector of MSS., but as a critic of the New Testament text. In so far as they bear upon the point we have mainly in hand, they will be afterwards referred to. There was, however, one edition of these early years, notice of which ought not to be omitted, although, unfortunately, it must be regarded not as an example, but as a warning to future students. Yet that very circumstance makes it imperative to allude to it. When Tischendorf first came to Paris in 1840 he made the acquaintance of the celebrated publisher, Firmin Didot, and having been introduced through him to the

Abbé Jager, one of the Professors at the Sorbonne, he was led, through their joint representations, to undertake the preparation of an edition of the Greek New Testament, which should be conformed to the Vulgate as far as any MS. authority would allow—that is, he consented to publish as the text of the New Testament what he himself believed in many instances not only to be of no authority whatever, but to be wrong.¹ The edition appeared in 1842, dedicated to Archbishop Affre, who afterwards fell at the barricades in 1848; and the preface contains the author's apology for his work. After narrating his negotiations with Didot and Jager, he goes on, *Quod quum viderem textum quendam Versionis Vulgatæ Graecum futurum esse, eumque tum graecarum literarum apud gallicos universosque Catholicos theologos studium egregie adjuturum; tum leges meas adornandi graeca, a sermone Latino plane alienas illas quidem longe lateque promulgaturum; tum denique singulare quoddam et de statu antiquorum documentorum et de versionis Vulgatæ ingenio fore testimonium; hoc quoque officii in me recipiendum esse putavi.* In other words, because there would thus be an opportunity of publishing the Vulgate in Greek, and so promoting the study of the original among Roman Catholic theologians, because his principles of criticism would become more widely known, and because the value of the Vulgate would be established, Tischendorf undertook to issue a text known by him to be in many places false. We are informed, indeed, by Volbeding² that he made it also a condition that his preface and dedication should always accompany the work, and that, as a counterbalance to it, Didot should at the

¹ In illustration of this statement, we refer to such passages as the following:—Matt. vi. 22, where he admits a *ου* after the first *ὀφθαλμός*; Matt. xiv. 35, where he admits after *πληρον* a long sentence of nineteen Greek words. We shall not quote it. It exists in the *Textus Receptus*, and is translated in the Authorised Version. Mark xiii. 33, where he admits *καὶ προσέχεται* after *ἐγερσέντες*; Luke x. 1, where he inserts *δύο* after *ἰβδομήματα*; Luke xiv. 5, where he reads *ὅτι* instead of *ὅτις*; John vii. 39, where he inserts *διδακίαν* after *πνεῦμα*. In not one of these readings could Tischendorf have believed, and not one of them is found in any of his three chief editions—1849, 1859, 1872. A still more remarkable case than any of these, referred to by himself, but without explanation, in his *Prolegomena* to this edition, is Gal. v. 13, where the reading given is found apparently in no MS., but is a patchwork of the ordinary reading and that of D, that patchwork thus becoming a Greek rendering of the Vulgate.

² U. 8., p. 16.

same time publish another edition, constructed on the faithful application of his own principles, and dedicated to Guizot, the head of the Cabinet of Louis Philippe, and the most influential Protestant of France. *Qui s'excuse s'accuse*. It is impossible to accept his explanation; and even when we call to mind his youth and poverty, as well as the opening to future distinction and usefulness thus presented to him, the offence is in no way mitigated. Anything, indeed, like the latter pleas would have been repudiated by himself; for it is not the least extraordinary part of the story that, so late as 1859, when nearly twenty years older, and crowned with well-merited distinction, he complains, in the *Prolegomena* to his seventh edition of the Greek Testament, of the *pessima fraus* and the *stolida audacia* which had led the publisher and his Romish friends to omit from their stereotype reprint of this edition the dedication to Affre, and to substitute upon the title-page for his own name as editor that of Jager, "Una cum C. Tischendorf."¹ A juster idea of all that was involved in his relation to such a book ought to have made him welcome the thought, that there was here at least an approach to the time when it might be forgotten that he had been in any way connected with it. We turn from this blot upon the career of an eminent man with pleasure, yet not without the feeling that the whole history of the matter has grave lessons for future students of Scripture, and that it is not without a bearing, although we shall not again allude to it, upon some things marking the nobler labours that were to follow. These labours we shall find a better opportunity of speaking of when we have said a little of Tischendorf's distinguished contemporary, Tregelles.

The life of Samuel Prideaux Tregelles extends over almost exactly the same period as that of Tischendorf. He was born only two years earlier, at Falmouth, on the 30th January 1813, and he died little more than four months later, on the 24th April 1875. His father was a merchant, and his mother, whose maiden name was Prideaux, belonged to the same family as the well-known Dean Prideaux. Both parents were members of the Society of Friends, and in the midst of that estimable community the boy received those early religious impressions which continued with him through all his life. It is one,

¹ *Prolegomena*, p. cxx.

indeed, of the most memorable circumstances connected with Tregelles, that, retaining to the last the most profound reverence for scripture, and even a firm belief in its verbal inspiration, he yet devoted himself with the most resolute and consistent faithfulness to determine its original text. In this respect he presents a striking contrast to the greater number of those in this country who, sharing his evangelical sentiments, view with unreasoning suspicion the efforts of critical scholarship to discover what that Word of God which they so highly honour really is. Dr Tregelles did not continue throughout life connected with the religious body in which he was brought up. For a considerable period he associated himself with the Plymouth Brethren, and took frequent part in their services. In his later years he attended the ministry of the Presbyterian Church, but these changes in no way detracted from the excellence of his Christian character or the fervour of his zeal. He was ever the same earnest, liberal-minded, active Christian man ; and, from the whole range of biblical scholarship, no better example can be produced to refute the charge not unfrequently brought against it—that leading the student to occupy himself so largely with the letter, its studies tend to withdraw his thoughts from the spirit of his faith.

Tregelles did not enjoy the advantages of a university education, and during the years generally spent at the university, he was engaged in secular occupations of a kind that might well have withdrawn his thoughts from either biblical or literary pursuits. The inward impulse to these, however, must have been strong, for at the age of twenty-five he had already formed the plan of a critical edition of the Greek New Testament upon the principles which he afterwards carried out ; and as these principles were opposed to the whole current of English thought upon the question, it is clear that the idea must have been long working in his mind, and that from a very early age he must have given a large amount of attention to the subject. He must have done this, too, in the exercise of a singular degree of independence of spirit. Tischendorf had not yet published even the first edition of his New Testament, and none of the great English scholars whose sympathy and approbation did so much to cheer his later labours, had as yet entered into the field. Looking for a moment at Tregelles's

more outward labours in connection with the work he had set before himself, we find him, like Tischendorf, thoroughly alive to the importance of more numerous and accurate collations of MSS. than were at that time accessible to the student. In 1845-46, upwards of two years before he issued his prospectus of that edition of the New Testament upon which his reputation must mainly rest, he had visited the Continent for this purpose, and two similar journeys were afterwards made by him. Writing himself of one of these, he says in a letter from Hamburg, dated 1st August 1850 :

"In the spring of 1849 I went to Paris ; I collated D of the Epistles once through, and copied Bartolucci's collation of the Vatican MS. ; I then began to collate K of the Gospels. All this was done with great difficulty, as I had been out of health for some time, and, with the exception of one day, I was quite unwell from the time I reached Paris. My work was cut short by a severe attack of cholera on the 9th of June, which brought me very low. For some days it seemed as though I were on the edge of the grave ; my mind and body were weakened, so that I was incapable even of the slightest exertion of thinking ; but never did I feel the consoling preciousness of the gospel of Christ more blessedly than when it seemed as if each breath might be my last. . . . As soon as I was at all capable of being removed, I returned to England under care of my dear wife, who had passed through a time of much weariness and anxiety. The return of strength was very slow, and I was obliged to keep very quiet through the winter. . . . In the early part of April I returned to Paris, and there I have continued my collations at the Bibliothèque du Roi. . . . I finished the collation of K. Then I collated the cursive MS. 33 of the Gospels. This was of extreme difficulty from its state in some parts : damp formerly made the leaves adhere, so that in whole pages there can be found no trace of ink belonging to the page itself, but only that which has come off from the opposite page, and which, therefore, must of necessity be read backwards. I often feared lest my eyes should fail me when toiling week after week on this MS." ¹

The collations referred to in this extract were far from being his only ones. In addition, he appears to have collated about twenty uncial, and ten cursive MSS. of the different parts of the New Testament ; to have visited most of the great libraries of Europe, among others, that of the Vatican, where the story of his attempt to inspect Codex B is not the least ludicrous of those which the ignorance and folly of the Romish authorities have connected with that famous MS. ; to have corresponded with the leading biblical scholars of his day—Scholz, Lachmann,

¹ From the *Western Daily Mercury* of 3d May 1875. Comp. also "Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament," p. 162.

De Wette, Tischendorf, Westcott, Hort; and to have done all this in the midst of a feebleness of health and a struggle with poverty, in striking contrast with the robust frame and more ample resources of his great continental fellow-labourer. The poverty was, indeed, so far mitigated by Lord Palmerston's recommendation, in 1862, that he should be placed on the Civil List for a pension of £100 a-year, a pension wisely and kindly doubled by Mr Gladstone in 1870; but the weakness of health went on increasing to the last. Though he collated many MSS., Tregelles only edited one, the *Codex Zacynthius*, a valuable palimpsest of a large part of the Gospel of St Luke, in possession of the British and Foreign Bible Society of London. It was while engaged in these collations, and in connection with them, that an unhappy controversy arose between him and Tischendorf as to certain parts of the work done by them respectively, more especially as to the publication of what are known as the Nitrian Fragments of the Gospels. We shall not renew the controversy. It was Tregelles's own wish in the latter years of his life to let it sleep; and we can only hope that, should any new edition of Tischendorf's *Prolegomena* be published, the editor may feel himself entitled to follow the same course, and to obliterate what is said of it there.

Various other works, in addition to his *Codex Zacynthius*, appeared from the pen of Dr Tregelles during the period of which we have been speaking. As they do not bear upon our immediate subject, it is unnecessary to mention them, with the exception of his *Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament, with remarks on its Revision upon Critical Principles* (London, 1854), and his *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, forming the fourth volume of the tenth edition of *Horne's Introduction*, and published in 1856. Both works are of high merit, the former constituting by far the most valuable contribution ever made, either on the Continent or in England, to the principles of constructing the text from the point of view marking the school of criticism to which the author belonged. These works, however, were all subsidiary to his great edition of the New Testament itself, the first part of which appeared in 1857, the sixth, and last, in 1872. It was completed amidst weakness and suffering that sadden us to think of. He had been visited by a stroke of

paralysis soon after the publication of the first part ; his eyesight, too much tried, began to fail him, and before his death was altogether lost ; and he was under the necessity of renouncing all active exertion except that relating to the one work to which he had devoted himself. But he persevered, and he succeeded ; and with more than ordinary interest we listen to his parting words at the close of the introductory notice to the last part : "It is with exceeding satisfaction and thankfulness that I am able to put the last part of my Greek Testament into the hands of subscribers, thereby finishing my responsibility in connection with so much of God's Word, a work which has only deepened my apprehension of its divine authority." He said this in 1872, and in the spring of 1875 he "fell asleep," one of the finest specimens, of which our country has to boast, of unwearied, self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of divine truth ; above all, a man who had laboured his whole life long, not in the public eye, and surrounded with the applause of religious meetings, but in his own quiet closet, for the most part before the eye and seeking the approbation of God alone, sowing secretly and in tears the seed which in a brighter world than the present he shall reap in joy.

It ought not to be forgotten, to the honour of our Scottish Universities, that in 1850, years before the first part of his New Testament was published, the University of St Andrews recognised his merits, and bestowed upon him its highest literary degree. As he had not entered the ministry, its highest theological degree could not be given him.

Such is a brief sketch of the lives of these two distinguished critics. The important questions now meet us—How are we to estimate the result of their labours ? and, What effect are they producing upon that controversy as to the construction of the New Testament text, which we need have no hesitation in pronouncing one of the most important religious controversies of the day, and one fraught with far greater consequences to the future of the Church than is generally supposed ? In entering upon these questions, the first thing necessary, so far as the labours of Tischendorf are concerned, is to limit the field of our examination. We must dismiss the greater number of his earlier editions of the Greek Testament, and must con-

fine ourselves mainly to that eighth and last, which, to use what seem to be his own words in the short notice prefixed to the first part, is designed far to surpass, alike in the amount of its critical apparatus and in the construction of its text, the recognised and celebrated advantages of his seventh edition. Yet, in speaking of this edition, we cannot wholly omit notice of its predecessors, partly because the publication, we believe even the preparation, of its *prolegomena* having been suspended by the critic's death, we have to depend mainly for Tischendorf's own statement of his principles upon the *prolegomena* of earlier editions; partly because a comparison of his latest text with texts published by him only a few years before, throws great, if in some respects also startling, light upon the principles of his working. It will not be necessary, however, to go further back than his Leipsic edition of 1849, followed by his seventh edition in 1859, and, finally, by his eighth edition, of which the first part was issued in 1864, the last in 1872. Besides these sources of information as to the critical principles by which Tischendorf was guided, we have the short preface already spoken of, which, although written by his publisher, is stated to be for the most part in his own words, together with a small treatise published by himself in 1873, with the title, "Have we the true Text of the Evangelists and Apostles?" No limitation of this kind is needed in the case of Tregelles. His single edition of the New Testament must speak for itself, aided only by the short introductory notices to its various parts, and by the exposition of his critical views contained in his scattered writings, more particularly in his "History of the Printed Text of the Greek Testament."

Before entering upon the first part of our task, it may help our readers to go intelligently along with us, and may at the same time tend to deepen their interest in inquiries too commonly regarded as dry and scholastic, if we indicate the leading points in the controversy upon which the labours of both Tischendorf and Tregelles have so close a bearing. That controversy relates to the sources whence our knowledge of the original text of the New Testament is to be drawn. It is not enough to say that these are MSS., versions, and citations in the writings of the early Fathers. All admit that to be the case; but no sooner is the attempt actually made to construct a text from these materials, than, according to the method in which we

use them, we shall be guided to widely divergent results. The statement is indeed often made that, use them as we like, we shall come to a text substantially the same; that the differences, however numerous, will be found to relate to particulars almost unworthy of notice, and that all the labours of textual critics will leave us where we were. To a certain extent the statement is true; and we may well feel it to be a matter of the most devout congratulation that, in whatever form the text of the New Testament has been presented to the Church during eighteen hundred years, whether in the Original or in any one of its manifold Translations, it has not only revealed the will of God for the salvation of men, but has supplied ground for unity of faith and hope and Christian life among believers of every age and nation. But, if true to this extent, the statement thus made is far from being true in the sense in which it is often understood. The differences of result reached by different schools of criticism are not unfrequently in a high degree important. They may involve no real change in the faith of the Church, yet they may and do involve changes in her mode of presenting truth, and in the light in which her members are to regard it; they lead to the removal of difficulties, historical and dogmatic, by which thousands are perplexed; and they lay the foundation for an appreciation of the divine will, which, in general clearness, liveliness, and force, shall greatly surpass anything that the Church of Christ has enjoyed from at least the second century of her history. Proof of this will be found in some of the texts to be afterwards referred to for other purposes, but our readers may easily obtain further confirmation of the statement by comparing for themselves the readings of the *Textus Receptus* in any important book of the New Testament, such as the Gospel of St John, with those adopted by Tischendorf and Tregelles, sometimes together, at other times separately. They will see that the difference is much greater than they imagined while resting in the usual *dictum* upon the point; and although they may not go the length of saying what Griesbach said of the readings of Tertullian and Cyprian, as compared with those of Origen and Clement of Alexandria, that the two texts before them differ *toto suo habitu universoque colore*¹, they will be constrained to allow that the differences which do exist go to the very root of

¹ *Prolegomena*, p. 68.

much that has a close bearing alike upon the speculative views and upon the practical life of the Church.

This being the case, we have next to notice that the differences now spoken of are mainly dependent upon the amount of weight attached by one school of critics to the more ancient ; by another, to the more modern authorities. Neither school will, indeed, allow this to be a complete statement of its principles. Both claim to take all the evidence into account. Both reject the charge of anything like onesidedness in the employment of the materials at their command. But, practically, it comes to what we have stated. The result runs out into a dependence by the one upon what is chiefly ancient, by the other, upon what is chiefly modern, evidence. Multiplied complications, requiring for their settlement the instinct of genius, or accomplished scholarship and life-long experience, of course occur ; but the general principles of the controversy are not recondite, and, as applied by critics, are quite level to the comprehension of thousands who cannot themselves apply them.

Important, however, as this controversy is even in itself, it is made still more so by a fact, to which is due also most of the keenness with which it is carried on, the long undisputed reign of the *Textus Receptus*. We cannot dwell upon the manner in which this text was prepared ; and it is, besides, quite unnecessary to do so. The imperfection of the sources from which it was drawn, and the multiplied false readings which thus found a place in it, and through it, in all the great versions of modern Europe, are acknowledged by every one who has paid the least attention to the subject. Neither can we follow the history of the gradual awakening of biblical scholars to the real state of the case, although no chapter of Church history affords more striking illustration of the gradual march of truth, amidst "hopes and fears that kindle hope," amidst false alarms and sudden panics, amidst the watchfulness of opponents, and the gloomy forebodings of friends, yet ever onward from one well-fought field to another, till even the weak begin to acquire strength and the timid confidence. Suffice it to say, that about the close of last, and in the early part of the present century, the mantle of Walton and Mill and Bentley had fallen upon Griesbach and Lachmann ; and that a better text had begun to assert its place against the *Textus Receptus*. Griesbach died in 1812, Lachmann in 1851.

Their memory will never die, nor their labours perish ; and the standard which they had held aloft passed immediately into other hands.

It was in 1840 that Tischendorf published his first edition of the Greek New Testament, and the words upon the title-page, "*Ad fidem antiquorum testium recensuit, C. T.*," at once indicate the position that he had taken up. He appeared as a pupil of Bentley, Griesbach, and Lachmann ; and Schulz of Breslau, the most distinguished representative of that school, hailed him with delight as one who had followed the path of Lachmann with firm step and more successful results.¹ The beginning thus made was followed in 1849 by the second Leipsic edition, in the *prolegomena* to which Tischendorf explains fully the principle upon which he proceeds. He is to take the whole text *ex antiquis testibus, et potissimum quidem e Græcis codicibus, sed interpretationum patrumque testimoniis minime neglectis*. Where testimonies differ, he assigns the first place to the most ancient Greek Codices, comprising those written from the fourth to the ninth century. The comparative merits of these, again, are estimated by their comparative age ; and as the authority of the ancient Codices is greatly confirmed in his eyes, if backed by the evidence of Versions and Fathers, so it is not destroyed, although opposed by most, or even all, of the most recent Codices. To these more recent Codices he does not, considering the circumstances out of which they sprang, deny all weight ; but, however numerous they may be, the determining voice belongs to the few ancients. Upon his canons of Internal Evidence we do not dwell. The result was the highly important text of 1849,—a text departing widely from that of the *Textus Receptus*, and giving no small uneasiness and offence to its defenders.

In 1859 the next important edition appeared. During the ten years that had elapsed since 1849, Tischendorf had made a much larger acquaintance, partly through the labours of Scrivener, partly through his own, with the Cursive MSS. The effect is at once perceptible. The statement of his principles now given is not exactly what it had been before. Much is the same, and, in particular, the conclusion is almost in the same words : *Videtur autem inde summa lex critica scribenda esse hæc, ut omnibus locis ubi quid auctores scripserint docta*

¹ Volbeding, p. 13.

*ratione aut judicio effici nequit, quod antiquis testibus probatissimum novimus fidenter et unice sequendum sit; ubicunque vero causæ sunt graves atque ab arbitrio quam maxime alienæ, quæ aliud præ alio commendent confirmentque, non id præstet quod testatissimum, sed quod et satis testatum et probabile sit.*¹ But the depravation of the text in the early centuries of the Church is more dwelt upon than it had been; the words, *non omnes et totos*, in placing the Cursive MSS. in a light unfavourable to them, are changed into *longe plerosque*;² and the statement is made for the first time, that readings of the eighth and following centuries can be shewn to equal, or even to surpass in antiquity, readings of the fourth, fifth, or sixth century. The effect of all this was, that in 1859 there was a much nearer approach to the *Textus Receptus* than there had been in 1849, out of 1292 departures from it, 595 being now abandoned, while of the remaining 697, only 267 were of the least importance. No wonder that Dr Scrivener, the able and uncompromising defender of modern MSS., appeals to this as an incontestable proof of what may be expected when the later MSS. have their due place assigned to them.³

The result thus attained was sufficiently remarkable, but it might have been regarded as flowing naturally from the more extensive sources of information now at the command of the critic, and his own riper experience in the use of them, had there not been another and later edition to appear. The circumstances attending its issue were remarkable. Just as the edition of 1859 was finishing, the *Codex Sinaiticus* was discovered, but too late to be used. It is easy to imagine the enthusiasm with which Tischendorf would set himself to the task of revising, with its help, the text upon which he had laboured so long, and for which he had done so much. But this very enthusiasm was the weakness of his work. The edition, now completed, is before the world, and the result can be judged of. Its text is utterly unlike that of 1859, differing from it, according to the calculation of Dr Scrivener, in 3369 places.⁴ Taken by itself, however, that may be a small matter. The

¹ *Prol.* 1859, p. xxxii., comp. *Prol.* 1849, p. xiv.

² *Prol.* 1859, p. xxviii., comp. *Prol.* 1849, p. xii.

³ Introduction to *Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, p. 470.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 470.

important consideration is, that the difference is found, not in the consistent carrying out of the principles which had changed the edition of 1849 into that of 1859, but in exactly the opposite direction. Not only are very many readings—adopted in the first of these editions and rejected in the second—now restored, but new readings are met with in great numbers, which, upon the principles of 1859, ought to have had no place. The following table which we draw from the first six chapters of the Gospel of St John, may not be without interest upon this point :

		Total departures in 1872 from <i>Textus Receptus</i> .	Peculiar to 1872.	Departures from <i>Textus Receptus</i> where agreed with it in 1849.	Returns to text of 1849 instead of 1859.
Chapter	I.	39	10	10	6
Chapter	II.	15	5	5	0
Chapter	III.	19	8	9	0
Chapter	IV.	50	17	20	1
Chapter	V.	39	18	18	2
Chapter	VI.	82	31	31	5
		<hr/> 244	<hr/> 89	<hr/> 93	<hr/> 14

(Changes of spelling are not counted.)

It appears from this table that in the six chapters referred to there are no fewer than eighty-nine readings peculiar to 1872, that is, not in the editions of 1849 or 1859 ; and it becomes important for us to know upon what authority they are adopted. For eighty-six out of the eighty-nine, \aleph vouches, the other three being chap. v. 26, and two in chap. vi. 23. Yet, supposing that a sufficient amount of other authority could also be adduced for them, no one would think for a moment of complaining of this. But how do the authorities stand ? There are, of course, varieties in the evidence, but the following are some of the more striking illustrations of what it is. In chap. i. 21 $\sigma\upsilon$ omitted in the question as to Elias, L only supporting \aleph together with A and a Syriac version against all else. In the same verse, $\kappa\alpha\iota$ before $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$ omitted, a , b , and the Copt. alone supporting \aleph against all else. In i. 37, $\kappa\alpha\iota$ omitted before $\eta\chi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$, with \aleph alone supported by 1 against all else. In i. 47, $\kappa\alpha\iota$ omitted before $\epsilon\lambda\tau\epsilon\nu$, with \aleph alone supported by 71, a , b , c , Syr^{sch.} Arm. In ii. 3 the singular reading is adopted, $\kappa\alpha\iota \omicron\lambda\iota\nu \omicron\upsilon\chi \epsilon\lambda\chi\omicron\nu$, $\omicron\tau\iota \sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\eta \omicron \omicron\lambda\iota\nu\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\upsilon$, on

the authority of \aleph alone, supported by three old Latins— a, b, ff^2 —to which is added the note that this reading corresponds better with St John's style, and that it had been expelled to make room for a shorter reading, although it is one of the most familiar rules of criticism that short readings are to be preferred to long ones, especially when the latter occur in versions. In iv. 9, $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\nu$ omitted after $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$, with \aleph supported by V only of Uncials and some Cursives, while the whole last clause of that verse, $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \sigma\upsilon\gamma\chi\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\tau\alpha\iota\ \text{'}\text{Ιουδαῖοι}\ \Sigma\alpha\mu\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\iota\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma$ is omitted, with \aleph supported by D only and three old Latins. In iv. 24 occur two readings, the omission of $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu$ after $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\kappa\upsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma$, and a change of order in the last two words of the verse, on the authority of \aleph , supported by D alone of Uncials. In iv. 38, $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\lambda\kappa\alpha$ is read with \aleph , supported by D alone against all else, and that, although it is admitted that in three places (chaps. v. 38, vi. 29 (?), vi. 57) D has given $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\lambda\kappa\epsilon\iota$, instead of $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon\iota$. In v. 2 $\tau\omicron\ \lambda\epsilon\gamma\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ is read with \aleph alone of Greek MSS. (although one or two others may be so far quoted in its defence), to the loss of the far better attested and the highly-important reading, $\tau\omicron\ \epsilon\pi\iota\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$, or rather $\eta\ \epsilon\pi\iota\lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\mu\epsilon\iota\eta$.

Passing from cases of this kind, let us look for a moment at those cases in which, having in 1859 supplanted the readings of 1849 by those of the *Textus Receptus*, Tischendorf has again left the latter, and returned to those of 1849. These are fourteen in number, in the chapters of which we speak. We note only two or three. In i. 20, $\epsilon\gamma\acute{\omega}\ \text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\kappa\ \epsilon\iota\mu\iota$ for $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\kappa\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\iota\ \epsilon\gamma\acute{\omega}$, evidence the same as in 1849, with the exception that \aleph is now added to the authorities for the former. In i. 24, $\text{o}\acute{\iota}$ before $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\lambda\mu\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu$ omitted, the remark on the evidence in the previous case applying also here. Similar remarks are applicable to the reading, $\sigma\acute{\tau}\eta\kappa\epsilon\iota$ for $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta\kappa\epsilon\iota$ in i. 26, and $\text{o}\tilde{\iota}\nu$ after $\eta\lambda\theta\omicron\nu$ in i. 40, except that in these two cases we have the new evidence of T^b as well as of \aleph . In v. 1, η is again read before $\epsilon\omicron\rho\tau\acute{\eta}$, and that although in 1859 the addition of the η had been explained by the remark, that it was to make it clear that a Passover was referred to. But \aleph , along with Π , having been added to our stores since then, a reading has been adopted, which tends in no small degree to perplex one of the most interesting narratives of the Evangelist. In vi. 22, towards the close of the verse, $\pi\lambda\omicron\tilde{\theta}\nu$ is now read instead of the $\pi\lambda\omicron\iota\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ adopted in

1859 notwithstanding all the evidence against it. But \aleph reads $\pi\lambda\omicron\tilde{\nu}\nu$, and that reading is restored. Finally, in vi. 51, the $\eta\nu\ \epsilon\gamma\omega\ \delta\acute{\omega}\sigma\omega$, omitted in 1849, but restored in 1859, is again displaced, while the confused reading of \aleph , supported by no Greek MS., and only by one or two Latins, is adopted.

The illustrations now given are all from the first six chapters of the Gospel of St John; and it can hardly be doubted that in all, or nearly all, of them, the evidence is clearly against the last readings of Tischendorf, and that that critic has adopted them owing to the undue weight assigned by him to a single MS. Were we to extend the inquiry to the rest of his New Testament, the same conclusion would be still more forcibly impressed upon us, and we should find him often yielding to \aleph , to the neglect of all other important authorities, in a manner which must be regarded as uncritical. He did so, indeed, deliberately. Volbeding, writing in 1862, tells us that in answer to his inquiry as to the effect likely to be produced upon the text of the New Testament by the publication of \aleph , he received the reply, that that MS., along with B and others resembling it, would afford a text by which the *Textus Receptus* would be altogether supplanted.¹ Nor was this impression, produced upon Tischendorf by the discovery of the Sinaitic Codex, subsequently weakened; it rather gained strength. In his preface to the eighth edition of his New Testament, and in the short and popular tract already named, he distinctly asserts this principle, giving only a much greater prominence to \aleph than to B, and leaving the conviction in our minds, which is confirmed by the character of the text itself, that where \aleph and the Old Latin agree, B may be set aside; and that these two sources alone supply almost all the evidence we need. Here Tischendorf erred. Volbeding, indeed, excuses him. He does not deny that his final procedure was an important modification of principles previously adopted, but he thinks that the wonderful discovery of a complete MS. of the New Testament belonging to the fourth century sufficiently justifies the apparent inconsistency of the proceeding, since the critical materials possessed by us must mainly determine our critical principles. The statement is true, but as an apology, is insufficient for the purpose. Our critical materials were in no such imperfect state that the discovery of one ancient MS., even had

¹ P. 92.

it been much less marked than \aleph by peculiarities of its own, should have completely turned the course of the stream on which Tischendorf had been sailing in 1859, which latter course also, it must be remembered, was itself very different from that of 1849. They were not so complete as they became when Codex \aleph saw the light, but they were quite sufficient to show in what *direction* the true text of the New Testament was to be found; and important as the Sinaitic MS. undoubtedly was, it could only confirm previously well-grounded impressions. We do not say that Tischendorf was not now right in the general alteration of his course; but, if right now, he had been wrong before, and dependence on his judgment is thus weakened.

It is unnecessary to pursue this subject further. We have said enough to show the unreasonable amount of dependence placed by Tischendorf in his last edition upon one MS., and that the possession of that MS. has led him to remodel his text in a direction precisely contrary to that in which he had last been moving. He had begun his critical labours upon the principles of those who depend mainly upon ancient authority. He had then formed an acquaintance with the cursive or modern MSS., and had largely submitted himself to them. Lastly, he had discovered an ancient MS. previously unknown, and bidding good-bye to the moderns, he had thrown himself almost exclusively into its arms. It is impossible to vindicate such unsteadiness of purpose in a matter of so great importance as the text of the New Testament; and equally impossible not to feel that Codex \aleph , however valuable, is after all only one of our authorities. It may have been natural in Tischendorf to over-estimate it, but that consideration cannot justify the use to which it has been put. We do not want a text needing to be thus apologised for.

The truth is, that what the great German critic failed in, was want of settled principles of criticism; and that he went at one time in one direction, at another in another, was owing to this, that he gave at all times too much play to the subjective impressions of the moment, and that he was too little disposed to yield to diplomatic evidence when it would have led him to conclusions which he disliked. The notes of his eighth edition contain many arguments for readings which he seems to have been satisfied had the weight of evidence against them,

or in favour of which only his own notions of what ought to be read determined him to pronounce. His defence of *υἱός* in John i. 18, and of *συνκεκρασμένος* in Heb. iv. 2, may be appealed to in illustration of what we say.

In speaking thus, we must guard against the supposition that we show no proper sympathy with the labours of Tischendorf. So far is this from being the case, that we gladly acknowledge them to be beyond all praise. Alike in quantity and in quality, his work is so greatly in excess of that done by many ordinary men taken together, it is the result of such lofty aims and persevering efforts, and it has been the means of leaving so precious a legacy to the Church of Christ, that it ought to kindle our enthusiasm and to stimulate to its imitation. But the very greatness of his services in other respects makes it the more necessary to utter a caution with regard to what he has done in that particular department of which we have been speaking. His unquestioned and unquestionable right to command in some things is in danger of being transferred to other things in which such a right cannot be conceded to him. Nor is it any disparagement of his just claims to gratitude and honour when we say so. We may only the more heartily acknowledge the gifts that he did possess, and that he employed so well. We may rejoice to own the general who levies, marshals, and inspires the troops upon which the fate of an empire depends, while at the same time we ask for a keener eye and a calmer judgment to secure victory in the field.

From the text of Tischendorf we turn to that of Tregelles. Tregelles is strictly a disciple of Bentley and of Lachmann. He claims, indeed, to be independent in the results which he has reached; and, as his object in the construction of his text was entirely different from that of these two scholars, he could hardly fail to be so. His principles, however, differ little from theirs.

"Our readers," he says, in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* for October 1849, "will, we believe, gather from what we have said how far we accord with this learned and laborious critic, and how far we do not. We should use his general principle yet more widely than he does. We should seek for the true text in the *most ancient* MSS., using the collateral aid of versions and early citations, and we should subject all modifying rules to the claims of absolute evidence. We should restrict the application of such modifying rules to passages in which the real conflict of evidence

is great. We should also consider that in many cases we could do no more than state the balance of probabilities ; so that, besides the reading given in the text, other readings should be mentioned as possessing a strong claim to attention."

These words enable us to understand the position taken up by Tregelles as a critic of the text. He goes much further than Tischendorf in his dependence upon ancient MSS., or rather, we ought to say, upon MSS. proved to have an ancient text. Modern MSS., except when it can be shewn that their text is ancient, he leaves wholly out of account ; and he depends for his authorities upon the Uncials, several valuable Cursives, and a few old Versions, among which the Latin and the Syriac Versions are regarded as the most important. By the *balance* of these authorities he determined what to read, with the exception, as it would seem, of certain cases where he was sure (he does not say how, but he probably means from the writings of the ante-Nicene Fathers) of the reading of the second or third century. "Then," he says, "we are not left to the ordinary application of the *balance of existing authorities*, but we can take our stand as early as the express testimony carries us."¹ In applying this leading principle, too, he differs from Tischendorf in submitting himself much more thoroughly to the guidance of evidence, and giving much less play to those prepossessions of his own by which that critic so often allowed himself to be swayed. Finally, he most wisely departed from the example of Tischendorf, by putting into the margin readings whose claims he thought almost equal to the claims of those adopted by him into the text. On the other hand, while in all this approaching much more nearly to Lachmann than to Tischendorf, Tregelles also differed from the former in aiming at the restoration of the text to that originally written by the sacred penmen, and in leaving, so far as he could, no room for that process of subsequently amending a merely provisional text, which Lachmann considered necessary to the completion of his work.

Tregelles, it will be seen, thus stands between Lachmann and Tischendorf ; not so limited in his aim as the one, and neither so wide in his range of materials nor so subjective in his use of them as the other. His position is thus a truer one than that of either of the two. It may, indeed, be objected to him that

¹ *Greek New Testament*. Introductory Notice, p. 111.

his materials are too few, and that he ought to have made larger use of the treasures at his command. But it may be greatly doubted whether the result would even in that case have differed much from what it is ; and it is surely better to depend upon a few good authorities than to cumber a *conspectus* of them, as is done by Tischendorf, with names and treatises of far too recent a date to have the least practical bearing upon the issue. It may be objected, too, to Tregelles, with more reason, that he has leant too little upon canons of internal probability, and that he has thus been led to defend in some passages readings altogether untenable. His reading of Matt. xxi. 31, ὁ υἱοῦτος instead of ὁ πρῶτος, while he yet retains the usual order in which the two sons are mentioned, has been often urged against him, among others by Dr Scrivener,¹ on this score. But it must not be forgotten that, however untenable his own explanation of this reading, he yet thought that he did make sense of it, thus recognising at least the necessity of finding a meaning for any reading he would adopt ; and further, it is just, although barely, possible that, while the meaning given by Tregelles to the word must be set aside, that of Jerome may be accepted in its stead. That Father supposed that the Jews prevaricated, and did not tell what they really thought. Even although it should be allowed, however, that there is some foundation for the objections thus made to the procedure of Tregelles, it will be hard to show that he was not in the main right. He may have gone in a slight degree to excess in some of his views, he may not have been perfectly consistent in carrying out others ; but he possesses the very great merit of having been the first editor of the Greek New Testament upon principles in the main sound and thoroughly established. Untrammelled by the Recension theories of Griesbach, with a more perfect end in view than Lachmann, seeing and following out his course more clearly than Tischendorf, he has left behind him in his text a monument of permanent value to the Church, and a striking testimony at once to the largeness of his heart and the fearlessness of his spirit.

The two men of whom we have spoken, were in their day the worthy successors of the great critics of the past, the fore-

¹ *Introduction*, Second Edition, p. 502.

most editors of the Greek New Testament; and, whatever subordinate points of difference there may be between them, both, it will have been seen, espouse that side of the existing controversy as to the sources of the New Testament text, which throws us back upon ancient, rather than modern MSS. It is here that their great importance lies; for this view of the matter is not that taken by a large and influential, although we believe, a diminishing number of such as, whether in England or Scotland, have turned their attention to the subject. Dr Scrivener still leads the van on the opposite side of the question, with all his old chivalry and candour. Mr Burgon's work, on the last twelve verses of the Gospel of St Mark, still holds its place among the disciples of his school; and the recent elevation of its author to the Deanery of Chichester, is not likely to diminish either his enthusiasm or his influence; while a new combatant has lately cast himself, with an almost passionate eagerness, into the same ranks, in the person of Mr M'Clellan, a vicar and rural dean of the Church of England. As the work of the last-named scholar, of which the title will be found at the head of this article appears to have been welcomed with great cordiality in England,¹ as it certainly exhibits an amount of patient toil,

¹ In proof of this, and as an important illustration of the state of feeling existing in the minds of many, in reference to this question, we append the following letter of the Bishop of Lincoln to Mr M'Clellan, which has recently been circulated "by special permission of the writer," and "on public grounds":—"DEAR SIR,—I cannot adequately express my gratitude to you,—or rather to the good Providence of Almighty God working by you,—for the publication of your New Translation of the Greek Testament, with Analyses, Notes, and a Harmony. The Christian Church owes you a debt of thankfulness for your vigorous and timely protest against the fallacy which has unhappily received the sanction of some great names, and which would force her to accept a vicious Text of the Divine Word under the pretext of reverence for antiquity. I HOPE AND BELIEVE THAT YOU WILL HAVE SAVED THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND FROM THIS DELUSION, which is the more dangerous at the present time, now that we are looking for a revision of the authorised version, which, unless constructed on sound principles, will be a mistake as much to be deplored as that of Joshua and the people of Israel when cheated by the Gibeonites. As far as I have had an opportunity of examining your annotations, I have found them in harmony with the excellence of the principles on which the Text is established; and, on the whole, I welcome your publication as one of the best antidotes and preservatives against the superficial sciolism, captious criticism, and bold presumption, by which the Word of God is now either secretly undermined or openly assailed."—*The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of London*, 28th March 1875.

devoted to the study of the New Testament, that cannot be described in too high terms; and as it most probably represents a wide-spread body of opinion in the English Church, we shall give one or two short extracts from it, with the view of showing the light in which many, entitled to be heard, regard the labours of Tischendorf, Tregelles, Alford, and Westcott and Hort in as far as the readings of the two latter critics have been made known. There is, at all events, no mincing of matters in Mr M'Clellan's introductory pages, and thus far at least we can only thank him for his plainness of speech. Thus, then, he writes in his Preface:—

“By the crude application of certain novel and unsound principles of textual criticism, sanctioned and strenuously advocated by the chief modern editors, the pure and entire Word of God has come to be in imminent danger of gross corruption and horrible mutilation. By plausible but superficial assumptions, two or three of the most ancient extant copies, none earlier than the fourth century, and confessedly depraved, have been honoured with the misleading title of ‘the best’ manuscripts; they are exalted to be the standard of comparison; others are accounted ‘good’ and ‘excellent’ in proportion as they conform to them; the mass of authorities which disagree with them are despised or ignored; and thus, by a vicious circle of reasoning, results have been attained against which the judgment of a profounder criticism, no less than the pious instincts of the Church, unhesitatingly revolts.”

Again, before giving what he calls a “Select list of errors and graver corruptions in the two most ancient MSS. α and B, with names of Principal Modern Editors who have admitted them into the Sacred Text,” he says:

“The modern editors, blinded, we can only believe, by the brilliance of Bentley's ill-fated project, have so persistently applied his cold and narrow principles to the enlarged body of evidence since made available, that the distinguishing characteristic of their editions is *servile submission to the written evidence of certain most ancient surviving witnesses, to the neglect of the mass of witnesses, and the great disregard of the internal evidence.* And, since the discovery of the *Codex Sinaiticus*, this characteristic has practically resolved itself into *servile submission to the two most ancient surviving MSS. of the fourth century, and of the country of Egypt, the Codex Sinaiticus, and the Codex Vaticanus.* The result is, that, as the afore-noted peculiarities of the extant documentary evidence might have led us to expect, *consequences have at length been reached so absurd and disastrous, as to demand to be taken for a complete and final demonstration of radical error of procedure.* Instead of the pure text of Evangelists and Apostles of the first century, modern criticism offers to the Church a *corrupt Egyptian text of the fourth century.* The New Testament has been forced into the ‘bondage of Egypt.’”

And, once more, after having given us the select list referred to, as a sample of the errors of \aleph and B, and of the editors, Lachmann, Tregelles, Alford, Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, he goes on—

“ Here, for a while at least, we may stop. The *reductio ad absurdum* is already complete. The unreliable character of the two most ancient MSS. is demonstrated. If the list even thus far has been wearisome, our excuse, which is an ample one, is this, that, at the present, in our schools and universities, among our students and professors, our preachers and divines, and possibly even at the table of revisers, so excessive is the sway of the so-called ‘ best MSS.,’ and so paramount the authority of the so-called ‘ best editors’ (often *unanimous* only because they proceed on essentially the same principles), that nothing short of a conspectus so full and so decisive as that which we have given, could be expected to produce a sufficiently general and powerful conviction of the peril into which the sacred text has been brought, and in which it still stands. A sounder criticism, guided by deeper and infallible instincts, will, we are satisfied, certainly protect the Church from ever accepting, as faithful representations of the pure and perfect Word of God, texts based on principles which, when ably carried, as they have been to their legitimate conclusions, sanction such careless or deliberate suppressions, perversions, and distortions of the truth. Once again, we believe, *out of Egypt* will God call His Son.”¹

Such are the sweeping charges of Mr M'Clellan against the whole tendency and effect of those principles of textual criticism advocated, and, with varying degrees of consistency, illustrated by the editors whom he names. The tone even more than the substance of the language arrests attention, and leads to the belief that there is no small danger of excited and angry feeling being introduced into a controversy standing peculiarly in need of calm and judicial treatment. Passing, however, from such a consideration, we rather remark, that the time is obviously at hand, when the question now before us must receive at the hands of British scholars, an amount of attention that has long been wanting to it in this country, that it can no more be allowed to rest in the hands of foreigners, and that the Church of Christ among us must without delay make up her mind, whether she is to set aside our “ Modern Editors,” and to accept in their stead such guidance as is offered her in the pages of the work from which we quote. For ourselves, we cannot conceive a more egregious misunderstanding of the whole subject than is contained in the

¹ Preface, pp. 14, 29, 34.

extracts given above. There is on the part of the editors referred to, no "servile submission" to two MSS. Even when they adopt the readings contained in these MSS., they cannot be said to "follow" them. They follow the *whole* evidence of the case; and, strange as the statement may seem to those who depreciate their labours, it is yet no more than the simple truth to say, that in their eyes the readings of \aleph and B are less commended by the fact that they exist in the two MSS., than the two MSS. are commended by the fact that they contain the readings. If these MSS., one of which only, it may be observed, was known to Dr Tregelles, until he came to the last chapter of the Gospel of St John, influence the result more than others, it is because, after examination of evidence from *every* source, they have proved themselves worthy of this high confidence. What can our editors then do but award to them a degree of trust which they do not award to others? The trust is not blind or prejudiced. What is Codex B to Dr Tregelles any more than Dr Tregelles is to Codex B? It is because he has proved it that he appeals to it, proved it not by age alone, but by internal worth; and to say to him, therefore, You are putting an unreasoning confidence in that MS., is to shut the eyes on that wide induction of facts by which its title to confidence has been established. It is not otherwise with the internal evidence to which our "modern editors" appeal, the only fact to be noted here being that they appeal to internal *evidence*, not to arbitrary taste or preconceived ideas as to what the Word of God ought to contain. And if, in this part of their labours, they, with the exception to too large an extent of Tischendorf, are suspicious of themselves, and think it safer to be guided by facts, even against their own prepossessions, who shall blame them? To be so guided is the path at once of humility and wisdom, and it leads constantly to the most delightful and edifying lesson upon which the Christian can dwell, that "the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God stronger than men."

We are further told, indeed, that to the thorough testing and correct use of the materials provided for us are needed, not only "most diligent care, unwearied patience, refined judgment, matured experience," but also "Christian faith and spiritual discernment," and that "the spirituality of the Scriptures is an

element of the problem."¹ Who denies it? The spirituality of the Scriptures is a most important element of the problem; but the whole question depends on the meaning of the phrase.

We must know in a large measure what the Scriptures are before we can understand their spirituality; and, although no doubt this spirituality may be gathered from them while their text is far from perfect, and may then be justly brought to bear upon the process of perfecting it, it is surely clear that, so gathered, it rests ultimately upon evidence, and is liable, therefore, to be corrected by evidence. Nothing, indeed, can be more fatal to the interests of truth, than the objection often made to many readings adopted by "modern editors," that they diminish the profound reverence which we ought to entertain for Scripture. We gladly believe that those who urge this, and whose own reverence for Scripture springs from loving study of its pages, and long experience of its inestimable worth, feel deeply what they say. We desire to speak of them with all possible respect. But a little reflection can hardly fail to show them that what they urge really means, that the readings in question are inconsistent with *their* notions of reverence, which notions must in the last resort fall back on evidence; and if so, they will hardly be able to deny that the evidence upon which their reverence rests may be confirmed or rebutted by other evidence upon which, in the case of others, there rests a reverence deepened by the very readings which they condemn, and weakened by those which they commend. The question, in short, runs up into the more remote one long ago so admirably set at rest by Bishop Butler: whether we are to accept revelation as God has given it; or first to determine what it ought to be, and then to reject whatever does not square with our expectations. That question cannot be reopened, and our "modern editors" must go free.

It is not enough, however, to say this. The great question to be considered by the Church is: what is offered her in room of the principles thus condemned. Practically the answer is, internal evidence; or, to use the more imposing language of Mr M'Clellan, the "deeper and infallible instincts of a true criticism." We do not, indeed, for a moment say that those who give this answer put diplomatic evidence out of court. They profess to weigh it with all fairness, and they yield to it

¹ M'Clellan, Introduction, p. 23.

whenever it is overwhelming. But it unfortunately happens that very often it has not this character. Our authorities are to a certain extent divided, and there is room for doubt. Then the "instincts" come in, and really determine the matter too soon. Now, we shall not spend time in saying that these instincts, most valuable as they are in their proper place, are in constant danger of passing into the particular notions of the critic by whom they are employed, and of becoming the exponent of narrow views, early prepossessions, fanciful opinions, or unfounded alarms. Instead of indulging in general argument, it may be more useful to ask, Whether we have no specimens of them from which to judge of what they are? We shall not ask in vain; for the general instincts are specialized in particular cases, and we have thus an opportunity afforded us of learning how they act.

Turning, then, to the work of which we are now speaking, we find in it the select list above mentioned of errors and graver corruptions of \aleph and B, with names of modern editors who have admitted them into the sacred text. The following may be taken as a specimen of the manner in which these are disposed of:—In Matt. i. 25, there is a fair amount of evidence for the reading "her first-born son," instead of "a son." The balance of diplomatic authority is not equal, but to those who count, rather than value, heads, it may seem as if it were. "Instinct" is called in, and the omission of "her first-born" is condemned; because "if the verse be read aloud without the words in question, it will at once be felt that the verse limps." In Luke xvi. 9, the authority for "ye fail" is decidedly weak, so weak that on ordinary occasions it would be rejected without hesitation, and the later reading "it fails" preferred. But "instinct" again comes in, and that so powerfully, that the weightier external evidence is set aside, because internal evidence testifies that "the hour of reception into the eternal tabernacles is that of the personal failure or quitting of transitory life." Once more, in John v. 3, 4, occur the words with regard to the descent of the angel in order to trouble the waters of the pool of Bethesda, words against which the evidence is so strong that even Dr Scrivener, the chivalrous defender of the *Textus Receptus*, says of them, "it is well nigh impossible, in the face of evidence so hostile and so varied, to regard the passage as a

genuine portion of St John's Gospel;"¹ but even Dr Scrivener must yield to the "instinct," which says, the "insertion is manifestly the work of the evangelist himself, without which his own narrative is *blind, lame, withered*."²

Illustrations of this kind might easily be multiplied, but enough has been said to show both what the "deeper and infallible instincts" are, and how important is the part assigned to them in the criticism of the text. Unconsciously it may be, but not the less really, they dominate the existing evidence wherever it is not at once clear and decisive. Nor is it less obvious that they are in a high degree vague and unworthy of being relied on. We are left at the mercy of the critic's own subjective convictions, or taste, or whims; and there is very great danger that, if we trust ourselves to the guidance of his "instincts," we shall find them, as may always be expected of instincts not conformed to facts, running riot with every thing that the Church ought to count most valuable.

It is impossible to think that a criticism such as this will prevail. It is wanting in all the characteristics that give to any set of principles a permanent hold upon the English mind. It is opposed by the whole weight of authority justly belonging to Tischendorf and Tregelles; and when we at length receive the long and eagerly waited for text of Westcott and Hort, whose general tendencies may be judged of by the portions of their texts already in one way or another made public, we cannot doubt that it will have finally to quit the field.

Had space permitted, we would fain have shown how much the Church has to gain by the adoption of some of the more important modern readings. We may return to this at a future time. Meanwhile we must hasten to a close.

Our readers can hardly fail to have noticed the remarkable circumstance, to which we advert for a moment in conclusion, that in dealing with those taking the chief part in the great controversy of which we have spoken, we have had occasion to mention chiefly English names. This has not arisen from the fact that, writing for English readers, we have turned most naturally to native scholars and scholarship of native growth. It is because the lists of textual criticism have at this moment been set up amongst ourselves, and because English knights

¹ Six Lectures on the Text.

² M'Clellan, U. S. pp. 625, 695, 711.

are the only ones worth speaking of who have entered them. Whether it be that the unquestioned supremacy of Tischendorf has for many years past prevented others of his countrymen from coming into the arena, or whether they have been kept back by some recondite cause which we are unable to discover, it is at all events the fact, that there is at this moment no great critic of the text in Germany. That country has of late had, or still has, her distinguished Exegetes, but they are not critics of the text. Lücke, Lange, Meyer, Hofmann, Huther, Düsterdieck, Holtzmann, &c., have rendered valuable service to the interpretation of the New Testament, but as critics of the text they occupy no place worthy of mention. They express indeed their preference for one reading over another, and they argue the point at issue with the usual amount of German learning; but they have no settled principles upon which to proceed. When we desire to see the question rested on its merits we must turn to our own country, where Scrivener on the one side, Westcott, Hort, and Lightfoot on the other, regard it as one of principles, and try to settle it on such grounds.

It ought to be a source of gratification and encouragement to us that this is the case. The bright light of the days of Walton, and Mill, and Bentley, and Campbell of Aberdeen, breaks again upon us. The prestige once enjoyed by us in the high field of sacred criticism, but long lost, becomes ours again.

Redeunt Satarnia regna.

And the Church of the future will point back to these years now passing, as years when, amidst all that was disheartening in the condition both of the Church and of the world, there were quiet scholars among us, solving a problem which Germany with all her learning had failed to solve, and working a work more fruitful of the results she will then be rejoicing in than any that Germany, notwithstanding all she had done, had been able to accomplish. In this department of their labours, at least, our young theologians have bright examples from their own island to follow: we trust that they will arise and follow them.

WM. MILLIGAN.

ART. VIII.—*On the Name Jehovah (Jahve) and the Doctrine of Exodus III. 14.*

IN offering to the readers of this *Review* a paper on so threadbare a subject as the name יהוה, I propose to confine myself to two points. The first part of my design is, to summarise the most important things that have been said on the subject during the last few years; and the second, is to bring forward an interpretation of Exodus iii. 14, which, though not novel in principle, departs pretty widely from the usual view of the passage, and has important consequences for Biblical Theology.

The pronunciation of the name may be now regarded as settled. That the transcription *Jehovah* is a mere blunder was perfectly well known to the best older scholars, who were aware that the vowels *ē, ō, ā*, of the Massoretic punctuation, were never meant to go with the consonants *Jhvh*, but were simply borrowed from the word *Adonai*, which was substituted in reading for the ineffable name. The only objection that could be urged against this view was, that *Adonai* begins with Chatef-Pathach, and *Jehovah* with simple Shevah; and the obvious reply that the latter point is a mere abridgement of the former, has just been confirmed by Strack's collation of one of the ancient codices with Babylonian punctuation, preserved at Tschufutkale in the Crimea, which actually writes Chatef-Pathach with the Jod of יהוה, but omits the usual Cholem.¹ It may be added that the codex of 916, described by Pinner in 1845, does not point יהוה at all, except when it is followed by *Adonai* or *Cebaoth*—another proof that the vowels are quite secondary. It is Petrus Galatinus, confessor of Leo X., who has the discredit of bringing *Jehovah* into currency;² but Böttcher has shewn that he followed the precedent of two passages in the *Pugio Fidei*, in which, however, the blundering transcription was probably inserted by an ignorant copyist.³

But not only is *Jehovah* wrong; it is a matter of general consent that *Jahve* is the true form of the name. Until 1867 Delitzsch contended for *Jahawah*, but in the second edition of his Commentary on the Psalms, he came over to the current view, promising to vindicate his change of opinion by new

¹ *Liber Jobi*, ed. Baer (1875), p. v.

² Cf. Drusius, *Tetragrammaton*. cap. xii.

³ *Ausfl. Lehrb. der Hebr. Spr.* (1866), vol. i. p. 49.

arguments. These have not yet appeared, but in truth they were not necessary, and Delitzsch was immediately followed even by his disciple Köhler, who only a few months before had argued for Jahawah in a university programme. The newest statements by men of note in favour of the form Jahve, are by Schrader in the *Bibel-lexikon*, vol. iii. p. 167 (1871), by Lagarde in the critical corollary to his *Psalterium Hieronymi* (1874), and by Hitzig in a posthumous paper in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift* (1875), p. 7.

The argument may be put thus. The various contracted forms in which the name appears, either separately (Jah), or in compound proper names (Jô, Jěhō, Jāhu), are all reducible to Jahv, יהוּ.¹ But יהוּ can come from יהוה only by the omission of the final vowel indicated by ה, on the analogy of the jussive formation in verbs Lamed He. This analogy also demands ě = ay, for the lost final vowel, and enables us to recognise in יהוה Jahve, an example of the common formation of proper names on the measure of the imperfect of a verb. It is true that proper names derived in this way from roots ל"ה may end in the vowel ā, as יִשְׂרָאֵל, Gen. xli. 17; but Jahvā would not be shortened into Jahv.² Again the form to which we are led by these purely linguistic arguments, is also that given by ancient tradition. The pronunciation 'Iaβé is ascribed by Theodoret to the Samaritans. Epiphanius gives 'Iaβé or 'Iaυé, and Clement apparently 'Iaουé. Other traditions are evidently based on the contracted forms. Theodoret gives 'Aīā, or according to another reading 'Ia as the pronunciation of the Jews. If the former is the correct text, we must perhaps suppose that the Hebrew word transcribed is not יהוה but אֱהוה, Exod. iii. 14., which remains untranslated in the Babylonian and Jerusalem Targums, and must therefore have been treated at least by

¹ Cf. Hitzig on Isaiah i. 2. Olshausen, *Lehrbuch der Hebr. Spr.* p. 611. It may be noted that the termination יהוּ in proper names drops the ה and appears as יוּ on ancient Hebrew gems.

² It may perhaps be added, that the spelling יהוה is as old as the stone of Mesha, in which the use of the final ה to express ā is doubted by Nöldeke, *Inschrift des König's Mesa*, p. 32, 34. It has been asked whether we should not adopt the soft pronunciation יהוה. But יהו comes from יהוּ, as for example יִשְׂרָאֵל = יִשְׂרָאֵל. The abbreviation of יהוּ would be יהו as in יִשְׂרָאֵל. So Hitzig argues, adding that the emphatic hard pronunciation is pausal and appropriate in a proper name, and comparing the pausal pronunciation of the letters Alef, Daleth, &c., which already appears in the LXX.

part of the Jews as a proper name. It must, however, be remembered, that the Jews, according to various passages in the rabbinical books, frequently mumbled or minced the name when they did not avoid it altogether.

It would be interesting, in connection with the question of pronunciation, to know exactly the steps by which the name fell into desuetude. It is sparingly used even in some parts of the Old Testament, and in the Elohistie Psalms, xlii–lxxxiii., it can hardly be doubted that a later transcriber or collector has often deliberately changed *Jahve* to *Elohim*. Lagarde, who finds in *Jahve* the idea of God as a promise-keeper, supposes that the name fell into disuse in troublous times, when God no longer appeared to care for his people, and when men did not venture confidently to address him as the fulfiller of his promises. But it seems more natural to suppose that reverence for “this glorious and fearful name” (Deut. xxviii. 58) engendered a fear to profane it by utterance. Among the Alexandrian Jews this fear was exegetically justified by the LXX interpretation of Lev. xxiv. 16—“Let him that nameth the name of the Lord be put to death.” In Palestine, practice and theory on the point appear to have fluctuated considerably. One tradition tells us that even the priests ceased to utter the name three hundred years before the Christian era. The treatise *Joma*, on the other hand, affirms that the high priest continued to pronounce the name distinctly on the day of expiation, and *Berachoth*, 9, 5, even enjoins its use in ordinary salutations. These and other rabbinical statements have been carefully collected and criticised by Geiger, in his *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel* (1857) p. 261 *sqq.*, but the positive results of his investigations are very precarious.

The question as to the meaning of the name may be approached either directly from the etymology or from Exod. iii. 14, 15. Etymologically, יהוה may be viewed as the imperfect either of Qal or Hiphil of הוה. The former view is that of the Old Testament, if, as is generally admitted, יהוה in Exod. iii. 15 is the same name as אהיה in ver. 14. There, is, however, a rising feeling among critics in favour of the derivation from Hiphil, which, propounded long ago by Clericus, and renewed by Gesenius in his *Thesaurus*, is now supported by Schrader, Lagarde, Kuenen,¹ and others. Lagarde, like his predecessor Clericus, brings this

¹ *Godsdienst van Israel*, i. 275.

view into harmony with Exod. iii., by a peculiar and ingenious view of the passage, which we shall have to examine presently. But even if we hold that the Pentateuch takes יהוה as the name which in man's mouth corresponds to אלהים in the mouth of God, the conjecture that the form was originally a Hiphil is not to be despised. For while we learn from Exod. vi. that the revelation of God's nature involved in the name Jahve was first given to Moses, the name itself must have been older. The name of Moses' mother is compounded with it, and the contraction Jah in Exod. xv. could hardly have been formed in the short period between the commencement of Moses' work and the destruction of the Egyptians.¹ It is therefore not only legitimate, but almost necessary, to suppose that the name underwent a change of meaning in connection with the new and higher revelation to Moses; and so the derivation from a Hiphil which is etymologically most natural, may perhaps give the original sense of the word.

If we take הוה as a mere variant of the common verb היה, the Hiphil derivation gives the sense, "He who causes to be." But this is so abstract, that the scholars who follow out the view now before us, feel constrained to go back upon the primitive notion of the root. It is usually supposed that הוה or היה is a weaker form of חי, *to live*; and thus Jahve would mean *Giver of life*. There is more evidence, however, in favour of Lagarde's opinion, that the root meant originally *to fall*, and then *to happen, to become, to be*. This sense is still found in Arabic, lies at the root of several Syriac idioms, and appears in Heb., not only in הוה, *destruction*, but once at least, in the verb itself (Job xxxvii. 6). Without going back the whole way to the physical sense, Lagarde interprets Jahve to mean, *He who bringeth to pass*, comparing פִּי in 1 Kings vii. 21. The name thus interpreted meant, in the first instance, the Creator; but in the Pentateuch, denotes God rather as the fulfiller of His promises. In the transition from the first to the second of these ideas, from God's might to His covenant faithfulness, Lagarde seeks the new revelation of the name, that is, of the nature of Jahve, which is spoken of in Exodus vi. He that "callesth those things that be not as though they were" (Rom. iv. 17), was now first known as "confirming the

¹ See Ewald, *Geschichte*, ii. 223. Schrader's conjecture, that Jochebed is to be regarded as a name assumed in honour of the new revelation, is arbitrary. And the contraction Jo-chebed could not be formed at once.

promises" (Rom. xv. 8). This beautiful and profound exegesis throws a clear light on Exodus vi., and certainly contains elements which must be brought out in any true theory of the pentateuchal conception of the name Jahve.¹ But as the author presents it, it can hardly be made to square with Exod. iii. 14. For אֱהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה at the beginning of the verse, Lagarde adopts and justifies from Hebrew and the cognate dialects, with his usual wealth of illustration, the very idiomatic rendering, *Be I who I may*. God, that is, meets the inquiry of Moses, after his name (or nature), with the reply, "It is nothing to thee who I am, know only that I am He who gave my promise to the fathers, and who am known to man as the faithful fulfiller of my word." This would be clear enough if the last clause of ver. 14 were omitted; but it is not apparent how Lagarde explains the אֱהְיֶה in it. Clericus makes this אֱהְיֶה a short expression for the longer, "Be I who I may," and interprets "Thou shalt say to the children of Israel, He who says of Himself only, *Be I who I may*, hath sent me." Lagarde can hardly be supposed to homologate this view, and perhaps would suggest that the verb in the last clause should be pointed as a Hiphil. But thus we are brought back to the current and undoubtedly most plausible view that אֱהְיֶה and יְהוָה are one and the same name, expressed respectively in the first and in the third person. And in that case we ought certainly not to

¹ It is of course conceivable, that the earliest meaning of the name was not even so elevated as *Creator*. The causative formation of הוּוֹה, *fall*, might very well mean the *prostrater*, a conception readily suggested by the manifestation of God's might in the thunderstorm, which forms the physical basis of so many Old Testament descriptions of the divine power. On this view the pre-Mosaic notion of Jahve would be strictly parallel to *El-shaddai*, which means the *violent* rather than the *powerful* God. A different line of explanation was suggested a few months ago by Schrader, in *Jahrbh. für Profl. Theol.*, 1875, p. 317, who believes that Jahve is identical with the Assyrian word Jahu, which appears as the name of a god upon the monuments. Admitting that the Assyrians may have borrowed from the Hebrews, Schrader also contemplates the opposite as possible; and in that case, since the Assyrian word for wind appears to be a derivative of הוּוֹה, he thinks that Jahve would originally signify, "He who blows or breathes." It ought to be said that Schrader himself thinks it premature to build on this foundation, and seems to aim only at establishing his claim to priority, in accordance with the unfortunate weakness of modern German science. An almost ludicrous example of the same weakness is the "Prioritätsstreit"—in which Schrader has a share, which a scholar of his eminence could well afford to waive—for the honour of having been the first positively to adopt Gesenius's suggestion to take Jahve as a Hiphil! Meantime, Clericus is forgotten, except by Lagarde.

commit ourselves to a change of punctuation till we are assured that no good sense can be got by taking both words as forms of the Qal.

The modern disposition to look on Jahve as a Hiphil form, is in great measure a protest against the abstract unhistorical character of the traditional exegesis of Exod. iii. 14. That exegesis has flowed in two main currents, each of which has given rise to a metaphysical exposition of the name יהוה. It ought, however, to be observed, that in the older exegesis, the idea of God brought out in verse 14 is seldom identified in express terms with the meaning of the ineffable name, and that the ancient versions make no attempt to point out that אלהים and יהוה are synonyms. Probably, indeed, this was not generally understood, and even among the mediæval Jews the opinion that the two names are quite distinct, and that the meaning of יהוה is unknown, has so notable a supporter as Rabbi Jehuda Hal-Levi.¹ It is not, therefore, historically accurate to regard every interpretation of verse 14 as a theory of the ineffable name. What we find in the history of the exegesis of the text is, strictly speaking, the various views that have been held as to the idea of God in the Pentateuch, which in turn form the basis for various theories of the name Jahve.

The two main exegetical traditions to which I have already referred, emphasise respectively God's absolute nature and aseity, or his eternity and immutability. The latter is the Palestinian tradition, the former is Hellenistic, and was doubtless developed under foreign influences.²

¹ Liber Cosri, ed. Buxt. p. 262. The identity of the names is expressed by Theodoret, and appears to have been recognised in the Syrian Church; for Bar Ali. (ed. Hoffmann, 4394, cf. 4395, 4406), expounds *Jah*, in accordance with the Palestinian exegesis of verse 14, to mean the eternal. Among the Jews, Abraham ben-Ezra teaches that the two names are only different persons of the verb.

² Brugsch and others have suggested that the idea of God conveyed in the words *I am what I am*, was derived by Moses from Egypt. "A solitary God," says Ebers (*Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, 1872, p. 528), "who has begotten himself and is source of his own being, who is at once his own father and son, who is the To-day, the Yesterday, and the To-morrow, and is called I am who I am (*dnuk pu anuk*), confronts us in the theological writings of the ancient Egyptians, so overshadowed indeed by the many Protean shapes of the rich Pantheon of the Nile Valley, that his essence can hardly be grasped and understood by the uninitiated." If this statement is trustworthy, it is very possible that Egyptian influence may have shaped the LXX translation of our verse. But the true meaning of the Hebrew is, as we shall see, something quite different, so that Moses at least did not borrow.

The Hellenistic tradition attaches to the LXX, *ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὢν* . . . *ὁ ὢν ἀπίσταλκί με*. The conception of God as the one true and absolute substance, *ὁ ὢν*, τὸ ὄν, is thoroughly Alexandrian. We find it in the Book of Wisdom xiii. 1, and in fuller development in Philo, under the twofold notion (1) that God is the only true being, (2) that His being is without determination, and so cannot be the subject of predication.¹ Both sides of this conception are expressly associated by Philo with the passage before us. In his treatise on *Genesis* iv. 8–16 he explains the verse to mean, that all things after God do not exist κατὰ τὸ εἶναι, but only appear to exist.² And in his book on *Dreams* (lib. i., §§ 39, 40), the text is cited in connection with the doctrine, that it is the nature of the existent (τὸ ὄν) simply to be, and not to be declared by speech.

These notions have no claim to be called Biblical, and the LXX translation of our verse is certainly inadmissible. But no part of the philosophy of Alexandria influenced the ancient and mediæval Church more powerfully than its unscriptural conception of God, and the mark of this influence is deeply imprinted on the history of the exegesis of the passage before us. The notion of God as the one self-subsistent, unchangeable Existence, the source of all other being, is connected with the text in various modifications by Origen,³ Hieronymus,⁴ Augustin, and other fathers, as well as by the current theology of the middle ages, which of course followed the Vulgate, *Ego sum qui sum :—qui est misit me*.⁵ So too Luther, and many other expositors down to our own day, see in the words an assertion of the absoluteness and independence of God's being, or even, adopting more fully the Alexandrian idea of God as free from all determinations, find in them the doctrine of His pure arbitrium. Thus Drechsler translates, *I am who and what I please*,—a sentence that breathes the spirit of Scotism rather than of the Bible.⁶

¹ *Quod Deus immutabilis*, § 11, ed. Mangey i. 281.

² Opp. ed. Mangey i. 222.

³ Opp. ed. Rue, iv. 65, and in other passages.

⁴ In his *Commentary* on Eph. iii.

⁵ P. Lombardi Lib. Sent. I., Dist. viii. c. 1.

⁶ The Alexandrian idea of God finds expression in the later Jewish theology through Maimonides, whose interpretation of our passage may be read in Cartwright's *Rabbinical Commentary*, in l. Compare also Rabbi Jehuda Hal-Levi, l. c.

The Palestinian tradition, as I have said, emphasises rather the *eternity* of God, though with this the idea of His creative power is associated. The exegetical tradition of the Jews in Palestine is found in the Jerusalem Targum, and in the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan. In the first of these we read, *The word of Jehovah said to Moses : He who said Be and it was, and who will say Be and it shall be.* The אהיה in the last clause is retained. In the Targum of Jonathan we find a fuller exposition. *Jehovah said to Moses, He who spake and the world was, who spake and the universe was : And he said, thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel, I-am-I-who-am-and-will-be hath sent me.* In the unmetaphysical language of the Jews, the favourite way of expressing eternity was by the formula,—*He who has been, who is, and who will be*, which is found in the Targum of Jonathan on Deut. xxxii. 39, and in the Midrash on our passage, which connects the triple notion of existence past, present, and future with the threefold אהיה of the verse. There can be little doubt that the familiar phrase of Rev. i. 4 is a mere transcription of this formula, ὁ ἐχθὺς being a literal translation of the rabbinic periphrasis for the notion of futurity. The opposition to this view on the part of recent scholars belongs to a general tendency to underestimate the extent to which New Testament idiom is coloured by Semitic habits of thought. But however this may be, the notion that the text speaks of God as the Eternal, continued to influence exegesis, especially in the East,¹ and has held its ground up to the present time, even leading several translators habitually to write *the Eternal* as the rendering of Jahve. This is the usage of the French version, and is also adopted in Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, and by English imitators of Bunsen. In fact, almost all moderns either take the idea of the *absolute*, or that of the *eternal*, or try to hold both together. In developing the notion in detail, every one finds his own idea of God expressed in the words of the first clause. One scholar finds the idea of God's pure arbitrariness, another that of absolute self-consistency, and so forth. It is not necessary to enumerate all the variations played on the two main traditional themes. The most important in recent times is that put forward by

¹ We have found it in the Syrian Church. It appears also in the Arabic version of Saadia Gaon. Cf. further Lane's *Arabic Lexicon*, p. 1544, to which Lagarde has called attention.

Hofmann, Delitzsch, and Oehler, who lay stress on the fact that the Hebrew verb *היה* expresses the notion of becoming, rather than of bare metaphysic being, and that the imperfect is specially the *fient* mood. Thus while aiming in the main at a union of the two sides of the exegetical tradition, they substitute for the bare notion of the absolute, that of God's freedom and self-determination in historical manifestation of himself to man; and in place of the abstract idea of the eternal, take the notion of God's eternal self-consistency and covenant faithfulness in his dealings with man. I state this view as it is put by Oehler; the others vary slightly in detail. But in all its forms this exegesis, while in some points nearer to the Hebrew than the older views, is essentially metaphysical, and based upon recent developments of German philosophy.

I have sketched these leading views of the verse without going into their exegetical basis, because it is very plain that they are really nothing more than adaptations of the text to the philosophical and theological notions of expositors. The Septuagint rendering which lies at the root of the first view is utterly untenable on linguistic grounds, for the Hebrew verb has not the sense of metaphysical entity. But the current translation, *I am that I am*, or *I am he who I am*, is not much better; for in the first place this long phrase cannot possibly be viewed as summed up in the simple *I am* of the second clause, which yet is plainly the whole name; and in the second place *אֶהְיֶה* does not mean *I am*, but *I will be*. This I think must have been understood by the Palestinian expositors, who got the notion of eternity by taking the verb as a true future¹ and giving to it not the abstract metaphysical sense of the Hellenistic interpretation, but the simpler notion of actuality [Daseyn], which it certainly has at least in later Biblical Hebrew (Eccles. i. 9; viii. 7; vii. 24, &c). Thus *אֶהְיֶה* means simply "I will be in existence," "I will not cease to be." But on this view how shall we render the first clause? Plainly we must follow those ancient Jewish scholars who translate: "[My name is] I will be, [that is] I who will be." As Abraham ben Ezra puts it, we must take *אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה* as an explanatory apposition to *אֶהְיֶה*.

The merit of reviving this view of the first clause and of

¹ So Aquila and Theodotion (Field's Hexapla, vol. i. p. 85).

emphasising its superiority to the current rendering, is due to Mr Aldis Wright,¹ who however has no objection to retain the present tense and translate "Ehyeh—because I am," or, "Ehyeh—who am." But apart from the question of tense, this view, however superior grammatically to the rendering of the English version, gives to the verse a limping and jerky character, which seems very much out of place in so solemn an utterance. One feels that a short and weighty introductory sentence, and not a mere ejaculation of the name Ehyeh is wanted to prepare the way for the second half of the verse. But apart from this, I believe that an independent view of the passage will lead us to conclude, that neither aseity, nor eternity, nor any metaphysical doctrine, lies in the words.

1. It is plain that no rendering of אֱהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה is admissible, which, like that of the English version, throws the emphasis on the last two words. This sentence is simply the fuller explanation of the meaning already expressed in that name which, in God's mouth is אֱהְיֶה, and in man's יִהְיֶה. A name which undergoes such a change of person must be a real and independent predication, and in it we are to seek the leading thought of the verse.

2. As the name, in the form Jahve, has so important a place throughout the Old Testament, it seems reasonable to suppose that elsewhere in God's utterances there will be some echo of the form אֱהְיֶה. Now in verse 12, God says, כִּי אֶהְיֶה עִמָּךְ, "*I will be with thee*," and this *I will be* does ring through the whole Bible in varying form—I will be with thee, I will be your God, &c. (Gen. xxvi. 3 ; xxxi. 3 ; Jos. i. 5 ; Jud. vi. 16 ; Jer. xxiv. 7 ; Zech. ii. 9 ; viii. 8, &c.). Is there not a presumption that this oft-repeated *I will be* is akin to the אֱהְיֶה of the divine Name, and that the latter must also mean—not I will exist, but I will be—*something* which lies implicitly in the mind of Him who uses the name. So in the mouth of the worshipper, *He will be it*, is the assertion of confidence in Jahve, as the God who will not disappoint His servants, or fail to be to them that which they need and desire. The sense is, in fact, *He will approve Himself*. This view is not a pure innovation. Rabbi Jehuda Hal-Levi not only explains אֱהְיֶה to mean, "I who will be present to them when they seek me," but appeals to verse 12 in support of his exposition. Rashi has a

¹ Journal of Philology, vol. iv. p. 70.

similar view, and Ewald, in his latest work (*Lehre der Bibel*, vol. ii., pt. i., p. 338), adopts the same sense, and without mentioning R. Jehuda, supports it like him by an appeal to verse 12.¹

3. We come now to the addition *אשר אהיה*. As the simple *אהיה* must mean, He will be *something* which lies in the speaker's mind, it is reasonable to suppose that the *אשר אהיה* simply expresses this something. Thus we are led to avoid the rabbinical view revived by Mr Wright, and Ewald's clumsy version, "I will be it, I, namely, who will be it," and to render simply, "I will be what I will be." This I think is the only translation, with the exception of Professor Lagarde's, which can be admitted, in view of the similar phrases, *Exod. iv. 13*; *xvi. 23*; *2 Sam. xv. 20*; *1 Sam. xxiii. 13*. Observe, too, that in these cases, just as in that before us, the relative clause is without emphasis, and expresses not arbitrariness, but vagueness. In *Exod. iv. 13*, Moses is not so rude as to say, "Send whom you please, only not me." His words express a passive and uncordial submission to the unanswerable argument of verse 12. The meaning is, "Send me then if it must be so;" but he cannot bring himself to express his assent so directly, and substitutes the vague expression. So, too, in *1 Sam. xxiii. 13*, the sense is, not that they went whithersoever they could go, but that they went about here and there, it matters not where. The construction is, in principle, exactly the same as in the well-known idiom, *אשר אהיה*, to express the indefinite subject (*2 Sam. xvii. 9*); and so the sense of our text is not, I will be whatever I please, but That which I am to be unto you—what I have promised and you look for—I will assuredly approve myself to be. This vagueness is inevitable, for no words can sum up all that God will be to His people in their ever-varying needs. The people ask after the name of the Deliverer who speaks by Moses; they would know in what quality he reveals himself to their faith. But the all-sufficiency of Jahveh is wider than the widest faith. Whatsoever man can need at the hand of his God, He will be it. He will show Himself in wonders greater than they can imagine or prophet foretell. What He will accomplish can be known only in its performance. I will be what I will be. Thus the name, *I will*

¹ The passage from R. Jehuda (*Cosri l. c.*) is partly given by Mr Wright, who, however, omits the reference to ver. 12, and uses it only to support his view of the grammatical structure of the first clause. That I think is not the really important point in the interpretation.

be it, declares at once God's covenant faithfulness, and the inexhaustible richness and all-sufficiency of the providential workings of Him who "doeth wondrous things that we look not for" (Isa. lxiv. 2)¹—two ideas beautifully combined in Lam. iii. 23, "His mercies are new every morning: great is His faithfulness." The faith which, looking forward, invokes Jahve—He-will-be-it—is the same faith which, looking back, exclaims with the Psalmist, "Many, O Lord my God, are Thy wonderful works, and Thy counsels which Thou hast wrought for us. If I would declare and speak of them, they are more than can be numbered."

These results are confirmed by a passage too closely parallel even in form to be passed over in silence. I mean Exodus xxxiii. 19, which contains God's answer to the request of Moses to see His glory. Comparing ver. 18 with ver. 12, 13, we see that what Moses desires to see is the moral glory of God—His glorious *way*, *i.e.* plan or counsel towards men. As the ground of his request, he pleads that he has found favour with God; and as its end, that he may find favour, that is, that he may have assurance thereof. He desires, in short, such a revelation as shall seal to him the assurance that God's favour is unfailing, leading him from grace to grace. This request is granted as far as is possible to man, ver. 19; and the last clause of the verse contains the ground on which Moses receives what he asks. At the same time it is plain that the words, "I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious," &c., stand in close connection with the preceding words—"I will proclaim the name of Jahve before thee;" for in xxxiv. 6, when the promise is fulfilled, God proclaims Himself as Jahve, a God gracious and merciful. In other words, the prayer of Moses is granted, (1) by declaring to him what lies in the name Jahve, and (2) on the ground that the assurance of unfailing grace which he asks is in fact contained in that name. To whom God shews favour He will verily shew favour, and to whom He is merciful He will shew mercy indeed (cf. xxxiv. 7). This truth is contained in the name Jahve, and therefore in proclaiming that name to Moses, God makes all His goodness pass before him, and fulfils his

¹ The sequel of this verse on the correct translation, Neither hath eye seen a God beside thee, who doeth for them that wait on Him, affords another linguistic parallel to our text. יהוה bears to אֱלֹהֵי אֲשֶׁר אֵל exactly the same grammatical relation as יְעֲשֶׂה Isa. lxiv. 3, to כֹּה אֵעֲשֶׂה; אֵל, Amos iv. 12.

request as far as is possible to man. To find in this passage the doctrine that God's grace is arbitrary is false exegesis. The relative clauses simply express the indefinite object, and so give emphasis to the assurance, I *will* be gracious, I *will* be merciful. I remark further, in passing from this important narrative, that the statement that Moses can only behold God's back parts as He passes by, is obviously a pictorial expression of the truth, that not even to the greatest prophet can the veil be lifted up that conceals God's plan and purpose as He draws near to us in history. Only after He is gone by, after He has wrought those wonders which we look not for, can we look after Him and see that God was there. This is quite the same vagueness of God's self-manifestation as lies in the *אשר אהיה*.

5. In conclusion, let us look at a prophetic passage which seems to contain a distinct allusion to Exod. iii., and to confirm our exegesis. When Hosea i. 6 sqq. declares that God will take his mercy from the house of Israel, but continue it to Judah, he expresses his thought in the following contrast:—"On the house of Judah I will have mercy, and will save them *בִּיהוּה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם* in the quality of Jahve their God." But to Israel he says, v. 9, "Ye are not my people and *אֲנִי לֹא אֶהְיֶה לָכֶם*. I *will not be for you*." This very unusual expression is surely chosen in explicit contrast to the phrase, I will save Judah as Jahve their God. To Judah he is still Jahve, but to Israel he is no longer *אֱלֹהֵיהֶם*. This view of the passage seems inevitable, when it is remembered that towards the end of the book the name Jahve is again brought prominently forward as the pledge of covenant grace, Hos. xii. 10 (E. v. 9), xiii. 4, but especially xii. 6 (E. v. 5). The last passage plainly quotes Exod. iii. 15, and critics are agreed that Hosea was familiar with that part of the sources of the Pentateuch with which we have been dealing. Have we not then in Hos. i. 9 the earliest witness to the meaning of our text? W. R. SMITH.

ART IX.—*Soundness and Freedom in Theology.*

HOW to combine thorough soundness in the faith of the gospel with freedom of discussion on questions of theology,

and openness to new light and discoveries of truth ; is a problem that meets in the face the conductors of a periodical, that professes, as this Review does, to be at once evangelical in its principles, and as far as possible thorough, impartial, and fearless in its investigations. For both elements are vital, and must be maintained and defended. The great doctrinal principles of the Reformed Churches constitute the very gospel of the grace of God, that is the joy and comfort of the people of God, and the only hope of the world. Were these overthrown or shaken, the very foundation of the Church of Christ would be endangered, her right to exist lost, her occupation gone. She would have no sure message of peace to weary and wounded humanity. Yet, on the other hand, readiness to receive evidence, and listen to arguments from every quarter and in every direction, and freedom to examine and judge of every view in the light of evidence alone, unfettered by any foregone conclusion, are absolutely essential for an intelligent and conscientious conviction of truth on any subject. The right and duty of free inquiry and private judgment is claimed and must never be resigned by true Protestants. They forfeit their true position if they betray this.

But is it possible that these elements can be combined ? Are they not opposite and irreconcilable, and must they not at the very least make some mutual concessions, and agree to a compromise, if they are to dwell together in the same mind and in the same Church ? Such it seems to many must be the case, some giving the preference to one and some to the other.

All defined dogma, say some, all fixed belief, especially all formulated creeds or articles of faith, are inconsistent with free and unbiassed inquiry ; every thing must be loose, unsettled, open to discussion and disproof ; and if any doctrines are revered as fundamental and unquestionable, liberty is infringed and the intellect so far enslaved. According to this view, the Confessions of the Protestant Churches are relics of the Papal system ; and the only truly Protestant Church would be one without creed or definite faith at all. Thus the German Rationalists claimed to be the true representatives of the Reformers ; and the semi-infidel *Protestanten-verein* holds itself peculiarly entitled to that honoured name.

Others, again, take an opposite extreme, and in their zeal

for the truth of the gospel, are jealous of any inquiry or discussion of theological doctrine; and see in every doubt or difference of opinion on the minutest point, a symptom of unsoundness in the faith, on which they raise the cry of heresy. This tendency and practice is perhaps even more mischievous in its effects than the other; and the prevalence of it is one of the greatest evils and perils in the evangelical Churches.

Practically the attitude of many men in regard to the matter, is a compromise between the two principles, some partition being made of the field of knowledge and opinion, certain things being regarded as fixed and determined, so as to be no longer open to question, while others are held to be entirely unsettled and unascertained. This, however, is only an outward and not a very satisfactory settlement of the matter. It somewhat infringes on the free play of either principle. It may happen that questions need to be entertained and discussed, touching some of the most fundamental doctrines; while, on the other hand, much comfort and help in spiritual life may be lost by refusing to ascertain and firmly hold a truth less central and more open to question. The plan of compromise and partition will not do.

But is it, then, impossible to combine and harmonize the two indispensable elements of truth and freedom? It seems to me that it is not so; and that the principles held and acted on by the Reformers, though sometimes forgotten in the Protestant Churches since, form the bases of their vital and harmonious union. These principles are in reality simply the reversal of an error that had long prevailed in the Church, and vitiated its view of divine truth and life. Very early in the history of Christianity, the idea had arisen, that the faith of the gospel is simple belief or assent to truth; and thus Christianity came to be regarded as being merely, or at least chiefly, a new law or revelation, making known new truths to be believed, duties to be done, and promises to be hoped for; instead of being, as it really is, the revelation of a redemptive work of God, on which we are to rely, by a faith that is not mere intellectual assent, but such as necessarily implies or begets confiding trust.¹ When, however, faith was reduced to the mere belief

¹ I put it in the alternative form, "implies or begets;" because I do not mean to exclude from the true conception of Christianity the view of those Protestants who have thought, like Dr Chalmers, that saving faith is only the belief of God's testimony, necessarily leading to trust, though not including it. The maintenance of this necessary connection makes this view essentially

of certain truths made known to us by God, it could only be held to save us in this sense, that by believing these truths we were led to act upon them, doing what we were told to be our duty, and hoping for what we were promised as our reward. The ill effect of this mistake on Christian life, opening the door as it did to self-righteousness and legalism, cannot here be traced: what concerns us more is its influence on Christian theology, in tending to divorce it from Christian life. For, according to this view, the knowledge of Christian truth was to precede the Christian life; and instead of forming the ripe result of reflection on the whole spiritual experience of believers, must come before it, at least before those important parts of it that consist in loving obedience and aspiring hope. Augustine, in his *Enchiridion*, one of the patristic attempts at a system of theology, considers the whole of religion as consisting of three parts—faith, hope, and love; faith being expressed in the Creed, containing the *credenda*; hope in the Lord's Prayer, containing the *postulanda*; and love in the Ten Commandments, defining the *agenda* of the Christian: and this distribution, as it formed the basis on which most of the Christian Catechisms have been constructed, may fairly be regarded as exhibiting, in a characteristic form, the ruling ideas of pre-reformation theology.¹

Now it is obvious that this conception of religion makes it

different from the Romish doctrine, that faith is mere intellectual assent, which may be real and perfect without producing either trust or love. Both forms of the Protestant doctrine imply a different and truer conception of the nature of Christianity; but that which has been most generally held seems also to be the more Scriptural, that saving faith should be regarded, not merely as necessarily producing, but as including, as its most essential element, *fiducia*, the heart's trust or reliance on the personal Saviour.

¹ The Catechism of the Council of Trent, and Luther's Larger and Smaller Catechisms, consist simply of the Creed, Decalogue, Lord's Prayer, and Sacraments, without any attempt to combine them into a unity. The meagre Catechism of the Church of England makes some effort at a closer connection, at least of the Lord's Prayer with the preceding parts: the Genevan and Heidelberg Catechisms, though retaining the traditional form of such works, infuse into it a new spirit of life, that combines its various parts: while in the Catechisms of the Westminster Assembly, though traces of the old type may be observed in the exposition of the Decalogue and Lord's Prayer, there is an entirely new form and much greater unity given to the Christian instruction of the young. The pre-Reformation idea of faith finds most distinct and characteristic expression in the so-called Athanasian Creed, where it is laid down that a belief in the Catholic Faith is necessary "before all things" in order to salvation.

necessary to have the whole body of Christian doctrine which falls under the head of faith, complete and established, as a foundation and preparation for the actual experience of Christianity, in hope and love. Hence, too, all this body of doctrine must be established by purely intellectual, not by practical and experimental, arguments; for its belief is supposed necessarily to precede Christian experience. But to establish and maintain a system of religious doctrines, apart from any appeal to religious experience, is no easy task. Revelation has not been given to us in the form of a definite and positive creed; but as a history of actual transactions between God and man: and in order to form a system of doctrine out of Scripture, we need some guide and interpreter. But where is that to be found on the purely intellectual and isolated view of faith? It must be in some external authority, such as the tradition of the Church, or the universality of her faith, an authority which must be submitted to implicitly so far as it goes; so that if there is to be any room or scope for freedom of thought, it can only be in matters lying outside, and not determined by the rule of faith. This idea, that a certain number of doctrines, embodied in the creed or otherwise, formed a *Regula Fidei* to Christian thought, very soon established itself in the Church;¹ and it was on this principle that Origen proceeded in making the first attempt at systematic theology. He starts with the assumption, that Christianity is mainly or entirely a revelation of truth; and that some things in it are certain and clear, those namely which have been handed down by ecclesiastical tradition. These doctrines are simply to be received with obedient faith. But there are other things, which have been less fully and clearly revealed, and these are to be inquired into and searched out by reason, this being the province and task of theology. This way of riding the marches, as it were, between the provinces of authority and free inquiry, was the natural result of Christianity being viewed merely as a revelation of truth to be believed and acted upon. But as it is a merely external and arbitrary separation that it effects; it is not satisfactory in its dealing with either of the two principles. On the one hand, the authority estab-

¹ It is only on the light of this notion that we can understand the importance attached to the purity of the Nicene Creed, and the jealousy of the addition of any articles to it, such as the famous *Filioque*.

lished is merely external, making no appeal to reason and conscience; and it is arbitrarily limited to certain great fundamental doctrines, and excluded from all the rest of the field of theology, where reason is left absolutely free and without a guide. Yet this was for a long time the recognised way of applying reason to revealed religion, so as to work out a theological system, and it was in this way that the scholastic theology of the middle ages proceeded. It was a compromise between authority and freedom, certain "sentences" being insisted on as of absolute and unquestionable authority, while in all else reason was allowed absolute and arbitrary freedom. The result of this was twofold; on the one hand, the setting up of a rigid dogmatic system, not growing out of the spiritual life and experience of Christians, but built on certain assertions laid down by authority; and on the other hand, the growth of a purely rationalistic mode of speculation, as the mind followed its own course, with no guide or rule whatever, in all things where it had free scope at all. Neither of these conditions was favourable to the growth of a sound and free theology.

But the Reformation altered all that, and by setting a truer and deeper principle, in place of that which had, tacitly or avowedly, ruled men's minds before, made a truer and more fruitful theology possible for those who accepted it. The great principle of the Reformation in this connection was, that Christianity is something more than a mere revelation of truths to be believed, promises to be hoped for, and duties to be done, by which the blessings of salvation are to be attained. That idea fell, along with the doctrine of justification by works; and for it the Reformers substituted the view, that Christianity is a real and actual work of God, a work of redemption and renewal of sinners, wrought by the Father, through the Son, and in the Spirit, made known and offered to men in the gospel, and personally received and experienced in Christian life by all who believe in Jesus. This is the view of religion that is necessarily presupposed in the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith alone, when that is held in any real and significant sense. If we are saved, not by believing a truth and then acting upon it, but by trusting in the person and work of Jesus Christ as our Saviour; then a body of saving doctrines need not necessarily be elaborated, as it must be on the other assumption, antecedent to Christian

experience, and independent of it. It is not necessary to have a full and correct theology before we begin the Christian life, and as a preparation for it: the soul is brought into direct contact with the Saviour and his great work of salvation, and only after having experienced that personally, is it in a position to form or to appreciate a systematic exposition of that salvation. Thus theology, instead of being, as on the medieval theory, a preliminary discipline, that must be mastered before we can be thoroughly Christians, became the last result of Christian thought, reflecting on its own experience and the realities that have been revealed to it. In the pre-Reformation times, theology had been made to come before religion, and such theology must needs be dry and unspiritual, oscillating helplessly between dogmatism and rationalism; with the Reformers, religion came before theology, and infused into it a life from on high. There was thus brought into recognition the principle, on which alone a really living and organic system is possible, at once believing and scientific, orthodox and free, the principle of being guided by Scripture, and that not as interpreted partly by ecclesiastical tradition and partly by speculative reason, but entirely in all its parts by the Holy Spirit in the experience of believers.

It was in their own religious experience that the theology of the Reformers had its birth. Pre-eminently was this the case with Luther, who made practical trial of the various ways of salvation by right belief and good works prescribed in the Church, and, finding them all vain and fruitless, made his way, through long and painful struggles, to peace of heart and conscience by direct and simple trust in Christ. The doctrine of justification by faith was discovered by him as the life of his own soul, ere it was proclaimed as the principle of the Church's teaching; and as that great doctrine ruled and characterised all his theology, it may be truly said, that that theology all sprung from the heart, and was based on spiritual experience of redemption and reconciliation in Christ. *Pectus est quod facit theologum*, was a favourite saying of his; and it is closely connected with his other great watchword, *Fides sola justificat*. The Saxon Reformer is the most conspicuous example of this; but the same thing is true in substance of all his fellow-labourers. They lived their theology before they taught it; and the Word of God was made a plain and

enlightening book to them by the light of their own spiritual experience. Hence their theology was spiritual, experimental, living ; and not either blindly traditional, or wildly speculative. Calvin's *Institutio*, the first and greatest evangelical system, is pre-eminently so. It assumes, both in the writer and in the readers, the reality of true religion, or in the latter at least an earnest desire for it. For, though it was addressed as a defence of the Protestants to Francis I., yet Calvin declares, in the opening of that noble dedication to the king, that his purpose was simply "to teach certain rudiments by which those who were touched with some good affection towards God might be instructed to true piety, and chiefly to serve his own countrymen, of whom he saw that many hungered and thirsted for Jesus Christ, while few had a right knowledge of him." It was such that he expected to profit by his labours,—religion in its germ, at least, must be first in the soul, and theology can only come after that. The whole structure and contents of his great book bear this out ; all through, his theological system is based on spiritual experience ; and it was this that enabled him to construct an organic system, a task in which men of the genius and powers of Origen and Augustine had failed.

The principle on which the Reformers set themselves to the work of theologizing was briefly this, that theology requires as its basis vital personal experience of Christianity as the restoration of fellowship between God and man ; and that on this basis it proceeds, unfettered by any other consideration, to discover the scientific relations of the various parts of this experience to one another, and to truths otherwise known. This principle is fitted to secure both the soundness and the freedom that are necessary for any theology worthy of the name. The soundness in the faith is secured by its being based upon real experimental Christianity, which implies that it shall be in the truest sense evangelical. For Christianity is a remedial system for the world's sin and misery ; and the preaching of it is a gospel or message of glad tidings to men. The experience of it therefore is the actual reception and enjoyment of the salvation offered in the gospel ; and the possession of this, as a real matter of spiritual experience, will secure that all our thought and conclusions on the subject are truly evangelical. This is necessary for soundness in theology

and this also is sufficient for that purpose. For soundness, according to the original and Scriptural idea of it, is just healthiness: and that again is the natural result of genuine and vigorous life. Let vital godliness, living experience of Christianity, be fresh and strong in the soul, and we have the best security for substantial truth in our theology. There is no need of our inquiries being limited by particular articles or definitions, they will be spontaneously kept from wandering into dangerous ground, by the impossibility of contradicting the inward experience of the soul. With this internal instinct as a guide and guard, our inquiries may be perfectly free from all external trammels: and our theology will be both believing and free, both sound and scientific, if only it be really spiritual.

Thus the principle of the Reformation seems to afford a solution to the problem that we have to face. Yet it has not always been acted upon by Protestant divines. In the ages that followed the Reformation, very much of the living power with which the first Reformers grasped the truths of Christianity was lost, and a kind of Protestant scholasticism gained ascendancy in most of the Churches. Indeed there are too many remains of the old medieval idea of faith and its relation to religion even yet, though there has been a partial reaction against the formality of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Whenever the analogy of the faith, in the sense of any doctrine or set of doctrines, is made the touchstone of soundness; when opinions are looked on with suspicion, or condemned as heretical, merely because they do not square with some external formulary or standard, then there is a declension into the old pre-Reformation view, which hindered or prevented all free thought in theology. We must protest against all such procedure, and maintain that the only true test of soundness that should be put to any theory or opinion, is the question: Is it consistent with the reality of the Christian life experienced in the soul of a true believer in Jesus? If it be not inconsistent with this; then, whether true or not, it cannot be a fundamental error; while the more nearly it approaches to an explanation of the whole of a Christian's experience, the more of truth will it have in it.

It follows from this also, that one safeguard of theology consists in a close connection with the life of the Church. It

may indeed seem that the study of divine truth gains some important advantages from a separation from the practical work of the Church; those who pursue it being thus free to devote a learned leisure to research and thought, and so to amass greater stores of erudition, and more fully elaborate theories and speculations, than if they were engaged alongside of their studies in practical work for the cause of Christ and the good of men's souls. Yet it has been found in the experience of the Church, that such advantages are more than counterbalanced by the evils arising from the severance of the theological thought from the active life of the Church, tending as it naturally does, to a one-sided intellectual development and unreal fanciful theorising. This has been one of the faults of modern German theology, with all its accuracy and learning. When the study of theology is carried on in close connection with the evangelistic work of the Church, there is more likelihood that the life implied in such work will breathe into theology a truly evangelical spirit; while in return the scientific inquiry into divine truth, will elevate and refine the practical work of carrying the gospel and its influences to the poor and needy. . In a word, if our view of the relation of theology to religion be correct, the best security for soundness in the faith, is the close association of the researches of the study and the college with the spiritual life of the Church.

Among other means that promote and maintain such a connection, is the existence of a Theological Review. It does so in various ways. It is a medium by which the results of theological study are made known to the Church at large. For while the contributors to such a periodical must necessarily be those who give themselves more or less fully to exact and profound study, it may be hoped that its readers will include many who may not have leisure or ability for such pursuits, but who may yet be interested and benefited by having their results set before them. Again, such an organ affords an opportunity for ministers in active pastoral work giving to the public the fruits of their leisure time and thoughts, and so encourages the study of theology by those who are not set apart as its teachers. It may also help and encourage those who may wish to pursue the study of theology beyond the modicum of attainment required for entrance into the ministry, by recording and endeavouring to estimate the work done

from time to time in the various churches, in different departments of study; and in general, form a means of communication between those who are interested and engaged in the various branches of theological learning and research. It is believed that this *Review* has already, under its former distinguished and learned editors, done good service in these ways, and assuredly the need of such services is not less now than when it was first started. It has long been felt that one of the chief wants of the Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, has been a more profound, learned, and fresh theological literature. Humanly speaking, evangelical religion cannot be expected to keep its hold on the more educated and cultivated men of our day, in the face of so much ability and learning as is employed in certain quarters against it; unless some at least of its defenders show themselves equal or superior in research and insight to their adversaries. Any means, therefore, that encourages honest and thorough theological study, deserves the countenance and support of all intelligent friends of the gospel. Such a means it is believed this *Review* has been under its former editors, and it will be our earnest endeavour that it may be so still.

As to its basis, it will continue as heretofore to be Evangelical, on the principles indicated above. We write as Christians, standing on the ground of reconciliation to God through the vicarious death of His Son; and will not allow anything to go forth from our pages inconsistent with that great fact, or with the supreme authority of the Word of God in which that fact is revealed. But we write also as theologians, bound in that character to inquire freely and thoroughly into all theological questions with which we may have to deal. We must protest against the spirit that insinuates heresy or cherishes suspicion against a man, because he differs from the common opinion on some minor point; if he should be led to doubt whether the Pentateuch was written by Moses, or all the Psalms that bear David's name are his; or if he thinks that Anselm's theory of the Atonement was erroneous, and that some modern forms of stating it are unwise; or that the Confession of Faith ought to be revised and abridged; or that many doctrines of theology may receive a further development than they have yet had. It is to be feared that the tendency which would condemn all such opinions exists in some quarters in our Churches, but it is

one absolutely fatal to Protestant theology, and fraught with danger to evangelical religion. For the doctrines of the Reformation cannot be maintained without the recognition of the distinction between fundamental and non-fundamental articles. While, therefore, we will take care that all that appears in our pages is in accordance with evangelical principles, each of our contributors is alone responsible for his own papers, and we will endeavour to act on the maxim:—*In necessariis unitas, in non-necessariis libertas, in omnibus caritas.*

EDITOR.

AMERICAN QUARTERLIES.

The Bibliotheca Sacra and Theological Eclectic. Andover. October 1875.

This is a very valuable number of this long-established Review, and completes the thirty-second year of its present series. Almost all of the ten articles are well worthy of a careful reading, and their topics are for the most part of present interest among theologians. The place of honour is given, we think unwisely, to an elaborate and intricate discussion by the well-known Dr Hickok of Amherst, of the doctrine of the resurrection of the Christian's body, under the rather ambiguous title, "Jesus and the Resurrection," which, we trust, in its first application meant something simpler and more blessed. He holds very strongly, and with peculiar modifications of his own, the theory of the tri-partite nature of man, adding to the common view, so prominent in the *Psychologie* of Delitzsch, and popularised by Mr Heard, this novel position, that man has in his present state a threefold body—a fleshly or earthly organism, like the plants; a soul-body, or sentient organism, like the lower animals; and a spiritual body. On this hypothesis he sets himself to establish the "certainty of a personal identical resurrection." The first body, he conceives, perishes finally at death. The second is made equally immortal with the third or spiritual body, through the intimate union of soul and spirit in this earthly life. The soul and spirit of the Christian (we presume he would say, of every man) and their related organisms are separated at death, but re-united at the resurrection! Dr Hickok makes no attempt in this article to *prove* this theory of refined materialism on philosophical grounds, but endeavours, *secondly*, to shew that it is in full accordance with scripture. Here he draws largely on the poetical books of the Old Testament, especially Ecclesiastes, which surely was not meant to be a manual of psychology. The trustworthiness of his exegesis may be estimated from some of his conclusions, *e.g.* that at death "the spirit goes to heaven or hell," "the soul remains somewhere on earth, separate from it," and "the psychical body does not dissolve." He adds, "It is a question less clearly decided, whether the soul has full and

uninterrupted consciousness in its separation from the spirit"! In the third and longest portion of the article, the writer endeavours to prove, from the usual passages in Corinthians and Thessalonians, what he calls "the certainty and identity of a resurrection body." Here a useful analysis, in most of which we might agree, is spoiled by the frequent reiteration of the above distinctions. Our readers will probably agree that Dr Hickok has rather encumbered than helped the argument for a personal resurrection by his speculations, and that we shall do well to keep separate the debateable question of the absolute numerical identity of our resurrection-body, or that of any part of it, from the all-important fact of the resurrection of every human personality.

The second article is short and unambitious, but is of real value. The question discussed is, "Did the Writers of the New Testament Endorse the Septuagint Version?" And the answer of the author, Rev. H. M. Dean, is briefly, *No*. The special value of the article is in its careful examination and statement of facts as to New Testament quotations from the Old Testament; and in the conclusion come to, which is, that the the New Testament writers quoted probably from memory in most cases, not having access to MS. copies of the Old Testament either in Greek or Hebrew.

The next article is on the "Recent Critical Treatment of the Psalter," by Rev. James F. M'Curdy, Princeton. It contains a well-written and judicious estimate of the principal recent German and English works upon the Psalms, and forms an admirable introduction for students to the use of those works. Of course most space is deservedly given to German commentators, and the author expresses his regret that so little has been done in this field by his own countrymen—Dr J. A. Alexander being the single worthy representative of American Psalm-exegesis. Beginning with recent English writers, he bestows deserved praise on two—Professor Stewart Perowne, and Professor Binnie, late of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, and now of the Free Church College, Aberdeen. Passing to German commentaries, he agrees with Dr Binnie in his defence of "the much-decried name of Hengstenberg," and calls him the "greatest of exegetical apologists." It is unnecessary to follow Mr M'Curdy in his careful characterization of books so well known as the recent commentaries of Hupfeld, unrivalled as a grammarian; Delitzsch, poetical, profound and fanciful; and Moll, painstaking, reverent, and doctrinal. He concludes his paper by appealing to his own fellow-countrymen at once to study and to sing the Psalms more largely than they have been lately doing, if they would make their religious life stronger and fuller—an appeal which will find a corroboration in many a British heart.

There follows a pleasant popular sketch by the Hon. John D. Baldwin, Worcester, Massachussets, of "The Early British and Irish Churches." The writer shews a thorough familiarity with many of the standard works on the subject, and seems also to have bestowed on it some original research. It is impossible to attempt a summary of such a historical paper.

After a long and rather heavy discussion on the definition of "Consciousness," by Dr Bascom, President of the University of Wisconsin, comes another of those modest, careful pieces of honest work so frequently found in this and other American periodicals, which shew how many there are in the churches of the United States possessed of the true love of scholarship. The subject of it is "Words in New Testament Greek borrowed from the Latin," and the writer, Professor Potwin, of Hudson. We have first a list, the result of a reading of the entire text, of all the Latin words (other than proper names, which are considered separately) found in the New Testament, with a careful analysis of their meaning. The words are only twenty-four in number—less than one two-hundredth of the whole—and they are, with one exception, nouns. Both of these facts shew the early origin of the New Testament books, as late Greek contains a much larger proportion of Latin words, and nouns are always the first foreign words to come in.

There are still two more articles deserving notice in this well-filled *Review* (besides a third on Dr Burton's *Metaphysics*, which we may pass without comment). The one of these is a plain, intelligible account, by Rev. S. Merrill, of Andover, of Mr George Smith's recent Assyrian discoveries ; and the other is a brilliant and thoughtful lecture by Rev. Joseph Cook, of Boston, on "The Decline of Rationalism in the German Universities."

The New Englander. New Haven. October 1875.

Only two of the eleven articles in this number of the New Haven quarterly are on theological topics, so that we may venture, in our limited space, to criticise it very briefly. One of these theological papers is a very well-written and well-timed exposition, by Rev. A. T. Lyman of Brooklyn, of "The Opportunities of Culture in the Christian Ministry ; or, Some Reasons why Christian Students should choose the Ministry for a Profession." His main position is this, that "the instinct of a true manhood and the spirit of a successful ministry are in our day identical, and that the very impulse toward a muscular, healthy, and finished culture, which prompts the generous-souled youth to seek a liberal education, will also, if followed, lead him straight on toward the Christian ministry as his profession." His able argument to establish this position is twofold. *First*, he asks what is the end sought, and the instrument used by the minister ; and shews that his *end* is the building up of others into a perfect Christian manhood, and his *instrument* is himself—his own manhood, sanctified and enriched by God's Spirit. The Christian minister thus comes, he says, "in a solemn sense to love his profession as he loves his own soul." His profession is directly favourable to his personal religion and his spiritual culture. Then, *secondly*, the writer argues, that at present young men should be invited to enter the ministry, because the peculiar qualities most in demand for a finished manhood are those most needed and most fostered in the Christian ministry. Of these qualities he illustrates three—reverence, sympathy, and joyfulness.

The only other theological article is a very brief one, which need not detain us, on the famous translation of *μικροβίβλος*, by the Vulgate *Agite*

pœnitentiam, which the Douay Version renders "do penance." The writer defends the Latin translator, while he convicts the English Romanist translators of serious incorrectness.

The Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review. October 1875.

This excellent quarterly has, since the re-union of the old and new school Presbyterian Churches, four years ago, combined the resources, as well as the names, of the two rival periodicals which previously represented these denominations separately. It is the stronger, doubtless, for this fusion, and we have no reason to complain, in scanning its pages, of any lack of theological matter. The first article is an exceedingly instructive one, on the Presbyterian elements of American nationality, by the late Professor Gillett of New York. It has a melancholy interest, to which the editors allude elsewhere, as being the last and unfinished piece of work of its lamented author. Another production of his accomplished pen is reviewed in this number of the *Princeton*, viz., "God in Human Thought;" and it is evident from these articles, and from what the editors say of his various historical books, that his early death has been a severe loss to the Church at large, and especially to Presbyterianism.

The article before us was evidently meant to have been but the first of a series, connecting the bold Scottish Reformers, the banished Covenanters, the Irish Presbyterian colonists, and the successive bands of emigrants from Scotland and Ireland, with the present prevalence of sound views of civil and religious liberty in America. But all that this first paper has carried out is a careful sketch of the teaching of the Reformers and Covenanters on the subject of the liberty of the subject, and the hatefulness of tyranny; and it is delightful to see how simply and convincingly Dr Gillett traces, side by side in history, loyalty to Christ as King, and the love and vindication of natural and political freedom. His Republican sympathies, and his immediate theme, have led him to lay special stress upon the latter element of our forefathers' teaching, but he readily acknowledges that it had its root and strength in loyalty to Christ and His truth. He quotes, with approval for its sagacity, King James's declaration, "that Presbytery agreed with monarchy (his name for tyranny) as well as God and the devil." Dr Gillett traces the progress of modern American (and British) opinions about the liberty of the subject from George Buchanau down to the end of the "killing time." Dr Gillett hints, in his closing paragraph, that "the Presbyterian struggle against tyranny and intolerance," no longer necessary in Scotland, was then transferred to America, and that to a great degree through the influence of the many godly Scottish ministers and laymen who were transported, during the reign of James VII., to North America. It is most desirable, we would remark in closing our notice of this important article, that any results of research which Dr Gillett may have written down as to the influence in America of these exiled Scotchmen, should not be lost sight of.

The second article, by the Rev. Dr Prime of New York, on "Civil and Religious Liberty in Turkey," will surprise many readers, for it

proves, by indisputable documentary evidence, that, for a century past the Turkish Sultans, despotic though they have been, have originated, even against the will of their people, various reforms in the direction of increased personal and religious liberty for their Christian subjects. The last few years, however, have seen some reactionary steps taken by the Turkish Government, and new penalties imposed on converts to Christianity. Two articles follow, which advocate successively the sides of the question, "Has a Prosecutor in the Presbyterian Church the right to appeal from a lower to a higher Church Court?" Many of our readers may be astonished to learn that any one disputes this right, which is certainly recognized in all our British churches. But Dr Noyes of Evanston, who maintains the negative side, has much to say in its defence, chiefly on these two grounds; the general one, that no man should be tried repeatedly for the same alleged crime; and the special one, that only *injured* parties should be allowed an appeal—his argument maintaining that a prosecutor in a public cause is not thus injured. In spite of all this writer's ingenuity, however, we are convinced that most British Presbyterians will side with Dr Patton of Chicago in holding the prosecutor's right of appeal as well as that of the accused. Professor Campbell of Montreal has an article on "The 'Hornets' of Scripture," which, we need hardly say, is most learned and able. He maintains, with most recent writers, that by these hornets the Amorites were meant, and to the proof of this he brings his wonderful, if not unique, knowledge of very early Ethnology, especially Egyptology, and of the language of Hebrew Scripture on these points. He also attempts, with apparent success, to identify these early Amorites with the Hivites, Horites, and Zorathites of Scripture. The remaining articles do not call for much criticism. There is a quietly-written, sensible defence of textual, as distinguished from topical, preaching, by Rev. Dr Crowell of Philadelphia, which is probably more needed in America than here, it being but seldom that our really able preachers deal as much in the essay style as do their eloquent brethren across the sea. Rev. B. D. De Witt of California examines Simon the Pharisee's mistake, in Luke vii.; and E. M. Hunt, M.D., pleads very soundly on behalf of Sabbath Observance, claiming the preservation of the weekly day of *rest for the sake of worship*. The last article, on "The Currency Question," by Dr Atwater, one of the editors, is a vigorous and even vehement argument in favour of bringing up the United States currency to the coin standard. Evidently a strong sense of impending danger has impelled the Princeton professor to enter so earnestly into this political question, and to describe the possible further debasing of the currency as "a repudiation of the nation's solemn promises," and an "imminent national catastrophe, than which it is scarcely possible to conceive a greater." Among the "Notes on Current Subjects," we are glad to see that the approaching Pan-Presbyterian Council, or, as it is now called, "Meeting of the Alliance of the Reformed Churches," at Edinburgh next summer, has the first place.

DUTCH PERIODICALS.

Theologisch Tijdschrift. 1875. Nos. IV., V., VI.

The first article in No. IV. is an essay, by Dr W. H. Kusters, on "The Angel of the Lord." The essayist argues that the doctrine of the angel of Jehovah is different before and after the captivity. In the earlier period the angel is simply a form in which Jehovah reveals Himself. This form may consist of a single figure, or of a plurality of angels; but in the latter case Jehovah is represented indifferently by a single angel or by all together, and no kind of personal distinction is made between angel and angel. This conception of the Mal'akh as a temporary revealing manifestation of Jehovah, is quite independent of the doctrine of heavenly beings—sons of God. The Mal'akh is primarily rather an abstract than a personal conception. Even a human personal form is no essential part of his manifestation, as appears in the burning bush and the cloudy pillar. Indeed the essayist is disposed to find the physical basis of the whole idea in the phenomena of the thunderstorm—the same phenomena it will be remembered in which Riehm seeks the origin of the symbolic conception of the cherubim. To this general characterization of the angel of the Lord before the exile, Dr Kusters subjoins an attempt to distinguish, during this period of the Old Testament history, several stages of the doctrine in question. At first the Mal'akh appears as the usual manifestation of God, seen by the natural eye of man without fear or danger. Gradually the external form of the angel is clothed with something of the inaccessibility of Jehovah Himself. There is danger in seeing the Mal'akh, and at length, as in Num. xxii., he ceases to be seen by ordinary vision. Finally, he becomes quite invisible, as in Genesis xxi., 1 Kings xix. At this point the old doctrine has nearly wasted to nothing, and after the exile, in connection with the independence now given to the Word and to the Spirit of God, the doctrine takes a new form. In Deutero-Jesaia, Haggai, Malachi, the prophets and the priests are called Mal'akhim. It is in them that Jehovah now reveals Himself. In Zechariah, on the other hand, the Mal'akh is for the first time a heavenly person—one of the many angels who are now identified with the Bnê-Elohim. In both forms of the post-exilic doctrine the Mal'akh, formerly impersonal, has become a (human or supernatural) person. Our readers will readily see that this account of the development of a very important doctrine contains many precarious elements; and, in particular, the arrangement of the stages of the earlier form of the doctrine seems to be almost purely of *à priori* construction. The essay is interesting, from the stress which it lays on the fact that the doctrines of the Mal'akh and of the Bnê-Elohim are not strictly commensurable. The fact, we believe, is unquestionable, and in general it receives too little attention. But it is incredible that the two conceptions should have exercised no influence on each other till the exile, or that a people believing in the existence of supernatural personalities should not have from the first associated these beings with the functions of the Mal'akh. The attitude of the early

narratives to the personality of the Mal'akh is not one of negation, but of indifference. The function of the angel overshadows his personality, but that is all we are entitled to say. The rest of this number is occupied with a warm onslaught, by Hoekstra, on the genuineness of the Epistle to the Philippians. The tone of this paper, no less than its argument, has called forth an immediate rejoinder by Hilgenfeld, who, as is well known, has had a chief share in turning the tide of opinion among the "freer" critics of the continent in favour of the Pauline authorship of the epistle. Hilgenfeld's reply to Hoekstra appears in the last number of his *Zeitschrift* for 1875, and our readers will no doubt prefer to see the two critics set face to face, without any comment of ours. Hoekstra begins by collecting evidence that the epistle in question imitates the four great Pauline epistles. To me, replies Hilgenfeld, you seem only to have proved a community of language and style. The epistle, says Hoekstra, was written after the unhistorical tradition of a double imprisonment of Paul had gained currency; for in it Paul is made to expect speedy deliverance, while, on the contrary, ii. 17, iii. 10, look forward to a (subsequent) martyrdom. No! replies the German critic, in iii. 10 the sense is the same as in 2 Cor. iv. 10; and in ii. 17 *ἡ καὶ σπείρομαι* simply contemplates the possibility of an unfavourable issue of his imprisonment. Further, Hoekstra finds a series of more or less important differences between our epistle and the undisputed writings of Paul in the eschatology the doctrine of *δικαιοσύνη* and the Christology. These arguments, says Hilgenfeld, rest partly on misunderstanding of the great Pauline epistles, partly on misconception of the book in question. In speaking of the Christology, for example, Hoekstra denies that the genuine Paul believed the pre-existence of Christ—a statement so bold that his critic does not waste a word on its confutation, remarking only that, even in our epistle, the connection of ii. 6 ff with ii. 4 shews that the incarnation is conceived in relation to man, and not simply as a necessary factor in the personal development of Christ Himself. A quite fatal argument against the Pauline authorship is found by Hoekstra in the attitude of the epistle to the antagonists of Paul, especially about circumcision. If, he says, the *παρανομία* means the Jews in general, it is not Paul who speaks so contemptuously of the circumcision (Gal. ii. 7, 8; Rom. iii. 1, 2, &c.). Or if, on the other hand, this expression is meant to denote his enemies—the Jewish-Christian teachers—why does he, in iii. 6, speak of persecuting the Church as a ground of fleshly confidence which they would acknowledge? Surely, replies Hilgenfeld, this was the very thing in which Paul's Jewish walk culminated, and to mention it here is to give a pointed indication of the really anti-Christian character of the pseudo-Christian Judaizers. Finally, Hilgenfeld asks what end the forgery of such an epistle could serve. Hoekstra, admitting that it is not enough to say it was written to glorify Paul, thinks that a conciliatory tendency is to be traced in an epistle which represents the apostle as a peculiarly tolerant man. But that is not a fair representation of the author of chap. iii.; and as for the assertion that the Paul of this epistle boasts himself too much to be genuine, that is to be answered by a comparison of the Epistles to the Corinthians. "The recognition

of the genuineness of the epistle," says Hilgenfeld, in conclusion, "is, in my opinion, a concession, not to the apologists, but to historical truth."

The fifth number consists exclusively of critical reviews and notices of books. Tiele refutes Prof. Langhans in his attempt to find a primitive religion which was the common source of all the religions of civilization. Kuenen takes up the latest contributions to the criticism of the Pentateuch, reasserting the post-exile origin of the so-called "Grund-schrift," or Elohist history and legislation, and referring with much satisfaction to the adhesion to this view recently given in by two independent inquirers, Duhm and Kayser, and defending the latter from the criticisms of Schrader and Nöldeke. This paper deserves the attention of critical students, but can hardly be epitomised here. The most important part is, perhaps, the criticism of Nöldeke. We hope to have another opportunity of alluding to what is said of Duhm, whose very remarkable book must be separately introduced to our readers. There is no doubt that Kuenen's views are gaining ground in Germany—not mainly, we believe, through his influence, but through that of Graf's books and Lagarde's teaching. We have reason to know that Duhm has with him most of the younger scholars of the Göttingen school. A review of "Supernatural Religion," by Dr W. C. von Manen, is, as might be expected of this journal, generally favourable. The reviewer, in fact, is engaged on an adaptation of the *first* part for Dutch readers. That there are many mistakes in the book is, however, pointed out and exemplified, and some doubts are suggested as to the extent of the author's knowledge of Dutch.

The closing number of the year opens with a paper by Rauwenhoff, on Matthew Arnold's review of objections to "Literature and Dogma." The Leiden professor does not think that these papers in the *Contemporary Review* have done any service to Mr Arnold's views. He is naturally displeased with the attitude assumed toward the continental school of criticism, and regards Mr Arnold's theory of the fourth gospel as untenable. The general scope of the paper is that Mr Arnold's religious theory is a matter of the heart as much as the head, and that consequently he treats with impatience, and cannot be brought fairly to discuss, criticisms that threaten to rob him of views personally precious to him. The only other essay in this number is one by Dr van Bell, in continuation of the controversy which has been going on for some time between the "ethical" and "intellectualist" parties of the "modern" school in Holland. The representatives of the former party have accused the latter, and especially Kuenen, of making religion a mere affair of intellect. The essayist protests against this view, and will have it that the whole modern school agrees in making religion a "bent of man's life," affecting his whole personality. The controversy does not assume a form particularly interesting to readers in this country.

In conclusion, we must mention an elaborate review, by Kuenen, of Wellhausen's important Monograph on the Pharisees and Sadducees. We do not, however, go into details, as Wellhausen's book must find independent notice in these pages.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

Die Christliche Lehre der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung dargestellt von Albrecht Ritschl. Zweiter Band. Der Biblische Stoff der Lehre. Bonn. 1874.

Many theologians in this country, having read with delight and profit the first volume of Ritschl's work on Justification and Reconciliation, containing his very able and suggestive review of the history of the doctrine, must have been looking with interest and expectation for the appearance of the rest of the work, to give his own view of the doctrine. This has now been before the German reading public for more than a year; and it is full time now that some account and estimate of it should be attempted in our pages. The first volume has been succeeded by two others of goodly size, a second on the biblical material of the doctrine, and a third devoted to its positive development. He has thus given a very complete discussion of the great subject of his work, not only historically, but in addition to that, first in the method of biblical theology, and then in that of positive dogmatic. In them all the same qualities of thought and expression may be so easily observed, that almost any portion might be recognised as Ritschl's by a reader acquainted with the first volume. There is the same unsparing criticism of all theories and opinions; the same ruthless determination to exhibit every one of them in its barest and truest form, stripped of all disguise or ornament of phraseology; the same acuteness in making nice distinctions that enables him to do this with great skill and success; the same ingenuity in perceiving and working out the logical combinations and consequences of various parts; and the same general impartiality in judging the doctrines of different Churches and parties. These qualities invest the discussions of the work with a constant interest and sort of fascination, though some of them make it rather difficult reading. The method of the inquiry also contributes somewhat both to the interest and to the difficulty. It is a continuous search, with sometimes not a little beating about the bush, to start the game of which he is in quest, which, while it gives the work somewhat of the interest of a hunt after truth, at the same time makes it impossible to take in his conclusions in part, and requires the reader to go on to the end before he has a complete view or right conception of any of the subjects treated. We must endeavour to indicate the line of inquiry he pursues, and to estimate the conclusions to which he has been led.

In his biblical investigation, he starts from the teaching of Jesus himself, and though there is not in it any formal definition of the nature or grounds of forgiveness, yet he very ably and correctly shews that our Lord's fundamental proclamation of the kingdom of God implies certain important principles. This is rightly explained as meaning the reign of God, the establishment of moral obedience to his law; and it is shewn

that Jesus claimed as Messiah to exercise God's sovereignty, and taught that, through fellowship with him, men are in the kingdom of God. This enables Ritschl to meet and confute the Socinian notion that Christ preached forgiveness to men on the ground of their repentance, or love, or forgiveness of others, by shewing that all these graces pre-suppose that they who have them are in the kingdom, and that Jesus connects forgiveness with his own person as the bearer of the kingdom.

Ritschl then considers the two great sayings of Jesus—that in Mark x. 45, and the parallel passages, and that at the institution of the Lord's Supper—the authenticity of both which he maintains against Baur. Of the former he gives a very ingenious interpretation, holding that *λυτρον* must be explained by the Hebrew *לְפָנַי*, and that again should be rendered “means of defence” (*schützmittel*); and so he concludes that this saying has no direct connection with those on forgiveness. The other, however, he admits to have this, but in order to explain it, he proceeds in a second chapter to consider the biblical idea of God, and its relation to reconciliation and forgiveness. Here it is maintained that the chief attribute of God in the Old Testament conception is holiness, which is equivalent to the uniqueness or absolute exaltation of God, but which is developed in the New Testament into love. Then comes a discussion of the righteousness of God, which is held to be, not judicial rendering to men according to their deserving, but God's consistency in following out his plan of grace towards his people. We think, however, he fails to prove this; for, while it must be admitted that righteousness is ascribed to God in Scripture, sometimes in the sense of faithfulness to his promises, there are other places where we cannot avoid the idea of distributive justice without a forced and unnatural exegesis. The wrath of God is next investigated, and it is well shewn negatively, that this is not to be traced, as some have attempted to trace it, to offended love as its origin, nor yet to be identified, as it has been by others, with fatherly chastisement. Neither does Ritschl identify God's wrath with his hatred of evil, but he holds it to be an idea suggested originally by sudden calamities inflicted upon transgressors, and to be traced to God's holiness. In the New Testament, however, he thinks that the divine wrath is viewed only as future to be inflicted at the last day. Ritschl next proceeds, in a third chapter, to discuss the meaning of Christ's death as a sacrifice, where he insists that it should be compared, not with heathen, but with Mosaic offerings. This illustrates a general tendency of Ritschl's biblical exegesis and theology, to make little or nothing of classical analogies, whether of words or ideas, and rather to seek for the Hebrew equivalent for the Greek of the New Testament, and interpret it entirely in the light of that. This tendency is based on a right principle, that the New Testament can only be rightly understood in the light of the Old; but it seems to us to be sometimes pushed to a dangerous extreme. Thus, as already hinted, in explaining *λυτρον* he entirely disregards its classical usage, and by means of the corresponding Hebrew word, gives it a meaning unknown in Greek. This tendency also leads him, in the general question of sacrifice, to overlook the undoubted meaning of the rite among the Gentiles, because he thinks that in the Mosaic

ritual it had quite a different significance. The Old Testament sacrifices were, according to him, essentially gifts to God ; the slaying of the victim was not at all the chief point in the symbolic action, but only preparatory to the offering of the gift ; and the word *קָפַר*, usually rendered to expiate or atone, means really to cover, *i.e.* to protect, the idea being that, since no man can see God and live, because of his awful majesty, the offering protects the worshipper from the destruction that would otherwise overtake him, and enables him to draw near to God. It is impossible in our limits either to do justice to this view by more than such a brief sketch of its general nature, or to criticise it in detail ; but it may be remarked in general that it seems to imply a substitution of mere natural awfulness in the place of the moral attributes of holiness and righteousness as the barrier between God and men that sacrifice removes. This does not agree with the peculiarly moral and spiritual character of the Old Testament religion. Further, it seems exceedingly unlikely that the same rite of sacrifice should have so radically different a meaning in the Hebrew religion from what it had in all others.

By this view Ritschl eliminates the ideas of substitution and satisfaction to divine justice from the passages that speak of Christ's death as a sacrifice. But there are some texts where these ideas are suggested without any sacrificial language, and with these he has to take a different method. Gal. iii. 13, for example, he explains as proceeding upon a view that he thinks was adopted by Paul in his epistles to the Galatians and Colossians, though not in that to the Romans ; that the law was given, not by God, but by angels—a view which, of course, is quite destitute of truth or theological importance. This is surely a very violent cutting of the knot, and justifies strong suspicion of the theory that requires it.

In chap. iv., on "Righteousness as an Attribute to Believers," he argues that, in the Old Testament, the righteousness of man had no direct relation to the Mosaic law, which was only a code of particular statutes designed to secure the standing of Israel in covenant with God ; whereas the righteousness in the Psalms and prophets was that of true-heartedness—moral faithfulness to God—and went far beyond the law, or led to an enlarged and elevated idea of it. The error of the Pharisees lay in reducing the idea of righteousness to a mere outward observance of particular commands, and in looking for reward for this, so establishing a relation of equal rights between man and God. Now Paul, according to Ritschl, in combating this view, admitted that it was really supported by the law, thus so far taking their own ground ; but contended that the law was opposed to Christianity, and had been abolished, thereby ignoring the real meaning and function of the law as taught in the Old Testament. At other times, however, when not engaged in this controversy, Paul proceeds upon the truer and deeper view of the law, which is taken also by the other apostles ; and so his various utterances on the subject cannot be reconciled. Such is the conclusion to which Ritschl is led as to Paul's teaching on this important subject, and it is remarkable as requiring a large deduction from a principle that he lays down as fundamental at the outset of this volume. He thinks it necessary to find some mark or criterion by which we may distinguish the canonical writings of

the New Testament as alone authoritative in theology ; and he finds such a mark in this, that all these books, and these alone among the early Christian documents, are imbued with a true understanding and living sense of the principles of the Old Testament religion. Now this seems a very important and valuable principle, though it would hardly be safe to make this the only criterion of inspiration. But, if we are forced to the conclusion that Paul, in a most important part of his teaching, entirely misapprehends the true meaning and bearing of the Old Testament law, is not that principle seriously infringed, if not entirely overthrown ?

We cannot, therefore, regard the biblical inquiries of this volume as on the whole successful, nor the general conclusions reached as satisfactory. Still they deserve attention, and will repay careful study. On many of the various points discussed, clear and convincing reasons are given that may be of service in advancing the understanding of what Scripture teaches on the great doctrine of the Atonement.

We must defer till next number a notice of the third and concluding volume of Ritschl's work.

OLD TESTAMENT EXEGESIS.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms: With a New Translation. By JAMES G. MURPHY, LL.D., T.C.D., Professor of Hebrew, Belfast. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 1875. Pp. 694.

This volume deserves to rank alongside of the volumes already published by Professor Murphy on Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus ; everywhere it bears the traces of honest hard labour by the writer, the results of which are presented to the reader with wonderful compactness and simplicity. To attain this object he makes use of three means. First, a new translation, not intended certainly to displace the Authorised Version for popular use, but exhibiting more exactly the translator's apprehension of the author's sense, and aiding the eye by printing, not only in poetical lines, but also in strophes or stanzas, the structure being explained in a few sentences introducing each psalm. Secondly, a short commentary on the psalm, such as any intelligent English reader may appreciate. Thirdly, notes of a more critical kind, usually involving a knowledge of Hebrew on the part of the reader, and dealing with the questions on which a scholar seeks information and guidance. And the commentary is preceded by fifty pages of general introduction to the book, in which the reader will find much instruction, from a man who has read and thought for himself. In the course of his discussions he sides with those who attribute considerable weight to the titles of the psalms. The titles which have a man's name with the preposition "to" or "for" prefixed, he understands as designating the author, which is the usual view, although in our Version departed from (except in the margin) in the case of Psalms lxxii. and cxxvii. ; only he agrees with our Version that it designates, not the author in the case of the three great choirs of Levites—the houses of Korah, Asaph, and Jeduthun—but the sacred

musician to whose charge the psalm was entrusted. Of the five books into which the Hebrew psalm-book is arranged, he says (p. 44) :

“The benediction at the close of the first four books, to which the last psalm corresponds in the fifth book, points to a fivefold collection of psalms. The titles, so far as they go, shew that the psalms of David were falling into the hands of the collectors to the very last, and contain nothing that really contravenes the chronological sequence of the several books, though the order of the psalms within each book depends on other grounds than that of time. A careful examination of the contents of the psalms will lead to the same conclusion. It is to be presumed that the several collections were made at times of high religious life—the first probably near the close of David’s life, the second in the days of Solomon, the third by the singers of Jehoshaphat (2d Chron. xvii., xx.), the fourth by the men of Hezekiah (2d Chron. xxix., xxx., xxxi.; Prov. xxv. 1), and the fifth in the days of Ezra. The only other time in which a collection of sacred songs could be expected, was the reign of Josiah. But though instruments of song and singers are mentioned (2d Chron. xxxiv. 12, xxxv. 15), yet the period of Manasseh and Amon was not cheerful, hopeful, or favourable to literary activity. This provisional assumption regarding the times of compilation is favoured by the facts of history, and it will be found on investigation to be not inconsistent with the contents of the psalms.”

In accordance with this opinion, he attributes Ps. xliv. to the wars with the Philistines in Saul’s time ; Ps. xlvi. and xlviii. to the great heathen league against David, in which he was completely victorious, against all human probability ; Ps. lxxiv. to the rebellion of Absalom ; Ps. lxxvi. to David’s victory over the Jebusites, or the like ; Ps. lxxix. to the pillaging of Jerusalem by Shishak ; Ps. lxxxix. to that calamity, and the revolt of the ten tribes. The so-called Elohistic psalms he believes to have been written chiefly in the cosmopolitan age of Solomon, or else soon after it. And he does not believe in Maccabean psalms at all ; as indeed their existence is generally denied by evangelical critics, and by some men of high linguistic attainments, like Boettcher, who have no such sympathies by which they might conceivably be warped. Professor Murphy’s exegesis is thoroughly evangelical ; and the Messianic element of the psalms is well exhibited in the introduction (pp. 28–36), and in the treatment of individual psalms, such as the second, the twenty-second, the forty-fifth, the seventy-second, and the hundred-and-tenth.

As a fair specimen of the translation, we give the following, certainly a difficult strophe (Ps. lxviii. 15–19) :

“The hill of Bashan is a hill of God ;
 The hill of Bashan is a hill of peaks.
 Why look ye askance, ye hills, ye peaks,
 At the hill where GOD hath chosen to dwell,
 Where the LORD will abide for ever ?
 The chariots of God are myriads twofold,
 Thousands manifold :
 The Lord is among them ; Sinai is in the sanctuary.
 Thou hast ascended on high, Thou hast made captive ;
 Thou hast taken gifts for man,
 That even among the rebels JAH GOD might dwell.
 Blessed be the Lord from day to day,
 The God who beareth for us our salvation. Selah.”

Biblical Commentary on the Proverbs of Solomon. By F. DELITZCH, D.D.
Translated by M. G. EASTON, D.D. Vol. II. Edinburgh : Clark.
1875. Foreign Theological Library.

Dr Easton has given us a careful translation of a careful and useful book. Delitzsch is, as usual, learned ; goes thoroughly into the linguistic difficulties of his text, and so assists the practical expositor of this very difficult and little-studied book of scripture just where he needs assistance—in finding the precise force of each word, and the precise thought in each pregnant verse. Commentary on Proverbs depends for its value on such minute details, that it is not possible in a brief notice to give any adequate idea of its manner ; but professional students of the Solomonic literature (and for them is such a work as this mainly designed) will find here an extremely serviceable aid, especially for all the *minutiæ* of scholarship. We could have liked if the volumes had attempted a classification of the gnomic sentences in the Book *according to their subjects*. This, well done, would be a handy help to the student.

Theology of the Old Testament. By Dr G. F. OEHLER. Vol. II. Edinburgh : Clark. 1875. Foreign Theological Library.

In noticing the first volume of this work a year ago, we pointed out the deficiencies incident to posthumous publications under which it suffers. These continue to mark the concluding volume now before us. At the same time, so poorly are we provided with treatises on the theological developments of the Old Covenant, that intelligent students will welcome the suggestions and outlines which have been recovered from the MSS. prelections of the Tübingen professor. In this second volume the Prophetic Period occupies chief attention, as the Mosaic Legislation did in the earlier one, and the treatment follows a similar order—the theocratic history being rapidly sketched first before the theological teaching of the prophets is examined in detail. It is, perhaps, a necessary result of this plan that the historical portion is too meagre to be of much value. Had the space given to it been devoted to amplifying the theological discussions, the work would have gained in usefulness ; for it is in these that its value really lies. As the points of progress in the theological teaching of the prophet-period, as a whole, Dr Oehler enumerates and discusses these four :—(1.) The Jehovah conception of God developes into Jehovah Zebaoth, with which is connected a fuller angelology. (2.) The moral character of the law is more deeply discovered. (3.) In prophecy is reached a higher form of revelation, for in it man's communion with God becomes more inward and full, like the communion of the devout soul in prayer. (4.) The relation of the theocratic kingdom to the Gentiles, and its restoration to its true mission under Messiah, are exhibited. A chapter on the *esqim*, or *khochmah* of the Old Testament, and its handling of what Oehler calls the "enigmas of life," concludes the volume. To the Book of Job he assigns a late origin.

NEW TESTAMENT EXEGESIS.

St John the Author of the Fourth Gospel. By CHRISTOPH ERNST LUTHARDT, Professor of Theology at Leipzig, &c. Revised, translated, and the literature much enlarged, by CASPAR RENE GREGORY. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1875.

"The inquiry as to the origin of the fourth gospel," says Dr Luthardt, "has of late been more and more clearly recognised as the weightiest in the realm of biblical criticism." That such should be the case, and that this single question should have gathered around itself such a mass of literature, cannot seem strange to any one who considers how seriously our decision on that must bear upon our view of the Person of Christ. How vast the literature is may be understood from the fact that an appendix of eighty pages is required for the Bibliography of the subject, from the appearance of Evanson's book in 1792 on to the present year. And the stream of publication seems but to gain greater volume as it flows on. Among the most recent compositions on this all-important theme, a good place must be assigned to Luthardt's. The discussions with which this volume presents us are very different from the sharp-sighted criticism distinguishing Beyschlag's examination of some of the more pressing points of the problem, in his papers in the *Studien und Kritiken*, of which an account has already been given in the pages of this *Review*.¹ But we have here as complete and faithful a synopsis of the larger *data* and difficulties over the entire field as could well be desired. And if the treatise has some evident defects, it has also conspicuous merits of its own.

Of the translation, we need simply say that it is fairly well done. It is disfigured here and there by such terms as "a body" for "a person," by unhappy expressions such as "the *sensuality* and figurativeness of the discourses" in John, and other distasteful phrases. Occasionally we come upon a scarcely intelligible sentence, an instance of which will be found on p. 178 in reference to Delitzsch's explanation of the double *ἀμήν* in John. Here and there, too, somewhat strange mistakes are suffered to slip in. What, for example, are we to make of the statement (p. 258) that John "knew very well that *ἀπό* governs the accusative?" But with these abatements it is a generally careful performance.

As to the book itself, its strength seems to lie in the estimate and exhibition of the historical testimonies. In this, however, no less than in its discussion of the internal evidence, it has some patent defects. A lack is felt at times, all through the volume, of a thorough-going application of critical principle. There are cases, again, on which more stress is put upon some historical fact than it is really capable of sustaining. Thus too much is made of the continuity of the Episcopate as an evidence in favour of the canonical books. His inferences, also, are occasionally overdrawn. The most obvious weakness of the discussion, however, seems to be twofold; that is its failure to grapple satisfactorily, on the one hand, with the objections drawn from the discrepancies between the text of our gospels

¹ *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, October 1875, pp. 764-775.

and the quotations averred to be taken by the Fathers from the same ; and, on the other hand, with the problem suggested by the Johannean cast of the discourses reported by John, both those attributed to Christ Himself and those to the Baptist. On these matters we find nothing beyond some good general remarks about the nature of ancient citation and the like. In this respect not much of an answer is offered here to doubts most urgently pressed by such antagonists as the author of *Supernatural Religion*.

These deficiencies, however, are balanced by distinguished excellencies. The examination of the external evidence is remarkable for the strong light in which it presents the inferences that are inevitably started even by the accepted positions of the negative critics. At every step we are helped to see how these carry us far from the admitted dates backwards in the direction of the first century. It is convincingly shewn how, even granting that John's Gospel is put at 130 A.D., this still brings the book so near John's own time and circle as to make it incredible that it could have been palmed off by some pretender under his name. The observations on the *kind* of evidence we are entitled to look for, and on the unreasonableness of imposing upon primitive ages and early tradition rules acted on in much later times, are thoroughly sensible. Among the best things is the analysis of the distinctive character and peculiar importance with which the witness of such men as Eusebius, Origen, Tertullian, Irenæus, and others, is seen to be invested when looked at in the light of their circumstances and positions. It is not simply that we get so many isolated testimonies, but that these have at once powerfully suggestive specialities as individual utterances, and a far reaching evidential value as a collective series. Some of them, as in the case of Eusebius and Origen, proceed from the men who were most familiar with the learning of their age ; others, as in Justin's instance, come from men known to have been great travellers ; others, as in Clement, are drawn from distinct traditional sources ; others, as in Tertullian, unmistakeably reflect the general consciousness and state of opinion of their time ; and others still, as in Irenæus, not only come singularly near the apostolic period, but take the apostolic authorship of the fourth gospel as a settled fact. In fixing the peculiar position of the several witnesses so as to make their testimonies more than so many separate declarations, holding good each only for its own historical date, and in shewing how these testimonies as a whole carry us by legitimate deduction very much nearer the first century than the dates immediately connected with them at first sight indicate, Dr Luthardt seems very successful.

The value of the book, however, may be best judged of by examining how it handles some of the outstanding names in the line of historical witnesses. Of these *Justin* is one of the most important and contested. Luthardt's verdict in regard to him is that since the researches of Winer, Hug, Olshausen, and De Wette, Justin's knowledge and use of the canonical Gospels may be regarded as so much a settled matter that only straggling skirmishers like Volckmar, Scholtén, or Samuel Davidson, could now care to hold the opposite conclusion, in whole or in part. He speaks with just emphasis of the folly of setting aside these Gospels (particularly

in view of ancient methods of free citation), in favour of some uncertain Harmony or a Gospel of Peter. The favourite averment still repeated by a few irreconcilables, that Justin's doctrine naturally stands earlier than the Logos-gospel, is set aside by the proof that the Logos-doctrine in Justin, where we have not the *Word* but the *Reason* in the sense of philosophy, differs widely from the same in John, notwithstanding certain points of resemblance, and that the difference is just that between reflection and directness. But to make the stage of reflection precede the stage of directness is to do violence to all sound criticism. He shews, further, by a very careful scrutiny, that the number of passages from John repeated or echoed in Justin is larger than is often supposed, and that it is unreasonable to argue, specially considering that we do not possess all his writings, that if Justin had known John, he must have quoted him more largely.

Luthardt's fairness is witnessed in his decision on Basilides. In the *Philosophoumena* we find Basilidian quotations from John. These are introduced by a *φησὶν*, and the use of this verb makes it probable that these quotations are brought in as by Basilides himself. On this ground Hofstede de Groot, Bleek, and Keim have given in their adhesion to a use of John's Gospel on the part of Basilides. But then the man's system is known to have been originally of a dualistic type, while what appears in the *Philosophoumena* is pantheistic. Thus the question stands balanced. Luthardt, however, indicates that Hippolytus sometimes fathers upon the founder of a sect the opinion of the scholars, and, therefore, concludes that these quotations prove a use of John, not by Basilides himself, but only by his school.

On the question of the harmony of the tradition in the early Church, Luthardt's conclusions are equally well considered. He thinks it is broken only by the Alogi. For, while he opposes Volckmar's fancy that these were due only to the confused imagination of Epiphanius, he believes that they must be identified with those whom Irenæus notices as rejectors of John. Thus he allows the continuity of the Church's witness in favour of John to be disturbed only by one party, and that a party disowning it, not on historical, but on purely subjective grounds. The discussion of the testimony derivable from those outside the Church, as well as from peculiar parties in it, is admirably conducted. There is, however, one exception. The paragraph on Celsus is the reverse of intelligible, and is far inferior to what we are entitled to expect since the publication of Keim's monograph.

We can only refer to a single point in connection with the question as to the Ephesian residence. It is well understood how comparatively recent a device this denial of John's abode in Asia Minor is, and how, although when first put forward it was met with ridicule even from the Tübingen school, the changeful exigencies of argument have gradually led men of similar tendencies to build strongly upon the theory which their predecessors scorned as Quixotic. It is useful to be reminded, therefore, how frank its original progenitors were in the confession of their motives. Lützelberger, for example, leaves us in no doubt as to what determined his adoption of the notion. It was simply the consideration that John's great age, and his residence at Ephesus, if made good as facts, rendered it

incredible that a gospel, written really by a pretender, could have appeared under John's name in the first half of the second century; that is to say, at a time when on these suppositions there must have been men enough alive whose acquaintance with the apostle and his teaching would have made such error or imposture inconceivable. Precisely the same objects induce the newer school, baffled as it is in its attempt to carry the Fourth Gospel forward to the middle or end of the second century, to try a denial of the Ephesian residence altogether, as an easy method of getting rid of the book's apostolic origin. Keim and Scholten, consequently, are found repeating Lützelberger's arguments, which Schwegler was formerly supposed to have finally disposed of. Above all, they base their theory on what is offered by Papias and Irenæus. Now, Luthardt's examination of these positions has very strong points. He makes it very plain that it is impossible to limit the question to Papias and Irenæus; that others like Polycarp and Clement must be taken into the reckoning, and that in every critical point of view Irenæus's letter to Florinus must be held among the most decisive things. His exposition of the famous sentences in which Papias gives the lists of his vouchers, is extremely careful and thoroughly impartial. He pronounces some of his best friends, such as Guericke, Zahn, and Riegenbach, at fault in supposing the apostle himself to be the person referred to under the title *presbyter* in that passage, and his general conclusion is that Papias' statements are *for*, rather than against, the Ephesian tradition, but that they must fairly be allowed to make the existence of a second John, a presbyter and "disciple of the Lord," at least a probability.

Perhaps the best of the discussions relating to the internal evidence will be found to be those dealing with John's alleged inconsistency with the Synoptists. It is freely granted that there could be no stronger argument against the authority of the Fourth Gospel than such inconsistency. Much space, therefore, is given to a minute analysis of passages pertinent to the question, and the result is to bring out a numerous and convincing array of points of contact between John and the Synoptists. We are reminded, at the same time, that objections like those, drawn from alleged discrepancies between the first three Gospels and the fourth, really cut two ways. For it is surely far from easy to imagine that any author would have invented such a book for the purpose of ventilating his own ideas, or of doing what Baur affirms in the way of reconciling once for all the antagonism between Paul and the original apostles, and yet have cast his invention in such a form as indicated wide and open variations from tradition and the Synoptists. Luthardt's caution and sagacity appear here in various ways. He exhibits no disposition to dogmatise on the debate about the date of Christ's death. He is content with shewing that Luke and Paul's reports of our Lord's death take away all reason for supposing that the change of date, if such there be, has been introduced for the sake of the idea. There are many fine strokes in his criticism of the Tübingen difficulties, which have been founded on the alleged irreconcilability of John's chronology of the Last Supper with that of the Synoptists, on the objections drawn from the *subjectivity* of the fourth gospel, its "*want*

of progress," its remarkable Christology, &c. The same is true of his examination of the arguments in favour of its authority deducible from the writer's Jewish consciousness, symbolical style, presentation as an eye-witness, &c. The broad conclusion is put emphatically, that the book is not dominated by Alexandrian modes of thought, that even were that the case, it would be no argument against its apostolic origin, because what is acknowledged as possible for Apollos may also be possible for an apostle, and that the teaching of the Gospel can be referred to the second century only by making it stand out as an absolutely unique thing in all sub-apostolic literature, and only in defiance of that principle of criticism which scouts the notion of a composition rising in clear independence of all its surroundings, and of the known circumstances of its time. S. D. F. S.

The New Testament, with Notes and Comments, accompanied with Maps and Illustrations By Rev. LYMAN ABBOTT. Vol. I.—Matthew and Mark. London: Hodder & Stoughton. New York: A. S. Barnes & Company.

In looking over this volume we have been reminded of the Commentaries of Albert Barnes, once popular with a certain class in this country. In both works the aim is to present the reader with a compendium of expository matter, no attempt being made at original research, and no claim to profound scholarship being advanced. In both the aid of illustration is called in, the woodcuts of the volume before us being exceedingly creditable to American draughtsmen, and everything done to place the lay reader in possession of results, without troubling him with criticism or controversies. Abbott is, however, a decided advance upon Barnes, whose theology was always requiring correction at the hands of his English editor, and whose expositions were often very simple, because very superficial. Mr Abbott has evidently acquainted himself with the latest literature of the gospels, making use of the labours of Ellicott, Alford, and Farrar, and he has succeeded in rendering his notes and comments in general both instructive and interesting. As a specimen of his compact method of treating gospel incidents, we would point to his "Thoughts on the Temptation of Jesus Christ," only regretting that our space does not admit of our extracting the passage.

In Mr Abbott's exposition we note an occasional want of decision in the view taken and expressed. Thus, from his remarks upon the "healing of the lunatic boy," recorded in the ninth of Mark, it is difficult to say in what light the commentator regards the miracle. The reader is told that most evangelical commentators treat this as a case of real demoniacal possession, but that "this is such a case is not so clear." When, however, we come to the final judgment of the writer, it is expressed in the following sentence, which is far from conveying a clear idea as to what he really holds:—"Accepting, as I do, the doctrine of demoniacal possession, I regard this as a case of that description; but if there were no other evidence of real demoniacal possession, this might be interpreted as simply a case of epilepsy, accompanying or producing deafness and dumbness."

We have, however, graver matters of which to complain. We fear Mr Abbott's doctrinal standing is far from satisfactory. In the course of his introduction he takes occasion to state the "limits of inspiration," and to reduce all theories of inspiration to "two general classes, the doctrines respectively of verbal inspiration and moral inspiration." Verbal inspiration is rejected, and moral inspiration is the doctrine which throughout this commentary is to be assumed to be the correct one. We are not going to argue the matter, but content ourselves with stating that the expressions "verbal" and "moral" are misleading, "verbal" being fitted to create a prejudice against the theory it is intended to describe, and "moral" being fitted to conceal what is dangerous in the theory to which it is applied. Had Mr Abbott called them the doctrines respectively of *plenary* and *partial* inspiration, avowing his rejection of the former and his acceptance of the latter, British readers at least would have understood at once the school to which he belongs. On a matter of such vital importance as the Person of Christ, we have also serious fault to find with the teaching of the American expositor. He does not scruple to affirm that we have "no authority for drawing a metaphysical line on Christ's nature, and saying that certain things He did as a man, and certain things as God;" and the application of this general statement to the agony in Gethesemane is made quite plain when the nature of the conflict is stated *not* to have been between "two wills, the human and the divine, the conception of two wills in one person" not being "found in Scripture," but "a hypothesis of later theology, to account for the person and experience of Christ." Mr Abbott might just as well avow himself an out-and-out Monothelite. He would certainly have been so regarded had he lived and thus expressed himself in the days of the Council of Constantinople, which decided that in the one person of Christ, as there are two distinct natures, there are of necessity two intelligences and two wills. We confess this manifestation of inability to appreciate or of unwillingness to admit the importance of such a commonplace in Christology, causes us to look forward with some apprehension to those volumes of the work which will be devoted to the more doctrinal portions of the New Testament; and it would render us very cautious in placing the work in the hands of "Christian parents, Sunday school teachers, Bible women, lay preachers."

C. G. M'C.

The Mother of Jesus not the Papal Mary. By EDWARD JEWITT ROBINSON.
London: Wesleyan Conference Office. 1875.

This volume is throughout a polemic—one vigorously conducted, and in which the Protestant controversialist's trumpet gives forth no uncertain sound. Mr Robinson has evidently read extensively on the subject of which he treats, and has gathered together a large amount of material illustrative of apocryphal puerilities, Papal extravagances, and Anglican tendencies. As regards the literature of the subject, our only regret is that our author has done so little in the way of encouraging his readers to follow him and verify his references, if so disposed. While

there is no lack of authors' names at the foot of the pages, that is about all we get. We do not remember to have met with anything so explicit as a statement of chapter and page; and it will be admitted that such references as "Lecky," "Neander," "Carlyle," "Daily News," "Ante-Nicene Library," are decidedly more ornamental to the pages than useful to the reader. In the chapters upon "Development of Doctrine" and "Anglican Mariolatry," we were in hopes we would meet with an historical treatment of the Marian *cultus* to which we could point as valuable, but we have been disappointed. The appeal which this Virgin-worship makes to some of the finer elements in devotional natures, the relation in which it has stood to the distinctive glory of womanhood, the growth of Mariolatry in the Christian Church—these are subjects which, in the hands of a writer of wide range, keen insight, and appreciative sympathies, might be handled with profit to a large circle of readers. However careful in compiling materials and decided in expressing his views, Mr Robinson is not the man from whom such a handling can be expected. Perhaps the man of our day best fitted for such a task was the Rev. F. W. Robertson. Far from being a safe guide on many subjects, he could have been trusted on this; and with a paragraph from him we close:—"Do not let us satisfy ourselves by saying as a watchword, 'Christ not Mary;' say, rather, 'In Christ all that they find in Mary.' The mother in the Son, the womanly in the soul of Christ. Divine honour to the feminine side of His character; joyful and unvarying acknowledgment that in Christ there is a revelation of the divineness of submission, and love, and purity, and long-suffering, just as there was before in the name of the Lord of Hosts,—a revelation of the divineness of courage, and strength, and heroism, and manliness." C. G. M'C.

CHURCH HISTORY.

Die Christliche Dogmengeschichte, als Entwicklungs-Geschichte des Kirchlichen Lehrbegriffs dargestellt, von D. Thomasius, &c. Erster Band—die Dogmengeschichte der alten Kirche. [The History of Christian Dogmas, exhibited as the history of the Development of the Church's Doctrinal System. By Dr THOMASIUS, &c. Volume First—The History of Dogmas in the Ancient Church.] Erlangen: Deichert. 1874.

The publication of this important work preceded its author's decease only by a few months. In the death of Thomasius the Lutheran Church of Germany has lost a teacher, who, for upwards of a quarter of a century, occupied a foremost place in the too scanty ranks of those who have understood how to unite an uncompromising loyalty to the standards of their own communion, with a free recognition and wise adoption of the revising, recasting, questioning spirit of the newer, speculative theology. Nor is it merely the creed of a single church (almost blindly devoted as, in some articles, we may judge him to have been to the interests of high Lutheranism) that has been deprived of one of its ablest champions.

Theology itself, it will be acknowledged by those who are in any degree familiar with the chief dogmatic systems of the time, has lost in him a master distinguished above most others, if not for brilliancy, at least for solid worth, sound sense, clearness, caution ; and, in particular, for a method which, combining in an uncommon measure the constructive with the historic, lacked only greater strength in the exegetical to entitle it to the very highest eminence.

It may not be out of place to introduce our notice of this last contribution from the pen of Gottfried Thomasius, by a brief sketch of his career. A few sentences will embrace the record of the useful, though uneventful, life of a Bavarian professor. Born on the 26th July 1802 at Egenhausen, in the immediate vicinity of Nürnberg, and spending his early youth in the quiet parsonage of Ehingen, at the foot of the Hesselberg, whither his father, pastor Friedrich Thomasius, had been translated, he was sent in due time to Ansbach to complete his studies, preparatory to entrance on the usual university course. Under the rule of Rector Bombard the gymnasium at Ansbach then enjoyed high repute, and to this first of his academic instructors Thomasius, in after years, never ceased to be grateful for influences favourable no less to piety than to culture. To him in especial he confessed himself indebted for the awakening of his taste for historical studies. The first university that he attended was Erlangen ; but his dissatisfaction with the colourless life prevalent there at the time, soon carried him to other seats of learning. His craving for the stimulus of higher thought drew him to Halle and Berlin. It seems to have been Schleiermacher's fame that attracted him to the latter. But when once there, he fell under Hegel's spell even more decidedly than Schleiermacher's. Great as was the charm of the theologian's speculations, we can easily understand how to Thomasius the historic method of investigation inculcated by the philosopher would possess a still intenser interest. At Halle he owed much to Tholuck, for whom, through all changes, he retained a deep veneration, and yet more to a much less known man, Professor Knapp, one of the best and devoutest representatives of the older German theology. Here was aroused his great aptitude for dogmatics ; and from the scientific proficiency and warm piety then distinguishing this renowned school, he carried off impressions of the validity and power of the Reformation forms of doctrine which ever after he sought to conserve in a wise and needful adaptation of old modes to the different genius of more recent times.

He passed into practical ministerial life, first as vicar at Kalchreuth, near Erlangen, and then as afternoon preacher to a skeleton congregation in the Spital charge at Nürnberg, from which dreary position an appointment to the famous Church of St Lawrence, in the same city, speedily rescued him. In these opening years of pastoral activity he commenced those systematic researches in the two cognate departments of Dogmatics and the History of Dogmas, which subsequently bore ripe fruit. In the latter of these two branches of theological learning he found a master to his mind in Engelhardt, who was then teaching with *eclat* at Erlangen. His own youthful efforts took the same direction. The issue of these early studies was his monograph on *Origen*, published in 1837, which

is still one of the best on the subject. In 1842 he began his professorial career in Erlangen, in which he did so much for upwards of thirty years to sustain and extend the reputation of the University, acquiring at the same time a name both as a preacher and as ecclesiastical counsellor. He died, after a period of severe suffering, on 24th January 1875.

One prime object of Thomasius' theological teaching was to reinstate ancient well-proved truth in the place from which the unbridled questionings of new times seemed to be dislodging it. His aim was to reconstruct dogmatic theology in conformity with the modern spirit, so as to exhibit at once the intrinsic, permanent worth of the doctrinal forms of the Church of the Lutheran Reformation, and their title to a reasonable acceptance even in the fierce light of current speculation. There was one subject above all, around which every question in his system was made to revolve. That was the perfect Humanity of Jesus Christ. To make that a reality, and so to construe the doctrine of Christ's Person as to secure in it a vantage ground for the survey of all other theological problems—this was the central purpose of his activity. The Christological statement in the Epistle to the Philippians was the point from which his speculation started, and to which, whatever path it pursued for the time, it found its way back. His able colleague, Professor Von Zezschwitz, remarks in how beautiful a harmony with the chastened passion of his life it happened that the last subject on which he lectured to his students was this Epistle to the Philippians, and that the hand of fatal sickness arrested his prelections precisely at that fathomless paragraph (ii. 6–11) which had formed the theme of his ceaseless meditation and the signature of all his writings. It was (the same friend, to whom we owe these facts, feelingly observes) as if the thinker went with the problem of his life in his hand straight into the land where are no such enigmas.

Besides several volumes of sermons and the monograph on Origen already referred to, Thomasius's chief works are these: an early but valuable treatise on the *Active Obedience of Christ*; another on the Hofmann controversy; a historical account of the *Revival of Evangelical Life in the Lutheran Church of Bavaria*; a *Practical Exposition of Paul's Epistle to the Colossians*; and his admirable System of Dogmatics, published under the title of *Christi Person und Werk*, a statement of Evangelical-Lutheran Theology from the Christological standpoint.

In the present volume we have the first section of a work which was intended to give the results of thirty years' research in the field of the *History of Dogmas*. It covers only the first six centuries. It was meant to be followed by other divisions, carrying on the inquiry through the Mediæval and Reformation Theologies. But it was not designed to over-step the time of the *Formula Concordiæ*, the period elapsing since that date being reckoned one of flux rather than of accomplished historical determination.

He gives less of the *literary* history than Nitzsch, and less of the subjective element than most. He deems it inconsistent with a correct notion of the science to pass the dogmas, whose history he traces, through the crucible of criticism, least of all the philosophical criticism indulged

in by Baur. He presents more of the narrative than others, and makes the great Church teachers speak as much as possible for themselves. He confines himself, however, to the *inner* history, and touches on the details of leaders' lives, the circumstance of conflicts, and the like, only in so far as that *outer* history may be indispensable to the elucidation of the secrets of the inner growth of doctrine. He writes with a confessed love for the common faith of Christians, and for the expression given to that faith in the formulæ of the Church. The entire negative or mediating theology has no more cordial, though temperate, antagonist than Thomasius, and for such systems as Semler's or Münscher's, written from the professed position of indifference, he has small respect. He defines his subject as the history of the development of the *Church's* doctrinal system, and to that definition he stringently adheres. He limits himself consequently to those processes which were really *Church* processes, and omits the speculations of individual thinkers or schools, except in so far as these had a decisive influence on the formation of Church doctrine.

His discussions of what *dogma* is, and how it originates and grows, are full of interest. In the sharpest antithesis to the Tübingen school and to the whole tendency to make ecclesiastical doctrine the merely natural product of religious or metaphysical reflection, he can yet agree with Baur, Marheinecke, &c., in many of their definitions and conclusions. *Dogma* to him is not the subjective theological tenet of any individual school or doctor in the Church, but the Church's own determination, the form in which the *Church* has given expression to the essential elements of the common Christian faith. So alien doctrine becomes *heresy* only when it distinctly contravenes the *Church's* pronounced statement of the common faith. Anything short of that remains simple *error*. The construction of dogma is the *Church's* exclusive prerogative, and its rise is inevitable. It is a necessity which forces itself upon the individual believer. For if Christianity, historically considered, is the entrance of a new *life* or moral power, it is a life which brings with it also a new *consciousness* (namely, of a new relation to God) and a new *light*, or a new knowledge of God. This new life, however, not being nature's product, but something bound up with faith in Jesus Christ, at once presents what holds within itself the necessities of development. Each Christian does something in thinking out this new consciousness. But only the Church has the qualifications for any adequate analysis of the contents of the common faith-consciousness of the Christian into the forms, first, of separate dogmas and, then, of completed creeds. The Church possesses, not only the written Word and the promise of the Spirit, which are equally the individual's heritage, but also what the individual has not, namely, continuity and variety of gifts.

Thomasius makes a great deal of this *faith-consciousness* common to all believers. As the basis of the whole dogmatic movement, it seems at times to get a place which might bring it into a perilous comparison with the *written Word*. Thus he thinks that the process of doctrinal determination advanced best in the earliest centuries, when there was an undivided Church. But he appears, at the same time, to constitute the *Christian consciousness* too exclusively the ruling thing in the first period,

as contrasted with *tradition* in the second, and the *Word* in the third. If these sharp distinctions held good, they would be one strong argument for reckoning him wrong in giving so decided a preference to the sub-apostolic and Patristic period. But the fact is that this *consciousness* was not an exclusively or characteristically dominant influence then, and he himself is careful to present Scripture as the true test of dogma. He admits that in a sense dogma must be the servant of the spirit of its age, and underlie, from time to time, certain processes of modification connected with all developments. But he keeps clearly to the position that the *written Word*, which has been given to the Church as her norm, is the *criterion* of dogma, and that nothing which fails to approve itself thereby can be accepted as *doctrina publica*.

Accepting a very common classification of the periods of the dogmatic process into three, he marks off their several functions and characters very clearly. He indicates how the Patristic era had to do with the definition of great cardinal truths, which were destined for further analysis; how the scholastic wrought at that analysis, but, unhappily, under the baleful spell of hierarchy; and how the Reformation epoch was charged with the reducing of the abnormal again to the normal. He points out, too, how each of these periods had its own peculiar idea of the Church, and how that idea of the Church modified its attitude towards the dogmatic movement. This is just, and generally accepted, criticism. But, to complete it, would it not be needful to add a fourth era? Has not the idea of the *Church* again been sensibly altering from the Reformation standard? And has not the period opening with the middle of last century, although yet unclosed and in the vortex of formative influence, some claim to be dealt with as a thing *per se*?

Of course the development whose history is traced is claimed to be organic,—a movement from the general to the specific, from the indefinite to the undefined, having laws of its own. What, then, is this orderly succession. Does the logical here coincide with the historical? Thomasius answers in the affirmative. For, if Christianity is objectively a new relation to God through Christ, and subjectively the apprehension of that new relation by faith, the definition at once suggests the succession. The natural order in which the contents of the common faith-consciousness would come forth for analysis, expansion, and determination, would be, first, the *Object* of faith—Christ: secondly, the *Subject*—man: thirdly, the *Means* instituting the new relation: and, fourthly, the *Process and Instruments* of its subjective appropriation. Now, it is just in this logical order that history exhibits the process actually to have advanced, the Church having pronounced, first, on the problems relating to the Godhead, Trinity, and Person of Christ; then on those belonging to the fall, sin, and grace; thereafter, on those bearing on atonement; and, finally, on those referring to justification, faith, the Church, &c. And this succession, at once logical and historical, Thomasius exhibits as organic; no dogma accepted by the Church, being the mere child of accident or impulse, but finding a place in its own order, and according to laws of growth. What, then, may be our own function in this movement? The task of our age will lie, he thinks, with the Church and what is relative thereto. This is probably

the soundest verdict we are yet competent to pronounce on the position of our own era. For, although it has a multiform aspect, it certainly does appear to have characteristic problems to work out touching the Church, its relation to the individual and to the State, its sacraments, its future, &c.

There are many subsidiary points on which, did space warrant us, we would gladly test the conclusions of such an expert in historical investigation. As to the Ignatian Epistles, for example, he decides that, notwithstanding serious critical scruples, the seven (in the shorter recension) are establishing their genuineness more and more securely; and, although he is compelled to admit the existence of interpolations in the text now possessed by us, he agrees in the main with the proof offered by Zahn in his recent elaborate monograph on *Ignatius*. In the interpretation of the remarkable and much contested expression used of the *Logos* in the *Epistle to the Magnesians* (ὁὐκ ἐπὶ σιγῆς προσλαβόν) he is at one with Rothe in denying any necessary reference to the Valentinian Gnosis. In his estimate of the *Symbolum Apostolicum*, he coincides chiefly with the recent findings of Zöckler and Caspari, tracing it back to the borders of the Apostolic age, seeing in it the forerunner and model of the earliest *regulæ fidei* in Augustine, Marcellus, Cyril, and even the Fragment against Noetus, and denying that its form or contents make it possible to suppose it a composition called forth by the pressure of heretical opinion. His view of the rise of the Canon is in some respects singularly in unison with Ewald's.

Some things we miss. There is, for example, no adequate estimate of the powerful, though indirect, influence of Theodore of Mopsuestia upon the course of Christological speculation. But the great object of the book has been made good. With power and clearness we are shewn to what extent the Church of the first six centuries succeeded in working out the analysis of the central facts of faith, how true the Eastern Church kept to herself in dealing with the objective side of Christian faith, the verities of the Godhead, &c.; and how equally constant to her own genius the Western Church remained in handling the subjective side, man, sin, grace, &c.; how, after memorable struggles, the task culminated for its first period in John of Damascus for the East, and Augustin for the West, and how much was left to be done by Scholasticism and subsequent eras. The book is in all its sections (with the single exception of those on the later Monophysitism and Monotheletism) a thoroughly independent study of the original sources. In this, as well as in its peculiar method and prevailing Christological standpoint, it is a production of such value that we can only deeply regret that it is now impossible for us to get, at least direct from the author's own hand, the projected continuation of the history.

S. D. F. S.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Life in Christ: A Study of the Scripture Doctrine on the Nature of Man, the Object of the Divine Incarnation, and the Conditions of Human Immortality. By EDWARD WHITE. London: Elliot Stock. 1875.

This, though bearing the same title as a work published by the same

author thirty years ago, is, he assures us, almost entirely new. It advocates the theory of the ultimate annihilation of the lost, in place of the common view of their eternal existence in misery, though it is not at all confined to that point, but treats in connection with it the whole subject of the nature of man in the light of science and of scripture. The positions that he maintains are ; that while science and philosophy afford a presumption that the soul of man survives the death of the body, they give no evidence of the eternal existence of all human souls ; that scripture teaches that man was created by God, consisting of body and soul capable of immortality, but not actually endowed with it ; that the punishment threatened for disobedience was the extinction of the complex existence, while the reward of obedience would have been immortality ; that the threatening, however, was not executed, because mercy interposed to offer that forfeited immortality, through the Incarnation of the Redeemer ; that through regeneration believers are united to Christ, and become partakers of endless life and blessedness in him ; that bodily death is the original penalty of sin, inflicted in such a way as allow the continued life and blessedness of believers, and to secure the identity of unbelievers, who are to be raised for judgment at the last day ; and that the second death, which is the punishment of rejection of the gospel, consists in the final destruction, through sufferings more or less intense, of conscious life. These positions are illustrated and discussed in a very reverent and evangelical tone, and with considerable ability and a scholarly knowledge of scripture, so that the successive chapters present the reader with much that is interesting and suggestive. It is refreshing to find the question of eternal punishment treated in this comprehensive way, with a view to its bearing on the general system of theology, and not, as it too often is, in an isolated manner, as if it could be decided without any regard to the general principles of Christianity. In this general aspect, the chief thing that seems objectionable in Mr White's theory is, that he makes an essential distinction between the second death and the first, holding that the second death is the penalty only of rejection of the gospel, not of disobedience to the law. This requires the assumption of a universal proclamation of the gospel, and leads to the idea of an offer of salvation being made in the spirit-world to those who have not had it here ; an idea for which we can see no warrant in scripture. As to the question of annihilation itself, it is not one of very great importance. The theory advocated in this book does not, like that of universal restitution, require us to alter the proper notion of punishment, and regard it as disciplinary, and not retributive. It does not, therefore, infringe upon the great scriptural doctrines of the moral government of God and the sacrifice of Christ. Indeed Mr White's statements on the Atonement and Justification are very good and valuable. Nor does his theory lead to such forced and unnatural interpretations of scripture as that of restitution needs. It is a question of altogether subordinate importance that is raised by it. Undoubtedly the theory of annihilation, if it could be established by satisfactory evidence, would remove some of the difficulties that must be felt in the doctrine of eternal punishment, by those who are constrained to believe it, as well as

those who reject it. The question is one of scripture interpretation, and may be calmly discussed on that ground. Mr White is, however, apt to attach too great importance to the relief which his view would give, and sometimes he seems to argue unfairly against the common belief, and to reason on principles that would carry him much further than he desires. Upon any view of this solemn subject at all consistent with scripture, there are mental and moral difficulties, in the face of which we can only fall back on our faith in the perfect justice and goodness of God ; and it seems better, on the whole, at once and frankly to do that, than to attempt to remove all difficulties, and thus more fully than our present light will allow, to vindicate the ways of God to man.

We have received the fourth edition of *The Second Death, and the Restitution of all Things*—(By ANDREW JUKES. London : Longmans, Green, & Co. 1875)—a work which advocates Origen's theory of universal restitution in such a form as actually to subvert the evangelical notion of punishment as retributive, and of the death of Christ as a satisfaction to divine justice ; and does so with a boldness of allegorical interpretation worthy of Origen himself. It is not by such exegesis that theological science is to be advanced, or truth discovered and defended.

Another work by this author also appears in a third edition—(*Types of Genesis*. London : Longmans, Green, & Co. 1875)—in which he deliberately avows and defends the allegorical method of interpreting scripture, to the full extent of the fourfold sense maintained by the mediæval divines ; and applies his method to the exposition of Genesis, so as utterly to obscure the true revelation what that book gives of the history of God's salvation, and to make the meaning of scripture entirely obscure and uncertain. We must protest against a principle of interpretation so utterly un-Protestant ; and as Mr Jukes appeals to the ancient Fathers who have recommended and used it, we may remind our readers that it was condemned and rejected by the unanimous voice of the Reformers.

The Divine Origin of Christianity—(By ISAAC ASHE, M.D. Dublin : Hodges, Foster, & Co. 1875)—is an essay on the internal evidences, to which has been awarded a prize in the University of Dublin ; and it bears evidence of its origin as a treatise written on a prescribed subject, and by one who is not a trained and professional theologian. At some points the course of the thought seems to be somewhat hampered by the necessity of conforming to the terms of the title proposed by the university ; and there is a want of the critical accuracy and learning that might be expected in one who had received a theological education. In particular, his explanation of the death of Christ and its effects is too much tinged with ideas borrowed from physical science to be satisfactory or tenable. But while, perhaps unavoidably from circumstances, marked by such defects, it is on the whole a fresh and able pleading for Christianity, on the ground of its own intrinsic character ; and the literature of the Church in

the most fruitful and profitable field of internal evidence, is not so abundant that any thoughtful and earnest contribution to it, even from an unprofessional quarter, can be despised. Indeed the want of thorough and technical acquaintance with theology is more than counterbalanced by the advantage of writing with more manifest impartiality, and from a point of view with which men of science can better sympathise than that of theologians. We wish there were more of such expressions of *Religio Laici*.

We have received a great many other books, some of them very important and valuable, but the limitation of our space compels us to defer any notice of them till our next number.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

APRIL 1876.

ART. I.—*The Three Creeds.*

The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds: Their Literary History; together with an account of the growth and reception of the Sermon on the Faith, commonly called "The Creed of St Athanasius." By C. A. SWAINSON, D.D. Pp. 542. London. 1875.

THE preference which Sir Walter Scott shewed for Episcopacy over Presbyterianism did not rest on a very sound or intelligent basis, if Lockhart is correct in the account he gives of it. "He took up," says his son-in-law, "early in life a repugnance to the mode in which public worship is conducted in the Scottish Establishment, and adhered to the sister Church, whose system of government and discipline he believed to be the fairest form of the primitive polity, and whose litanies and collects he revered as having been transmitted to us from the age immediately succeeding that of the apostles." How far the Anglican system of government and discipline, nominally administered by State-made prelates, but in reality by the Houses of Parliament, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the Court of Arches, and the recently appointed Judge of Appeal, is now, or ever was, a fair copy of the polity which inspired men established among the scattered congregations of Syria, Asia Minor, and eastern Europe, may be fairly left to the consideration of any man who reads, without prejudice, the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of Paul. Should some competent scholar take the trouble to do for the litanies and

collects what the book before us has done for the creeds, and institute a searching inquiry into their origin, and lay open the sources from which they were derived ; the result will come with all the freshness of a revelation to those who innocently believe that the litanies and collects were "transmitted to us from the age immediately succeeding that of the apostles." What would be said, should it appear that the only antiquity that most of them can claim is to be translations of the forms in the Roman missals and breviaries used in England before the Reformation? What would be said, if, in the Book of Common Prayer, we should fail to find half-a-dozen collects, or a single litany, which could be traced to any earlier period than the fifth century after Christ? The age immediately succeeding the apostles was the second century, and to it we venture to affirm not one of these ritualistic forms could be followed up. But the simple acts of Presbyterian worship, prayer, praise, reading the scriptures, preaching the gospel, and the administration of baptism and the Lord's supper, have their precedents and authority in the first century of Christianity ; they claim higher sanction than that of the Fathers ; they derive their warrant from the practice of Christ and His apostles. No church ritual is as old as the New Testament. It is the apostolic form alone which has the true antiquity in its favour. The human is never so old as the divine.

Hitherto it was generally supposed that the Three Creeds occupied, in respect of age, the next place to the extracts from Scripture in the Book of Common Prayer. For one of them an origin no less than apostolic was once claimed : the most recent of them was supposed to date from the fourth century. For upwards of two hundred years, however, scholars have been aware that of both these claims, truth requires considerable abatement to be made ; but to what extent was not exactly understood. Canon Swainson, Norrisian Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, has, in the work before us, pointed this out with a clearness and force of evidence that the reader feels to be irresistible. He has instituted a searching inquiry into the history and structure of these venerable documents, and with laudable industry has followed out to its conclusion the path of investigation in which Vossius and Ussher, Muratori and Waterland, Heurtley and Ffoulkes, have toiled before him. None of his predecessors has equalled him in the research and

thoroughness which he has brought to bear upon the elucidation of his subject. The result is a work of solid and enduring value, not indeed very attractive to ordinary readers, owing to its minute criticism of obscure manuscripts, and its manifold citations from ancient and modern writers, but destined perhaps for many a year to be a high authority on the interesting theme which it proposes to discuss and illustrate.

Apart altogether from questions of their origin, there is, indeed, a peculiar interest attaching to these ancient documents. Prior to the Reformation, they were the common symbols of all western Christians; and although in most of the great Reformed Churches they do not hold the place of honour which they once did, yet by none of them have they ever been condemned or disavowed. The Romish Church uses all three in her public services; so does the Anglican; and most of the Presbyterian Churches have either expressly approved them, or have wrought up their substance into separate confessions of their own. The Nicene Creed, with one or two variations hereafter to be explained, is the one symbol of faith common alike to the three great divisions of Christianity—Greek, Roman, and Teutonic. No church, with any pretensions to be historical and national, has ever repudiated the Apostles' Creed. Though Swainson tells us "it is adopted by all the Reformed Churches, except the Presbyterian"—an expression nearly synonymous with saying, *it is adopted by no Reformed Church except the Anglican*—we find it allowed in the fifth Article of the Reformed Gallican Church, which we had supposed was Presbyterian; the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Confession of Knox's congregation at Geneva, both followed the order of the Apostles' Creed; and even the Assembly of Divines at Westminster says of it, that "it is a brief sum of the Christian faith, agreeable to the word of God, and anciently received in the churches of Christ."¹ The Athanasian Creed, though not formally accepted as a document by any except the Roman and Anglican communions, states, nevertheless, the most assured belief of nearly all Greek and Protestant Christians. Next, therefore, to the inspired Scriptures, to which all sections of Christianity in the last resort carry their appeals, and to the Psalms of David, which all, with-

¹ See Hall's *Harmony of the Protestant Confessions*, p. 9; Irving's *Confessions*, Appendix; Note to the Creed appended to the Shorter Catechism.

out exception, use as songs of praise, the Three Creeds are a possession common alike to all the great historical churches.

By a creed, as distinguished from an individual profession of belief, we understand the form of words, admitted by a council or by some ecclesiastical organisation, to contain a true statement of its opinions, and which is consequently appealed to publicly as the distinctive symbol of its faith. Being thus the embodiment, in human language, of doctrines which men hold to be divine, and its object being to explain the sense in which the contents of divine revelation are understood, it must, in the very nature of things, be an uninspired document. Thus human in its structure and expression, it is always open to the charge of imperfection. The possibility of error may always be assumed. Any formula, which is the product of an intelligent and honest attempt to embody the condensed teaching of holy Scripture on this or the other subject, may always be expected to contain a very large proportion of truth ; but other elements of a disturbing character often interpose to modify the result, so that, to the pure eye of Omniscience, the most perfect creed ever produced by man may appear either defective or erroneous. Even an imperfect creed may bind firmly, when men voluntarily adopt it as the exponent of their belief, and commit themselves to what it contains ; but in so far as the document is an accurate expression of divine revelation, it is binding upon men by the authority of God.

Though individual declarations of faith were abundant enough in the second and third centuries, we reach the fourth before we find any document which was admitted generally to contain the main principles of the Christian system. When the first makes its appearance, it owes its existence to the presence and prevalence of error. The immediate cause of error is the weakness and perversity of human nature, and creeds were the remedies judged to be most effective for checking the growth and counteracting the influence of those intellectual aberrations, which the majority regarded as both false in themselves, and destructive to the spiritual interests of men. Hence the old name for a creed was a *symbolum* ; that is, a sign or password, by which the Christian soldier could distinguish his friends from his foes, whether heretic or pagan. The fact is the very opposite of what it has been sometimes represented ; the creed did not produce the error, but error in the course of

time called out the creed. As heresy grew strong, it put the friends of truth on their defence, and compelled them, in self-protection, to enunciate their belief in concise and well-considered terms. Almost every clause in one of these ancient documents is a protest against heresy—the fossil memorial of a controversy long since dead and forgotten. Often when error presented itself under some new phase, it was met by inserting some new clause into an old creed. Some of the new clauses crept into general use; others of them fell into disuse, and perished. Among these competing clauses there was usually at work a kind of natural selection—a survival of the fittest—of which the documents as they now stand are the embodiment and result. No creed can be regarded as complete till it has admitted its last clause, and has thus arrived at the distinct form, which it retains unaltered till the present time.

THE NICENE CREED.

This oldest and most generally accepted of all the symbols, took origin at the Council of Nice, which assembled in 325 to pronounce upon the great Arian controversy. The first draft of it was submitted to that meeting by Eusebius of Cesarea, who thought it a form of belief in which both parties might be persuaded to agree. The document was indeed so cautiously worded, that both parties might have accepted it as a compromise, each understanding it in its own way. But Athanasius and his friends took strong exception to it, on the ground that it settled nothing, that it bore no distinct testimony to the truth, did not condemn error in terms sufficiently decided, and gave a sound so uncertain, that the Arian and the orthodox could both allege, with some plausibility, that the decision of the great council was in his own favour. The majority of the bishops saw the force of this, and agreed that the *homo-ousion*, that is, the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, should be inserted, and that a strong sentence of condemnation against all who did not receive the doctrine should be annexed. The proposal was carried, and the draft of Eusebius, with these amendments inserted, became the original Nicene Creed.¹ The

¹ This creed is given by Eusebius in his *Letter to the Church of Cesarea*, in Theodoret, *H. E.*, i. 12. English versions of it are common; one may be seen in Wall's *History of Infant Baptism*, vol. i. p. 611; and another in Goode's *Divine Rule*, second ed., vol. i. p. 131.

design of its authors was to state therein, in clear and definite terms, what they believed to be the truth on the subject before them, and to throw their statement into such a form that the adherents of Arius could not honestly subscribe it. Its original design was to be a test of orthodoxy, not to be a form of ritual for use in public worship.

The orthodox symbol thus agreed upon by the three hundred and eighteen Fathers of Nice, is not the symbol as it now stands in the Greek, Roman, and Anglican services. Considerable changes were made subsequently. These changes, it is generally understood, were effected by the Second General Council, as it is usual to call the Synod of one hundred and fifty Greek bishops, who, at the summons of the Emperor Theodosius, met at Constantinople in the year 381. There is, however, good reason to doubt whether this statement, though often repeated, is in reality a historical fact. The Fathers of Constantinople, in the letter which they addressed to the Emperor at the close of the council, profess to have proclaimed and ratified in brief terms the faith of the Fathers at Nice, but do not inform him that they ventured to make any additions to it. Their alleged revision is not given by Socrates, Sozomen, or Theodoret, the latter of whom especially was fond of quoting documents, and could scarcely have overlooked one of so great importance. It is recorded by no contemporary writer whatever, though the writings of many such exist, especially of Cyril of Jerusalem and the two Gregories, who all three were members of the council. Stranger still, the council of Ephesus, in 431, makes constant reference to the creed of Nice, but none to the alleged revision of Constantinople. The only ground for believing that such a revision was made at all, is, that at the General Council of Chalcedon, held in 451, Aetius the deacon stated, and the bishops assembled accepted his statement, that the form of creed containing the additions was the form approved by the Fathers of Constantinople seventy years before. Besides, it deepens the mystery to know that nearly all the additions, and something more besides, are found in a creed contained in the *Ancoratus* of Epiphanius¹—a work on the Trinity, written at the request of some clergy in Pamphylia, in the year 374, that is, seven years before the council met on which these

¹ *Ancoratus*, ch. cxx.

additions have been fathered. Is it possible that Aetius made the mistake of ascribing to the Second Council the creed of Epiphanius, and that the Fathers of Chalcedon did not discover the error? It is not easy to believe even this, though on the whole the more likely solution. Be it as it may, the amended creed received at Chalcedon has ever since been ascribed to the Fathers of Constantinople, and to this hour passes under their name. From that time the council of 381, which was seldom spoken of before, rose at once in public estimation, and although it contained no representative from any of the churches of the West, it was forthwith elevated to the dignity of a general council, and its alleged revision of the Nicene Creed was everywhere accepted as the symbol of orthodoxy.

The alterations thus made consisted in the omission of the expression, "God of God," and also of the anathema appended to the original, together with the insertion of a variety of clauses, and the amplification of the declaration in regard to the Holy Ghost. The following is the formula sanctioned at Chalcedon, the alleged Constantinopolitan additions being printed in *italics* :—

"We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, *Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things, visible and invisible* : and in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the *only-begotten* Son of God, begotten of the Father *before all worlds*, Light of light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made; who for us men, and for our salvation, came down *from heaven*, and was incarnate *of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary*, and was made man, and *was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate*, and suffered, *and was buried*; and on the third day He rose again, *according to the Scriptures*, and ascended into heaven, *and sitteth on the right hand of the Father*, and shall come again *with glory* to judge the quick and the dead; *of whose kingdom there shall be no end*. And in the Holy Ghost, *the Lord, the Giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father, who, with the Father and the Son together, is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets*; in one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. We acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins; we look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen."

It is stated by the historian, Theodorus Lector, that Timotheus, bishop of Constantinople, ordered (A.D. 511) this creed to be used at every congregation in public worship; previously it was in use only when the bishop, before Easter, catechised the catechumens.

Still, the creed was not yet complete. Two important changes were made afterwards. The clause, "God of God," which formed part of the original Nicene symbol, but for some reason was omitted at Chalcedon, was subsequently restored. The circumstances under which the excluded phrase made good its right to its old position, are not now known; but the re-insertion is first observed in Latin copies of the creed, as used in Spain, in Isidore Mercator, in the Council of Toledo, and in a creed which Etherius and Beatus quoted in their work against Elipandus. From this fact, it is reasonable to infer that the restoration of the clause was accomplished in Spain.

But at the Council of Toledo, held in 589, a change of much more momentous consequence was introduced. The Council of Chalcedon had used, in regard to the Holy Ghost, the words, "who proceedeth from the Father;" but the sixty-eight Spanish bishops, met at Toledo, inserted the words, *Filioque*, "and from the Son"—words which, however expressive of doctrinal truth they may have been, ought not to have been interpolated by a few local bishops in a public document which, as the creed of the whole Church, had the sanction of a General Council. The creed, with the new addition, was subscribed by Reccared, king of the Goths, and by his queen; and at the same council a canon was passed ordering it to be chanted by the people in a clear voice, before the Lord's Prayer, in the public services of the Church. The reason assigned for making it a part of the Church worship is, that "testimony may thus be borne to the true faith." Owing to this constant use of it in public, the laity grew familiar with the document in the interpolated form, and it became difficult afterwards to introduce among them the Roman form, in which, as yet, these changes had not been made.

The practice of using in the mass the Nicene Creed thus amended, spread from Spain into France, and to other parts of Christendom. It had reached England at an early period; for the Synod of Heathfield, in 680, is found to employ the expression—"from the Father *and the Son*." Yet the interpolation had not become so marked and general as to draw the attention of the Sixth General Council, which met the same year at Constantinople; for it contented itself with reciting the form sanctioned at Chalcedon, in which the addition is not contained. Even the Seventh General Council,

in 787, did not use the interpolation ; but there was an evident approach thereto, when the Patriarch Tarasius professed his faith in the Holy Ghost, "who proceedeth from the Father *by* the Son," and the words were accepted by the papal legates. Against the use of this phrase the Emperor Charlemagne remonstrated in a letter addressed to Pope Hadrian II., finding fault with Tarasius for not saying, "from the Father *and* the Son"—a fact sufficient to shew that, in two centuries, the Spanish interpolation had already found acceptance in France and Germany. Hadrian did not reprove his correspondent for heterodoxy, nor did he call his attention to the fact that his own favourite phrase was an unauthorised addition to the original form ; he contented himself with shewing, by quotations, that the form of phrase used by Tarasius was sanctioned by the authority of Athanasius, Hilary, and other orthodox Fathers. In 794, the Synod of Frankfort, summoned by Charlemagne, and composed of three hundred bishops, declared its belief to be, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. About two years after this, the Provincial Synod of Friuli met, and adopted the interpolated creed, the president, Paulinus, Patriarch of Aquileia, justifying the addition in the following words :—

"Just as the one hundred and fifty Fathers, who met at Constantinople, did, by way of exposition, supplement the meaning of the three hundred and eighteen, and confess that they believed in the Holy Spirit *the Lord and giver of life*, so afterwards, because of those heretics who whispered about that the Holy Spirit is of the Father alone, the words were added, "who proceedeth from the Father *and the Son*." Yet they are not to be blamed who effected this, as if they had added or diminished aught in the creed of the three hundred and eighteen, for they held no opinions different from theirs—they sought only to fill up the meaning which, in other respects, they left untouched."¹

From this point, therefore, the *Filioque* may be regarded as having established its claim to be recognised a portion of the creed of western Christendom. Popes, indeed, occasionally muttered disapproval, and Roman councils lifted up their protest. To hush the rising controversy about adding the *Filioque*, Pope Leo III. (795–816) expressed a wish that the singing of the creed should be abolished in Germany, inasmuch as it was not sung at Rome ; and he had suspended in the

¹ Swainson, p. 148.

Basilica of St Peter's two shields, inscribed, the one with a Greek and the other with a Latin copy of the Nicene Creed, as amended at Constantinople, both, of course, wanting the disputed phrase. Pope John VIII. (872-882), in a letter to Photius, condemns those who, as he says, in their madness made the addition. A local council, held at Rome in 810, united in the papal protest. But, in the eleventh century, the Pope at last gave way. As Swainson remarks, with truth, the occupant of the Apostolic See rarely leads in any matter except what concerns his own supremacy and power; the approved practice with him is to wait until a doctrine or rite has fought its way to general adoption, and then, when it has won over the majority to its side, the "Teacher of all Christians" smiles down benignly from the heights of the Church, and pronounces it to be orthodox and Catholic. However this may be, the fact in the present case is, that the Emperor Henry prevailed upon Benedict VIII. (1012-1024) to introduce into the mass the Nicene Creed, as then used in France, Germany, and England, and this involved, of course, the adoption of the *Filioque*. Since that time it has formed a part of the Eucharistic service in all Roman Catholic churches, and it received the formal sanction of the Council of Trent at its first session, held on the 4th of February 1546.

Even the Reformation, which swept away so many unauthorised innovations upon doctrine and ritual, made no change as to the *Filioque*. The Anglican communion, in its public services, still recites, in the vulgar tongue, the amended creed of Nice, as sanctioned at Chalcedon, with the subsequent interpolations inserted. The other Reformed Churches, without attaching the same importance to the letter of the document, or reciting it in public worship, still hold by the doctrine of the double procession, of which the *Filioque* is the sign. But the Greek Church has always condemned the interpolation. The Nicene Creed, as approved at Chalcedon, without further addition, is still the only symbol of the Eastern Church, and is found in all the Oriental liturgies; while the doctrine of the double procession, and the word in the symbol which expresses it, have been always made by the Greeks a prominent ground of their isolation, both from the Roman and Protestant churches. Dr Dollinger has lately been making some effort, at the head of his party, to bridge the

chasm; it remains to be seen whether the attempt will result in anything more important than words.

THE APOSTLES' CREED.

The opinion is as old as Ambrose, in the latter half of the fourth century, that the creed so called was written by the apostles. Pope Leo the Great, as well as others, committed himself to this statement,¹ and a later tradition, in a sermon erroneously ascribed to Augustine, not only assigns a clause of it to each of the twelve apostles, but undertakes to name the apostle to whom each of the clauses owes its existence.

Laurentius Valla was the first to question the accuracy of this oft-repeated statement.² Erasmus, as his manner was, "did not know" the truth of it, but as guilty disbelief of the whole story was supposed to lurk under the mask of a nescience seemingly so innocent, he was censured by the Faculty of Paris. But the honour of disproving the whole story is due to Gerard Vossius, who, in his *De Tribus Symbolis*, published in 1642, demonstrated that the assertion rests on no solid evidence whatever. His conclusion is now disputed by none competent to judge, and acquainted with the facts. Had this creed been the production of inspired men in the first century, it would be impossible to explain why it is not found in the New Testament; why it is never cited nor alluded to as a document by any writer of the first three centuries, inspired or uninspired; why it was not originally written in Greek, as all the extant literature of the first two centuries was; why it was not used in the Christian worship, as all the canonical, and some uncanonical, writings were; why the Church of Jerusalem, in the fourth century, as well as other churches, had a creed of its own entirely different; why, subject to the casualties of transcription only, it did not at all times retain the same unvarying form, as is done by the shortest and least important document which makes a part of holy Scripture; and why so many Christian writers, in the second and third centuries, produced each a summary of his own, instead of pointing to the form established by the apostles once for all. These facts seem to us unaccountable on any other supposition, than that the

¹ Thus in *Sermo xcvi.*, Leo speaks of the enemies of the Church as rejecting the symbol instituted by the apostles—"instituto a sanctis apostolis symbolo repugnantes."—See *Migne*, vol. liv., c. 466.

² See Fabricius, *Codex Apoc. N. T.* vol. ii. p. 352.

document did not exist in the first century, and, consequently, that it was not written by the apostles.

In the third and following centuries, it was the custom of the Christian teachers to give catechumens a short summary of Christian doctrine—a *breviarium fidei*, as Ambrose calls it—which might be easily retained in the memory. This short exposition of Christianity, orally communicated, served in ancient times the same purpose as catechisms and abridgments of Christian doctrines serve in some churches still. Each of them took for its basis the baptismal formula in Matt. xxviii. 19; the persons of the Trinity in the order there mentioned constituted the central stem, from which all the other parts branched forth. These summaries were at first short, and understood to contain nothing which was not counted fundamental.¹ Not being committed to writing, but communicated by the living voice to those under Christian instruction, there was among them a manifest agreement as to substance, yet a difference of expression, which shews itself distinctly in the forms which are still preserved. The profession of faith which the catechumen afterwards made at baptism, was usually much shorter than the summary of doctrine that he was taught to repeat while under instruction. The baptismal formula in the second and third centuries was seldom more than a simple profession of faith in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; the latter—the *rule of faith*, as it was often called, though very improperly, by the ancient writers—was intended to embrace the sum and substance of Christianity, and it was gradually enlarged by the introduction of clauses designed to affirm the truth, as opposed to this or the other form of error which was constantly cropping up. The tendency, of course, was for the summary of faith to fall into a set form of words; but the forms still extant vary so much in language, as to shew that there was no authoritative formula with Church sanction then in general use. Among the numerous creeds of individual writers, the oldest perhaps is that of Irenæus; but we select that of Tertullian as being the oldest Latin form, with the view of shewing the first rough sketch out of which the more finished picture was produced in the course of ages:—

¹ Augustine thus explains the nature and object of these summaries:—
“Collecta breviter et in ordinem certum redacta et constricta tradenda sunt vobis; ut fides vestra ædificetur, et confessio præparetur, et memoria non gravetur.”—*Sermo ccciv.* 1, in *Migne xxxviii.*, c. 1066.

"There is one God only, and He is none other than the Creator of the world, who produced all things out of nothing through His own Word, first of all sent forth ; this Word is called His Son, and, under the name of God, was seen in divers manners by the patriarchs, heard at all times in the prophets, at last brought down by the Spirit and power of the Father into the Virgin Mary, was made flesh in her womb, and, being born of her, went forth as Jesus Christ ; thenceforth He preached the new law and the new promise of the kingdom of heaven : worked miracles : having been crucified, He rose again the third day : then having ascended into the heavens, He sat at the right hand of the Father : sent instead of Himself the power of the Holy Ghost to lead such as believe : will come with glory to take the saints to the enjoyment of everlasting life and of the heavenly promises, and to condemn the wicked to everlasting fire, after the resurrection of both these classes shall have happened together with the restoration of their flesh."¹

Can there be a doubt that Tertullian would have given, in preference to his own, a summary drawn up by the Apostles, had he known of the existence of such a document ? He never alludes to such a thing, but inserts a summary of his own ; and, as if to shew that there was no uniformity in the matter, the same writer gives two other abridgments, substantially the same, but verbally different.² Similar abridgments, none of them exactly in the same terms as the others, may be found in the Fathers of the first five centuries. We quote another of them, found in the *Confessio*, attributed to Patrick the Apostle of Ireland, which belongs to the fifth century, more particularly as it has escaped the notice of Swainson :—

"There is no other God, and never was, and never will be after Him but God the Father, unbegotten, without beginning, from whom all beginning is, occupying all things, as we have said : and His Son Jesus Christ, whom we witness to have been always with the Father, before the commencement of the world, spiritually with the Father, begotten in a manner not to be described, before all beginning : and by Him all things were made, visible and invisible : He was made man, and, having conquered death, was received into the heavens to the Father. And He gave Him all power over every name, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, that every tongue may confess that Jesus Christ is Lord and God : on whom we believe, and whose coming we expect : He will, in due time, be the Judge of the quick and the dead, who will render to every man according to his deeds : and He hath shed abroad upon us abundantly the gift of the Holy Ghost and the pledge of immortality, who makes men believing and obedient, that they may be

¹ Tertullian, *De Praes.*, ch. 13.

² Tertullian, *Adv. Prax.*, ch. ii. ; *De Virginibus*, ch. i.

sons of God the Father, and joint-heirs with Christ, whom we confess and adore, one God in the Trinity of the sacred name."¹

Some of these so-called rules of faith were so comprehensive, as to include points of ritual as well as doctrine;² but in every case without canonical sanction, being in each case summaries used by the individual writer, or by some individual church. It was none of these, however; it was the *Romanum Symbolum*, that is, the summary for the instruction of catechumens in the Church at Rome, which grew up into the document now known as the Apostles' Creed.

The first glimpse we obtain of it is during the Arian controversy, about the middle of the fourth century. When Marcellus of Ancyra, the friend of Athanasius, was charged with heresy, and went to Rome to clear himself of the charge, he wrote out, and handed in, a confession of his faith, which is found to be almost identical with that which Rufinus, fifty years later, says, was the *Romanum Symbolum* in his time. The only difference between them is, that Marcellus omits the word "Father" at the beginning, and adds the clause, "life eternal," at the end.³ Marcellus, it is true, does not profess to give the Roman Creed, he only gives his own; but the verbal identity between them, in almost everything, leads us to believe that he sought to prove his orthodoxy by shewing that his faith was substantially the same with that professed in the Church of the metropolis of the west.

Ambrose, writing to Pope Siricius (385–398), is the first to designate it the *Apostles' Creed*.⁴ Rufinus (350–410) gives the popular account of its origin on the authority simply of "tradunt majores nostri," and is the first to furnish what is professedly a copy of the creed which was used in the Roman Church in his time, that is, in the beginning of the fifth century. It reads thus:—

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ His only Son our Lord, who was born of the Holy Ghost from the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, and buried: on the third day, He

¹ *Confessio Patricii*, ch. ii., in *Migne*, vol. liii. c. 802.

² Polycrates followed, as he says, the rule of faith, in keeping Easter on the 14th of Nisan. See Eusebius, *H. E.*, v. 24.

³ Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxxii. in *Migne*, Greek series, vol. xlii. c. 386.

⁴ "Credatur Symbolo Apostolorum, quod Ecclesia Romana intemeratum semper custodit et servat." *Migne*, vol. xvi. c. 1125.

rose from the dead : He ascended to heaven, sits at the right hand of the Father, whence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead. And in the Holy Ghost, the holy Church, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the flesh."

Rufinus states expressly, that to this form some things were added in other churches; for example, the clause, *He descended into hell*, was in use in the Church of Aquileia in his time. But he accounts for the brevity of the Roman form, by saying no heresy took its rise there, and that, as the creed there was recited publicly in the presence of the Church, it was more difficult to make additions.¹ This copy is of great value, as shewing the Apostles' Creed in process of formation. The skeleton is here, but the bare bones have yet to be covered with flesh and skin. Rufinus speaks of it, as it then stood, as "the sum of all perfection;" and although Augustine's form did not contain a clause more, he praises it in these terms: "This is the Christian, this is the Catholic, this is the Apostolic, faith."²

After ages did not, however, agree in this, either with Augustine or Rufinus. The following clauses were inserted in the *Romanum Symbolum* before it assumed the exact form now known to us as the Apostles' Creed:—

1. The clause, *Maker of heaven and earth*, borrowed from the Nicene Creed, is first found in a copy of the Apostles' Creed contained in a Gallican Sacramentary, appended to the works of Germanus of Paris.³ It had not found its way into the Spanish creeds of the age of Charlemagne.

2. *Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary*, is an altered form of the expression given by Rufinus. It makes its first appearance in a summary of doctrine ascribed to Augustine, and afterwards in Faustus of Riez, A.D. 490.

3. The word *dead* occurs for the first time in the creed as given in the Gallican service-books; it is wanting in the early creeds of Spain, England, and Ireland.

4. The clause, *He descended into hell*, appeared first in the third Sirmian Creed, which was published at Rimini in 359.⁴

¹ Rufinus, *In Symbolum*, ch. 3. *Migne*, vol. xxi. c. 339. Swainson, p. 160, gives the Latin of the *Rom. Symbolum*.

² *Migne*, vol. xxxviii. c. 1072.

³ *Migne*, vol. lxxii. c. 489.

⁴ Socrates, *H.E.*, book ii. ch. 37.

It had reached Aquileia in the time of Rufinus, and again appears in the Apostles' Creed as given by Ildefonsus, A.D. 669.

5. The clause, *and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty*, first makes its appearance in Faustus of Riez, and afterwards in the Gallican and Spanish creeds.

6. The word *catholic* is also wanting in the Apostles' Creed as used in the Roman Church in the fourth century. It was first inserted in the copy given by Faustus, and afterwards in the Gallican and Spanish books.

7. The phrase, *communion of saints*, is found first in the creed contained in Faustus, and afterwards in the Gallican service-books.

8. The clause, *and the life everlasting*, first inserted in the creed of Marcellus of Ancyra, A.D. 341, reappears in the Ravenna creed of the fifth century.

That some of these expressions are found originally in the Scriptures, or in the early Fathers, or in individual professions of faith contained in ancient writers, is not denied; we only desire to note in each case the earliest known instance in which they are found inserted in the *Romanum Symbolum*.

The first dated instance of the Apostles' Creed, complete as it stands at the present day, occurs in a treatise written by one Pirminius, a Benedictine monk, who, after labouring in France and Germany, died in the year 758. The next complete copy is found in the Gellone Codex at Paris—a manuscript assigned to the year 790. This form was diffused through Europe by the psalters sent out from the schools of Charlemagne. That emperor, who was very careful about keeping the clergy to their work, directed, in various capitularies, that the priests should teach and preach according to the canons, and be able to repeat the Lord's Prayer and the Creed. The former was at that time supposed to express every want that a human soul could feel; the latter, to contain the whole catholic faith. To assist the priesthood to comply with the imperial orders, the creed in its complete form was inserted in the psalters and missals of the time, and thus it got into general circulation. It soon reached Italy and Rome. One of the oldest copies now known is contained in a psalter said to have been written by Charlemagne himself, and sent as a present to Hadrian II. It gradually made its way into all the service-books of the West. The first indication of its use at canonical

and in the fourth book of the *De*
work written by Symposius Amularius,
died about 834.

," says Swainson, p. 170, "is unquestionable
Apostles Creed, as it exists in the present day,

the articles which distinguish it from the old
Latin, Spanish, English, Scotch, and Irish types,

They came through, or from, Faustus of Riez
the-books to Pirminius, the Frank missionary
ninth century, and the completed creed gradually

of Charlemagne it was copied into the
the ninth and tenth centuries, few of which

that, although less complete forms lingered in
the West for some ages after, it may be said that

as it now stands was in general acceptance
century. Without the sanction of any ecclesi-

it made its way into the service-books, and of
public worship. It was supposed to contain a

ary of the most important doctrines of Christianity.
were expected to commit it to memory, and to

the Lord's Prayer. No one doubted then, nor
centuries after, that it was the genuine production of

of Christ. The name was probably derived from
ed authorship; but the fact is, that the apostles had

to do with its composition than with that of any
sermon or treatise, whose statements find a doctrinal

their inspired words.
result of a careful inquiry, conducted on principles

historical, is to shew that the so-called Apostles'
entirely of human origin; that it is a compilation,

tion of which was laid in Rome, and the comple-
which was perfected in France; that the document

mentary form does not emerge out of darkness till
century; that it was in process of construction

till the eighth; that it was in general
the ninth century, and used in public worship

In the East, it never came into general
earliest Greek copies of it in existence are

from the Latin original. So late as the
in 1439, the legates of the Greek Church

said that this creed was not used in their churches, and that they had not seen it before.¹

Romish writers of the modern school, such as Möhler and Newman, are too intelligent to deny this. They fully admit that what so long passed for a production of the apostles, is a gradual growth, a composite thing, constructed out of elements which were floating about for seven centuries, before falling into their present order. But they present a new front when they convert the fact into an argument in favour of tradition, as opposed to scripture. They tell us that it did not spring from the Bible; it was not made, it grew; it was self-produced; it is the outgrowth of Christianity itself—the spontaneous product of the life of the Church. They point to it as the product of tradition, outside the Bible.

But if we possess, as they assume, a source of divine truth outside the Scriptures, and independent of them, we need not trouble ourselves farther about inspiration. In that case, the word of man would be a much more accessible and prolific fountain of religious knowledge than the Word of God. The living Church, in that case, could always produce new dogma; a book, completed eighteen hundred years ago, never could; while any old truth in the latter is liable to be superseded by some new revelation of the former. The Scripture, in such circumstances, would be a stagnant pond, whose pent-up waters would always be stale and unwholesome; the Church an everflowing spring, giving out traditions, fresh, gushing, inexhaustible. Were such a notion true, the Bible of the future would not be the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, but the *Bullarium Magnum* and the *Acta Conciliorum*.

The fact, however, is, that there is no truth in the Apostles' Creed which is not expressed in some form or other in the Holy Scriptures. "All that you are about to hear in the creed," says Augustine, "is contained in the divine letters of the holy Scriptures."² Ildefonsus speaks of it as "a summary gathered by the Apostles out of all the Scriptures."³ Thomas

¹ Mark of Ephesus said at the Council: "Nos nusquam habemus, neque novimus Symbolum Apostolorum."—Fabricius, *Codex Apocryphus*, N.T., vol. ii. p. 350.

² *Migne*, vol. xxxviii., ch. 1060.

³ "In quo ideo ab apostolis collecta sunt ex omnibus Scripturis," &c., *Migne*, xcvi., c. 127. Martin of Liege repeats the same sentiment in almost the same words. *Migne*, vol. ccviii., c. 1345.

Aquinas, a higher authority still, is quoted by Swainson, at p. 179, as saying, "Only a few have the opportunity of learning from Scripture what is necessary to be believed, therefore a summary was collected out of the sacred writings; and this summary must be regarded, not as added to Scripture, but as extracted from it." In face of such authorities, therefore, it is rather too late in the day for our modern Romanists to pretend, that the creed is the product of a tradition which has grown up independent of the Bible.

It seems very unaccountable, also, if the creed is the outgrowth of the spontaneous life of the Church, that it has not gone on to grow, that this symbolical development received a sudden check in the eighth century, and that, although the Church lives on, no new truth has been added since.

It seems still more strange that the Romish Church herself, in her authorised formularies, gives an account of the origin of the document very different from that given by these able theologians. Thus the Trent Catechism says:—"The first points which Christian men ought to hold, are those which the holy Apostles, the great leaders and teachers of the faith, inspired by the Holy Ghost, have divided into the twelve articles of the creed; for when they had received a command from the Lord to go forth into the whole world, acting as His ambassadors, and preach the gospel to every creature, they thought fit to compose a form of Christian faith, to wit, that all might think and speak the same things,"¹ &c. This, as we now know, is quite contrary to historical fact, so far as it speaks of the origin of the creed; but its statement, that the creed is the composition of inspired men, is quite sufficient to dispose of the modern Romish theory—that it did not spring from the Bible, but is the product of a divine tradition.

Apart, however, from all questions of its origin and structure, the Apostles' Creed, viewed simply as a document, is, so far as it goes, a valuable compend of Christian doctrine, the contents of which are scripture truths, and therefore the common heritage of all Christians. But we must not close our eyes to the fact, that very much that is fundamental finds no place therein. It is silent as to the doctrine of grace, and the gospel plan of salvation. It does not testify to what Paul testified, "Repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus

¹ Catechism, p. i., ch. i., q. 2.

Christ." Besides, the unanimity with which it has been adopted by western Christians, is very much owing to the vagueness produced by the simple brevity with which it states biblical facts without details, and leaves every one free to form his own opinion as to their cause and manner, their nature and design. If the various ecclesiastical bodies, which profess to accept the creed, and to believe the doctrines that it contains, were to give each its own interpretation of the several clauses, the real diversity would soon shew itself.

THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

The document known by this name, but more accurately designated, from its opening words in the Latin original, the *Quicumque vult*, long enjoyed a factitious importance, founded upon its supposed authorship. For a long period it was received without question as the genuine production of the celebrated bishop of Alexandria, whose character and sufferings, no less than his orthodoxy, have shed a lustre over the fourth century. But this illusion, like many another, has been dispelled by the light of strict and sober historical inquiry. Doubt was expressed by Jewel, in 1569; Vossius, in 1642, attempted to shew that, in its present form, it could not be traced to any earlier point than the beginning of the ninth century; Waterland assigned it to the sixth century; and now Swainson, after an investigation more painstaking and extensive than any of his predecessors, produces good reasons for believing that, in its completed state, it did not exist before the ninth century.

The labours of these and other inquirers have produced the conviction, now almost general, that however substantially identical the teaching of Athanasius on the subject of the Trinity may be with the doctrine embodied in the creed, the great champion of orthodoxy was not concerned in its composition. It is not found in his writings. The term *homo-ousion*, or con-substantial, for which he battled so long and consistently, is not mentioned therein. It is quoted neither by contemporaries nor by those nearest to contemporaries. The theologians who took part in the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies of the fifth century, to whom its clear utterances on the points in dispute would, as coming from Athanasius,

have been so precious, never quote or make any use of it whatever. It is not referred to by Leo in his celebrated letter to Flavian, which dealt so clearly with the subjects traversed in the creed, and which formed the basis of the decision at Chalcedon. Besides, its pronouncements on the Incarnation are themselves an explicit and designed condemnation of the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies, neither of which appeared till the century after Athanasius died; while some of its constituent clauses did not appear for several centuries later still. For these reasons it could not have been written by the bishop of Alexandria, after whom it is called.

As usually printed in the *Book of Common Prayer*, the Athanasian Creed consists of forty-two clauses. But like the *Romanum Symbolum*, it is not the work of one author, or of one age. Some of its clauses are in existence at an early period. These clauses afterwards reappear, sometimes with additions, at others with omissions. New clauses make good their claim to take rank with those of an older date. At last the document, formed out of these accretions, assumes its present shape, and no important change is made subsequently. It is thus in its structure a composite work, deriving its material from a variety of sources, and combining all into one document, well suited to the purpose of its compiler, clear, compact, terse in expression, gradually making its way to general acceptance, not by the decree of a council, or the authority of the Church, but by the condensed brevity and force with which it gives expression to the orthodox faith.

Augustine never cites, nor even refers to, the Athanasian Creed; but in his work, *De Trinitate*, and in others of his writings, he uses language, in some cases borrowed from Philastrius, and in some cases his own, which obviously formed a basis for the more precise and compact epithets of the document. This is true more particularly of clauses 7-29, which contain the doctrine of the Trinity. When these identical expressions are quoted by later writers, it does not follow, as has been sometimes supposed, that they are citing the creed; it is at least possible that they are citing Augustine.

In the *Commonitorium* of Vincent of Lerins, there is no quotation from the Athanasian Creed, or reference to it; but there is found there a still greater similarity of language, and a nearer approach to the expressions of the creed, than is found

in Augustine. In that work, words resembling closely five or six clauses of the creed are contained.

In the Councils of Toledo, in Spain, held in the sixth and seventh centuries, and in the speech of Paulinus of Aquileia, there are expressions which find a parallel in various clauses of the creed ; but none of these even cite it, or seem to be aware of its existence. Pope Leo II., in 682, gives a profession of his faith,¹ in which he gives his views in detail in regard to the Trinity and Incarnation, and in which he refers to the councils, but never to the creed. Down to the close of the seventh century, there is not a single citation professedly taken from the so-called faith of Athanasius ; yet during that time the doctrine contained therein was held by the Church, and expressions closely similar to various clauses in it are met with frequently. The earliest parallel to the damnatory clauses is not found till we reach a Spanish Synod in 693, from which Swainson infers that the creed itself is older, in point of date, than the framework in which it is set.

Out of the material thus provided, the first rude form of the creed was constructed. The oldest of these outlines now known is preserved in the fragments of a manuscript originally found at Treves, but now in Paris, and supposed to belong to the year 730. It is a portion of the address of a preacher to his congregation, and was intended by its author to be an exposition of the Apostles' Creed ; but the remarkable thing about it is, that it brings together and states, though with some verbal variation, what now stands as clauses 30-41 of the *Quicumque*. The parallelism and "antithetical swing" of the document were afterwards added, to adapt it for chanting ; but, in the words of this unknown preacher, we have the first rough sketch out of which the latter part of it was formed.

In a profession of faith made by Denebert, bishop of Worcester, about the year 798, there are no less than *eleven* or *twelve* clauses of the creed as afterwards constructed ; but they, unlike those of the Treves MS., are now found in the part of the creed which speaks of the Trinity—that is, between clauses 1 and 28.

Though nearly all the materials which compose it were thus in existence about the end of the eighth century, it was not yet known to the leaders of thought at that time ; it was not

¹ See vol. cv. of *Migne*, cols. 54-60.

known to Alcuin, nor to Pope Leo III., nor to Charlemagne, nor to Rabanus Maurus. It is contained in no prayer-book or hymnal before the middle of that century. From that time it does begin to appear, but at first in a shape different from the form now received, and which shews that it had not then been admitted into the public services of the Church. No psalter contains it previous to the time of Charlemagne. From his time, and after, the Gallican psalters begin to have it. No one before Theodulf, who was bishop of Orleans in the time of Charlemagne, is known to quote it as a document. After Theodulf, it is quoted by Agobard of Lyons, Ratram of Corbey, and Hincmar of Rheims—all of the ninth century. By no less than four or five lines of independent testimony, it can be shewn that it was brought prominently forward in the space of five and twenty years before and after the death of Charlemagne in 814. It was not known to Paulinus of Aquileia in 791; but it was well known at Rheims about 860.

There is every reason to believe, therefore, that the Athanasian Creed did not originate in Africa, but much nearer home. It was in process of formation in Western Europe from the fifth till the eighth century, and was not completed till the ninth. It appears in the province of Rheims, Swainson attempts to shew, about 860; but even if we fall back on Vossius, and say fifty or sixty years sooner, the result is not materially different. By either account, the Athanasian Creed is a Gallican production of the ninth century. Vossius, Muratori, Waterland, and Swainson, all agree as to the place of its birth, though Waterland contends for an earlier time. It rapidly gained circulation and credit. It had reached Italy before the end of the tenth century. Its authorship was attributed to the great Alexandrian bishop, the supporter and champion of orthodoxy. Its ring on the two grand doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, was clear. Its language was concise, and well calculated to fasten on the popular memory. Its turns of expression were well adapted to chanting in public worship, and it soon won for itself a place in the Church service, as the two sister creeds had done before it.

The arguments advanced by Ussher and Waterland in support of an earlier date are plausible; but their force is weakened, if not destroyed, when the clear light of historical research is directed to the alleged facts which constitute their basis.

Waterland lays much stress upon a document with the name, *Libellus Fidei*, or *Expositio Fidei Athanasii*, which is as old as the sixth century, and which he seems to think is the same as the *Symbolum Athanasii*. But there were several documents with this title, ascribed in turn to Damasus of Rome, Vigilius of Tapsus, Jerome, and Athanasius, but none of them identical with the *Quicunque*. Swainson prints several of them,¹ and shews, that while these so-called rules of faith resembled in some points each of the three creeds, they were not identical with any of them. It is from these old expositions that the citations are made, which Waterland and others supposed to be made from the *Quicunque*. Thus Ratram of Corbey quotes from the *Athanasii Libellus Fidei* a passage not found in the *Quicunque*, but in the *Libellus* given by Swainson at page 274. It is true, that in another passage he now cites what stands as clauses 21–23 in the Athanasian Creed. But the former fact is sufficient to shew that when sixth and seventh century writers refer to the Athanasian *Book of Faith*, it is not necessary to suppose that they refer of course to the *Quicunque*.

The same learned theologian dwells on the canon of Autun, which he ascribes to the year 670, and the substance of which is, that any clergyman who cannot repeat “the Symbol, which, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, the apostles have handed down, and the *Faith of the Prelate St Athanasius*, let him be condemned by the bishop.” This argument would have weight if we could determine with accuracy the date of the canon, or identify the *Faith* with the *Quicunque*. But there is no satisfactory evidence of either. The canon is contained in five MSS. of the ninth, and in only one of the eighth century, while there is nothing to make it clear that it does not refer to the *Libellus Fidei*, or to some other of the expositions referred to in the preceding paragraph, and which are quite distinct from the Athanasian Creed.

It was supposed by Muratori that the author of the Creed may have been Venantius Fortunatus, of Poitiers, who lived between 566 and 599. It is true that a *Comment* on the Creed ascribed to one Fortunatus is extant; but Swainson shews that this Comment belongs to the eighth century; and that the document, though on the whole harmonious, “differs

¹ See pp. 273–277.

seriously" from the *Quicunque* in clauses 21–23. But what settles the question of date is the fact, that of four MSS. of this exposition of the creed, the Milanese copy alone assigns the authorship to Fortunatus; and that copy contains a quotation from Alcuin, the contemporary of Charlemagne, thus proving that the date could not have been earlier than the close of the eighth century. This entirely invalidates the statement that the comment is the work of Fortunatus of Poitiers, and consequently the proof that the creed itself existed in the sixth century.

Various writers also attach importance to the statement of Regino, abbot of Prum (892–899), who, among his *Articles of Inquiry*, has one which Waterland assigns to the year 760, and which is thus expressed:—"Whether the clergy have by heart Athanasius' Tract upon the Faith of Trinity, beginning with, *Whosoever will be saved*," &c. The facts are these:—The abbot of Prum, in the close of the ninth century, drew up a series of visitation inquiries for the use of Ratbod, archbishop of Treves. He drew up ninety-five articles, and justified his selection of these by reference to canonical authorities. Many of these authorities were taken from capitularies and synods of the ninth century. He does not quote the canon of Autun, or indeed any canonical authority for the inquiry as to the Tract of Athanasius. His inquiries are not, in fact, older than his own time; and all agree in saying that, at that time—the end of the ninth century—the so-called Athanasian Creed was a completed document.

We have reserved for the last the argument of Ussher, which, for two centuries, has been regarded as conclusive proof that the Athanasian Creed is as old as the sixth century.

After the publication of the *De Tribus Symbolis*, in which Vossius assigned the commencement of the ninth century as the date of this document in its completed form, Ussher, in the preface of his work, *De Symbolo Romano*, published in 1647, remonstrated with Vossius, and said that he had found in the Cotton Library two MSS. of an earlier date than the ninth century, in both of which the Athanasian Creed was contained. One of these he assigned to the time of Gregory the Great (590–604), the other to the beginning of the eighth century. If Ussher was right as to the date of either of these MSS., it is clear that the proof, which goes to shew that the creed is a production of

the ninth century, entirely breaks down. Vossius, in his historical inquiries, had used printed materials only; he had neither access to MSS. nor time to examine them; and in deference to the judgment of the most learned British theologian then living, he modified his conclusion so far as to say that the Athanasian Creed was not earlier than the year 600. This submission was regarded as confirmation of the general impression, that Ussher had completely answered Vossius, and for two centuries no scholar ventured to question the statement, that the *Quicunque* was as old as the sixth century at least.

Farther inquiry was, indeed, made impossible by the fact, that the older of the two MSS. referred to by Ussher soon afterwards disappeared, and from his time till our own the place of its depositure was known to no English writer. Its rediscovery was owing to Professor Westwood, who, in his valuable work, entitled, *The Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts*, inserted a drawing from an Utrecht Psalter, without appearing to know anything of its history or relations. In 1871 this drawing was brought under the notice of Professor Swainson, and he immediately identified it with the long lost MS. of Ussher. As it became important to determine accurately the age of the original, coloured lithographs of that part of it which contained the Athanasian Creed were received in England in 1872. One of them was put into the hands of Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records, who formed an opinion of its date identical with that of Ussher. Professing to form his judgment on palæographical grounds alone, he stated, in a public report addressed to Lord Romilly, then Master of the Rolls, that he fixed its date to the end of the sixth century; and he assigned his reasons for believing that it was written in some continental monastery, and brought to England by Queen Bertha, who bequeathed it to the monastery of Reculver, in Kent.

The whole subject excited interest in various ecclesiastical and literary circles throughout England. It was discussed in the newspapers, and talked over in Convocation. At length the Foreign Office had its attention called to the matter. Through its intervention the original MS. was obtained on loan from Holland by the authorities of the British Museum, and submitted to the examination of the most experienced palæo-

graphers in England. The result is, that Sir Duffus Hardy stands alone in his opinion. No other high authority, who bases his judgment on artistic and palæographical grounds alone, assigns the manuscript to an earlier period than the school of Charlemagne. The style of the caligraphy, the illuminations in the initial letters, and the contents of the volume, all point to a date not earlier than 800 A.D.

The second MS. spoken of by Ussher is described by Dr Heurtley in his *Harmonia Symbolica*. It consists of three parts, each of which was written at a different time; and by no authority is the part containing the *Quicumque* allowed to be older than the ninth century, while by some it is assigned to the eleventh.

Ussher's answer to Vossius thus entirely breaks down. It is now known that no existing MS. which was produced before the time of Charlemagne, contains the Athanasian Creed. But from this time onwards, the Gallican psalters do contain it, and ascribe it invariably to Athanasius. After a very extensive and critical examination of the documents supposed to cast light on its origin and structure, Professor Swainson thus sums up:—

“It remains for us to inquire whether we can trace any closer the author, or the time, or the locale of the forgery. Forgery it certainly was; that the production of this work under the name of Athanasius was an intentional and deliberate attempt to deceive, no reasonable person can question. It was analogous to the production of the forged decretals. And it is doubtless to the skill with which the imposture was wrought out, that we owe the difficulty which has been felt for so many years in discovering the author” (p. 381).

It will be obvious, from these considerations, that the Athanasian Creed was written originally in Latin. The Latin MSS. which contain it are not only the oldest and most numerous, but they present the fewest variations. Every Saxon and English version up till 1548 was, without exception, taken from the Latin. The document was in common use throughout the West before it was known in the East. In the oldest Greek versions of the psalter there is no copy of it found. Even in those psalters which contain the Nicene Creed and the Apostles' Creed in Greek and Latin, the Athanasian does not appear. No Greek copy is known to be older than the thirteenth century. Early in that century there is evidence that a Greek version of it was in existence, in which the words,

"*and from the Son,*" do not occur ; for, about that time, some Greeks are found complaining that "they do not know who it was that inserted this clause in the *Faith* of the holy Athanasius." In 1233, the Franciscan envoys of Gregory IX., who were anxious to conciliate the Easterns, produced this creed at Constantinople, and on the Greeks expressing their surprise that the production of a Greek Father should be written in Latin, they assured them that Latin was the original language in which it was composed by Athanasius during his exile at Treves. From this time onwards the Greek copies grow numerous. One of these, a MS. of the fifteenth century, at Florence, contains a text exactly similar to the vulgar version in the English prayer-book. But the Greek writers constantly maintained that, as it stands, it could not have been written by Athanasius, and that, if the great bishop had anything to do with its composition, it must have been adulterated by the Roman pontiffs. Within the last two hundred years, private editors have occasionally printed it in Greek books of devotion and in the symbolical collections of that Church, but up till the present time it has received no ecclesiastical sanction in the East.

Stranger still, there is some reason to doubt whether it has ever received the formal sanction of the Roman Church. Aquinas indeed says, that "it is admitted by the authority of the Roman See as containing a complete system of Christian faith ;" but this admission is made by its adoption into service-books and its use in worship, rather than by any official sanction of the Church. The Nicene formula is embodied in the creed of Pope Pius IV. as "the symbol of faith that is used in the holy Roman Church ;" the Apostles' Creed is the symbol expounded in the Catechism of Trent ; but Professor Swainson can find no authority for the Athanasian, except that of a small Synod held at Lovitium, in Poland, in the year 1556. Still, the constant and universal use of it in the services of the Romish Church, is perhaps as strong an expression of approval as could be given it by any canon of her councils or by any bull of her popes.

Prior to the Reformation, it had found its way in the Romish breviaries used in England, and from them it passed over into the Book of Common Prayer. The Athanasian Creed was inserted in the new Liturgy of the Anglican Communion in

the year 1549. But as the Rhemish Testament was the translation of a version, and not of the original, so it happened to the creed. Under the mistaken notion that the document was the genuine production of Athanasius, and, if so, must have been written in Greek, they translated it into English out of a Greek version, and not from the Latin original. The vernacular version is thus the representative of a Greek copy comparatively modern. Out of eighteen verbal changes¹ upon the form previously in common use, fifteen are due to the influence of this Greek version. Prior to 1549, there were only two or three Greek copies printed, so that there was not much field for comparing readings and selecting a text. But the alterations adopted were made in accordance with the text published by Cephaleus, at Strasburg, in 1524, and that of Wechel in 1538.

Ever since its introduction into the English service-book, the Athanasian Creed has occasionally been the subject of modification, in consequence of attempts, more or less successful, made at different times to revise the formularies. Some of these changes were very minute; but they are sufficient illustrations and assertion of the right which the Church must always possess of revising any human composition whatever that it has raised to the rank of a symbol. In 1552, the expression, "give account *of* their own works," was altered to *for*. In 1559, "but" was continued in the thirty-seventh clause; it was omitted in 1604. In 1637, Laud made a variety of changes in the form inserted in the prayer-book which he intended for Scotland; but all that came to a sudden and unexpected end. In 1662, it would seem that the divines of the Restoration had begun to feel the influence of those doubts as to the authorship, which the work of Vossius had been producing for the previous twenty years, for then, for the first time, the prayer-book speaks of it as "this confession of our Christian faith, *commonly called* the Creed of Saint Athanasius." The revision, prepared at the Revolution, but which never became law, did not meddle with the document; it proposed merely to append a rubric, limiting the reference of the damnatory clauses to "those who obstinately deny the Christian faith."

Fresh interest has lately been imparted to the subject by the

¹ See these in Swainson, p. 493.

action of the Synod of the Episcopal Church in Ireland, which has been taking advantage of its recent liberation from state supremacy, to revise its formularies. The work hitherto has advanced but slowly, owing to the Fabian policy of those who are opposed to all change, and who seem to act upon the principle, that nearest to Rome is best. Many think that the Athanasian formula is not exactly the portion of the prayer-book which stands most in need of being retouched; still the revisionists touched it, yet, as all must admit, with a soft and silken hand. They propose to print the Athanasian Creed in the prayer-book, and to use it in the public service as heretofore, but that, in reading it in the congregation, the damnatory clauses may be omitted at the pleasure of the officiating clergyman. To the clergyman himself this is but a small relief; for, as the damnatory clauses are continued in the prayer-book, and as each at his ordination is required to assent to all that it contains, it seems strange to permit him to omit in reading what he was required to consent to as truth. The arrangement seems intended to spare the ears of those who cannot read; to others who take exception to the expressions, it is no relief—their eyes fall upon the prayer-book, and they see that the condemning sentences are there. A doubtful expedient of this kind is not likely to please anybody.

On the other hand, it deserves consideration, whether the Three Creeds should not obtain a position of greater importance in non-Episcopal Churches than it is common to award them. From what has been said, it is manifest that they have no real claim on the ground of antiquity, or authorship, or even of canonical authority. We admit, farther, that there is little or nothing in them which is not virtually carried over into the Reformed Confessions, and which is not there as accurately and as fully expressed. But it is not to be forgotten, that although the Three Creeds require to be supplemented, they are, so far as they go, orthodox in statement and catholic in spirit. There is not a tinge of Popery in any of them. They are most precious, as bearing witness to all ages the great broad truths which the Church saw in the Bible before Popery dimmed her eye. They are a specimen of the grand old doctrines that the Church supported and exhibited from the beginning. There is nothing in any of them which has not its counterpart and authority in the word of God. They are non-sectarian in

character, having been produced ages before most of our modern differences and divisions arose. The most recent of them is more than ten centuries old. They constitute a doctrinal link which unites the present to the past. Why should they not still be, on the ground of their scriptural truth alone, a bond of union among Christians in all churches? If all the Churches which believe in substance the doctrines that they contain, were to give them a place in their symbolic collections, and require from their teachers a public acceptance of them, this would do something to form a bond of union among various sections of the Christian family now widely estranged, and to afford visible proof that there is a succession of true doctrine in the Church of God in every generation.

THOMAS WITHEROW.

ART. II.—*Messianic Views of the Modern Jews.*

A Course of Sermons on the Biblical Passages adduced by Christian Theologians in support of the Dogmas of their Faith. By HERMANN ADLER, Ph.D., Minister of Bayswater Synagogue. London: Trübner & Co.

THE Messiahship of Jesus or His Messianic character is a subject which has not of late received much attention. Few theological writers have made it the theme of discussion.¹ The human nature of Christ—His wonderful character as Son of man—engrosses much of the attention of the theological world, as is seen in the numerous lives of Jesus by divines of all shades of opinion, from Dr Strauss to Dr Farrar. So also His divine nature—His mysterious character as Son of God—has been discussed by theologians belonging to all schools of thought from extreme pantheism to the strictest orthodoxy. But His Messiahship—His character as the Christ—as realizing in His person the Messianic idea of the Old Testament is perhaps not adequately dwelt upon. Yet this was not only the great subject of the prophets' predictions, but also of the apostles' discourses. To this they continually bore testimony,

¹ Dr Leathes does so in the Boyle Lectures for 1868: "The witness of the Old Testament to Jesus."

maintaining and asserting, that this Jesus of Nazareth, whom they preached, was the Messiah. In the apostolic days this was a fundamental doctrine of Christianity—a doctrine intimately connected with the peculiar duties and privileges of believers. It forms the great bond of connection between Judaism and Christianity, and indeed converts them into one and the same religion.

The modern literature on the Messianic idea is limited. Among recent works we may briefly note the following: Colani's *Jésus Christ et les croyances Messianiques de son temps*. (Strasbourg, 1864.) This work is so devoid of perspicuity, not a usual fault with French writers, that it is exceedingly difficult to understand the author's peculiar views. He considers that the Messiah, represented by the prophets, is to be a king, at once a reformer of religion and a conquering warrior; that this Messianic idea sprung naturally from the nation's hopes; and that Jesus adopted and spiritualized it. Colani is very arbitrary in the correction of passages in the gospels to suit his preconceived views. Anger's *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Messianischen Idee*. (Berlin, 1873.) These lectures, originally delivered in the University of Leipsic, of which Anger was a distinguished professor, labour under the disadvantage of being posthumous publications. They are extremely rationalistic. According to Anger, the Messianic idea is a natural development; most of the so-called prophecies are no prophecies; the apostles were mistaken in their application of them to Jesus; and even our Lord himself committed a mistake, when He attributed the whole of the Pentateuch to Moses. Higginson's *Ecce Messias*. (London, 1871.) This work, written in imitation of the *Ecce Homo*, is from a Unitarian standpoint. It is divided into two parts—first, the Messianic prophecies in the Old Testament, and secondly, the realization of these prophecies in Jesus. The prophecies are given in full, and in the order of time. Most of the prophecies, which are usually considered as Messianic, are however interpreted as having no reference to our Lord. Thus, adverting to the prophecies of Micah and the first portion of Isaiah, he remarks: "It is only by a forced and unnatural interpretation that they have been applied, even secondarily, to the long distant mission of Jesus Christ." Wünsche's *Die Leiden des Messias*. (Leipzig, 1870.) This is a very valuable tractate, a work of much erudition and research, and full of

rabbinical learning. Its design is to prove, that although the doctrine of a suffering Messiah is now rejected by the modern Jews, yet it is in agreement not only with the doctrine of the Old Testament, but also with the views of the ancient Jewish Church. This is proved by numerous extracts from the Targums, the Talmud, the Midrash, and other old rabbinical writings.

The Messianic views of the Jews of the present day form a subject of consideration of no little interest, and it is of considerable importance to inquire how far they correspond with the Christian view of the Messiah; and what are those difficulties which prevent the Jews recognizing the fulfilment of their prophecies in the Lord Jesus Christ? It is undoubtedly true that there are numerous Jews in recent times who have lost their faith in a Messiah, and regard the Messianic hope as a delusion, the result of the natural craving of the human heart, in seasons of depression and persecution, after a happier future—as the dream of a golden age supposed to be in store for them. Modern rationalism has not been without its influence in the Jewish people. Such Jews are simply deists who consider that the only value of the Old Testament is the revelation and maintenance of the doctrine of the divine unity, in opposition to the polytheism of the Gentiles. But the Jews who entertain these views are regarded by their countrymen as rationalists and unbelievers, and they do not represent the belief of the Jewish nation. The great body of the Jewish people still adhere to the Messianic idea.

We are happily in a position to obtain the information we desire. A course of sermons was a few years ago (1869) published by Dr Hermann Adler, the Jewish minister of Bayswater synagogue, on the chief points of dispute between Jews and Christians. This work is referred to as an authority in Jewish periodicals. The design of these discourses, Dr Adler informs us, is “for *defence*, not for *offence*.” They were not written with the view of proselytizing, but of confirming his co-religionists in the faith, and enabling them to reply to the objections of their opponents. “Judaism,” he observes, “is filled with the greatest solicitude to defend the citadel of its faith from all assaults; Judaism is exceedingly jealous not to allow one single member of its flock to stray from the fold.”

The design is laudable ; nor do we wonder that Dr Adler feels aggrieved at the proselytizing efforts of Christian missionaries to the Jews—deploring the annual expenditure of immense sums by societies for promoting Christianity among the Jews. It would not be in human nature to do otherwise. At the same time, Dr Adler's mistrust of his opponents, and want of ordinary candour, are more marked than is usual in theological controversy in modern times. It never occurs to him to ascribe these efforts to a real desire to promote what is believed to be the true and spiritual good of the Jews, nor to admit that Christian evangelists may desire, from no other motive than love, to direct them to the right path. He may, indeed, naturally enough consider these efforts to win the Jews to the Christian faith as the effect of misguided zeal, and a proof of a want of toleration ; but they are at the same time an evidence of charity.

We cheerfully admit that the two rules of interpretation which Dr Adler lays down, though somewhat commonplace, are most important, and it would have been well had they been better attended to in all religious controversies ; that we should not be satisfied with the mere translation of a disputed text given by the English Version, however excellent that translation may be, but should turn to the original, and there find out the true meaning ; and that we should not derive the sense of Scripture from mere detached passages, but carefully examine the context.

In these discourses the Messianic idea is fully maintained. The Messiah, promised of God to the fathers, and predicted by the prophets, will yet appear. He will exalt the Jews to a priority among the nations ; He will gather them and restore them to their own land ; and He will establish there a kingdom of virtue and peace. The following eloquent passage will impart some idea of the modern belief of the Jews, and will shew with what tenacity they still cling to the Messianic hope :—

“ Far be it from me to allow you to imagine that the Bible does not contain predictions, couched in plain and distinct language, concerning the advent of the true Redeemer. The doctrine of the coming of a personal Messiah is the purple thread which runs throughout the writings of our prophets and historians. This belief in the coming of a Redeemer, at whose appearance Israel will be gathered together from ‘the four corners of the earth,’ and again be united, so as to form a happy and

flourishing nation, this belief has been a precious heir-loom handed down from generation to generation. It was this hope that upheld our forefathers amid all their sufferings ; this hope was the silver lining of the darkest and gloomiest cloud that ever lowered upon them. When under the sway of the Roman emperors, and later during the dark middle ages, their lives were sacrificed, their blood was ruthlessly shed, and their substance plundered ; when they were surrounded on all sides by cruelty, ignominy, and contempt, this was the balm that healed their wounds, the solace that lightened the burden which rested on their weary shoulders."

In like manner in the Hebrew prayer-book used in their synagogues, there is frequent reference to the Jewish belief of a Messiah. It may not be without interest to extract a few passages where the Messianic idea is directly asserted. One of the thirteen fundamental articles of faith, which every Israelite is enjoined to rehearse daily, is: "I believe with a perfect heart that the Messiah will come, and although His coming be delayed, I will still wait patiently His speedy appearance." In their morning service the following prayer occurs: "O be mercifully pleased to return to Jerusalem, Thy city, and dwell therein, as Thou hast promised. O rebuild it shortly, even in our days, a structure of everlasting fame, and speedily establish the throne of David thereon. O cause the offspring of Thy servant David speedily to flourish, and let his horn be exalted in Thy salvation." The following expression occurs in one of their most frequent prayers—a prayer which is enjoined to be used at all their festivals: "Mayest Thou be pleased to grant that the memorial of the Messiah the son of David Thy servant, may ascend, come, and be remembered in Thy presence." In the Sabbath morning service the following Messianic prayer occurs: "O Lord our God, cause us to rejoice in Thy servant Elijah Thy prophet, and in the kingdom of the house of David Thine anointed. May He come speedily and gladden our hearts. Suffer no stranger to sit on His throne, nor let any other again inherit His glory ; for by Thy holy name hast Thou sworn unto Him that His lamp shall never be extinguished. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, the Shield of David." So also in another prayer, a similar hope is expressed: "Elijah the prophet shall speedily come with Messiah, the son of David." In the Sabbath evening service, the following is part of the sacred hymn which is chanted: "Shake off the dust, arise, O My people, and adorn

thyself with thy beautiful attire ; for by the hand of Jesse the Bethlehemite, redemption draweth nigh to my soul.”¹ And in the order of prayers for the new year, there is the following petition : “ Grant joy unto Thy land, gladness unto Thy city, a revival of the kingdom of Thy servant David, and an ordination of renewed splendour to the son of Jesse, Thine anointed, speedily in our days.”

These extracts from the Jewish liturgy might be greatly increased ; but those given sufficiently shew that the hope of the Messiah is still cherished by the Jewish people. In short, the doctrine that the Messiah shall come, is as essentially a part of the Jewish creed as the doctrine that the Messiah has come is of the Christian creed. And thus this Messianic notion forms a common ground of meeting between Christians and Jews in the present day, as it did in the days of our Lord and His apostles—a point of contact between us ; and affords us a reason for the hope which we entertain, that the time will yet come when the Jews will recognise Jesus to be that Messiah for whose advent they now so earnestly pray.

But whilst Dr Adler maintains that the Messianic idea is contained in the prophecies of the Old Testament, the passages which he adduces in proof of it are chiefly those which predict a reign of universal peace, and the restoration of the Jews to their own land, and which are generally regarded by Christian writers as prophecies still unfulfilled.² On the other hand, almost all those prophecies which we regard as Messianic, and as having received their fulfilment in Jesus Christ, are explained away, and are regarded by him as non-Messianic. For example, in the blessing pronounced by Jacob on Judah, there is no reference in the term Shiloh to the Messiah. The passage is a mistranslation ; it should have been rendered, “ until he come to Shiloh,” namely the city in the tribe of Ephraim, where the ark was deposited. The prophet like unto Moses is not to be interpreted of the Messiah, but of the prophetic order. The twenty-second Psalm is not a prediction of a suffering Messiah, but alludes to the sufferings of David : the lion is Saul, the bulls and dogs are his cruel

¹ In the Hebrew, it is by the hand of the son of Jesse ; but we quote from the English translation.

² These passages are : Isa. xi. 1-9, Deut. xxx. 1-5, Jer. xxxi. 5, Ezek. xxxvii. 21-28, Micah iv. 1-4.

soldiers, fulfilling the behests of their heartless master. In the 110th Psalm, also, it is David who is alluded to when called a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec; the term, priest, is used to denote his princely dignity. The Messiah in Daniel who is to be cut off, is not the future Messiah of the Jews, but most probably Onias, the pious high priest, who was put to death through the stratagem of the godless Menelaus. In short, almost all the prophecies which we regard as Messianic, are so systematically explained away, that little is left on which to build his own Messianic hopes of a future Redeemer.

There is nothing original in the objections which Dr Adler adduces to the Christian interpretation of the Messianic prophecies; they are the same as have been formerly advanced by Jewish rabbins and Christian rationalists, and answered by apologetic writers. Let us take one or two examples, as specimens of his mode of treatment.

The prediction of Isaiah—"Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice from henceforth even for ever" (Isaiah ix. 6-7)—is regarded by most Christian writers as a primary prophecy of the Messiah. Dr Adler, however, following the example of Rashi, Kimchi, and Abarbanel, among Jewish writers, and Grotius, Gesenius, and Williams, among Christian writers, refers it to Hezekiah. "When," he observes, "Isaiah declared this prophecy at the commencement of the reign of the wicked king Ahaz, his son and heir-apparent, Hezekiah, was twelve years of age, and had already given promise of a God-fearing life." In order to adapt the prophecy to Hezekiah, the epithets are modified and refined. "The mighty God" should have been rendered, the mighty hero; "the everlasting Father," the perpetual or constant father; and "the Prince of Peace" is peculiarly applicable to Hezekiah, on account of his miraculous deliverance from the host of Sennacherib, and the peace and tranquility that Judah enjoyed during his reign. It is only by these shifts of criticism that these epithets can be

toned down so as to be made to apply to Hezekiah ; but neither of him nor of any earthly prince could it be said, that of the increase of his government and peace there should be no end, and that he should sit on the throne of David for ever. Flattery has its limits, and certainly the old Hebrew prophets were not given to flattery ; whatever were their faults, that was not a vice belonging to their order. Much more reasonable is the unprejudiced interpretation of the Chaldee paraphrase : “ The prophet speaketh to the house of David, because a child is born to us, a son is given to us, and he taketh the law upon himself to observe it ; therefore his name is called of old Wonderful in counsel, God the mighty, He who abideth for ever, the Messiah, whose power shall be abundant upon us in his days.”

It may be interesting to see how Dr Adler, as the representative of the modern Jews, deals with that wonderful prediction of a suffering Messiah, contained in Isaiah lii. 13—liii. Here also, however, there is nothing original ; it is the same interpretation which is given by Rashi, Abenezra, Kimchi, Abarbanel, and Lipmann, among the Jewish rabbins ; and by Ewald, Bleek, Knobel, Hitzig, and Anger, among Christian writers—namely, that the servant of the Lord is Israel whose sufferings are here portrayed. The interpretation is, however, drawn out by Dr Adler at length, and we yield to the temptation of transcribing the whole passage, as being a fair and even eloquent defence of the theory:—

“ Our expositors agree in saying that the servant here spoken of is the nation Israel. Just one page before, the prophet, speaking in the name of the Lord, says, ‘ Thou art my *servant*, O Israel, in whom I will be glorified.’ All the preceding chapters have spoken of the glorious exaltation that awaits Israel. The prophet now proceeds to speak in more explicit terms of his future greatness. ‘ Behold my servant shall prosper, he shall be exalted and extolled, and be very high.’ He shall be exalted in the same degree as he had been degraded during his exile. On beholding this, all the nations and the kings of the earth will be astonished ; they will call to mind that state of abasement which had formerly been the lot of the Israelites. Then follows that wondrous record of our nation’s sufferings, depicted by a master hand, on which each page in our history during the middle ages is a life-breathing, vivid, commentary : ‘ Israel was despised and rejected, acquainted with grief, and we (the nations of the earth) esteemed him not.’ Now, why was Israel dispersed to all quarters of the globe ? Why had he to suffer all these afflictions ? That he might fulfil his mission, and wean mankind

from error and irreligion. When at last the nations of the earth shall reflect on the martyrdom Israel endured for so many centuries, how he was cut off from the land of the living, how his grave was made with the wicked, and his death compassed by the mighty of the earth, and how he bore it all, and refused to become unfaithful to his God,—then the nations of the earth will renounce their sinfulness, and acknowledge the God of Israel as the one true God. They will say, ‘Israel has been wounded for our transgressions, bruised for our iniquities, the chastisement for our peace was upon him, and through his stripes we are healed. They will say, in effect, that instead of Israel being the victim of God’s wrath, abandoned by the Lord, as we deemed him, he was in truth wounded through our cruelty, he was bruised by our iniquitous treatment. We were permitted to afflict him thus, that by his chastisement our redemption and healing might be effected—redemption from error and sin, healing from false belief; for Israel was to be the teacher of mankind, the exemplar of unflinching obedience to the one God. The prophet continues: ‘Yet it pleased the Lord to bruise him; He has put him to grief; when his soul shall make an offering for sin, he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand.’ Israel shall be gloriously rewarded for the sufferings he has borne. ‘Through his knowledge’—through practising and teaching the sacred lessons of his faith—‘shall my righteous servant justify many (that is, bring them to virtue), for he shall endure their iniquities. Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong (in other words, he will be the equal of the mightiest of the earth in honour and glory), because he has poured out his soul unto death: and he was numbered with the transgressors; and he endured the sin of many, and made intercession with the transgressors.’ How sublime is this view of the prophet! He stands here looking, as it were, from the summit of his prophetic intelligence upon the history of the world, and divines the future development and ultimate perfection of man—the golden age that awaits mankind when they will acknowledge the errors of which they have been guilty, tender the hand of brotherhood to redeemed Israel, and acknowledge Israel’s God.”¹

This is certainly the best paraphrase of the passage we have met with, adopting the view that Israel is the servant of the Lord whose sufferings are here depicted. The objections to it are manifest, but it would occupy too much space to state them at length. The victim here described is substitutionary, and the idea of Israel suffering as a substitute for all the nations of the world, is wholly unmeaning. The statement that “He made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death,” is appropriate when spoken of an individual, but is utterly incomprehensible when applied to a nation. So also, when it is said, “For the transgression of my people was He stricken,” no meaning what-

¹ Adler’s Discourses, pp. 42–45.

ever can be assigned to the words, on the supposition that Israel is here meant; the person stricken, and the person for whose transgression He was stricken, are identical: the passage becomes wholly unintelligible.

Dr Adler's mode of controversy can hardly be commended for its fairness. He selects for quotation and refutation authors to whom no theologian of any pretension would think of referring. Matthew Henry, for example, is certainly justly esteemed as an excellent writer on practical religion, and many passages in his Commentary are well fitted for spiritual edification; but no one would think of appealing to him as a biblical critic for the ascertainment of the sense of a disputed passage. So also he makes use of the familiar controversial device of triumphantly refuting some feeble arguments, and representing them as fair specimens of the reasoning of his opponents. Thus, for example, we are told that Christians derive the doctrine of the Trinity from Eccl. iv. 12: "A three-fold cord is not quickly broken;" and the incarnation of Christ from Prov. xxx. 4: "Who hath ascended up into heaven, or descended? who hath gathered the wind in his fists? who hath bound the waters in a garment? who hath established all the ends of the earth? what is his name, and what is his son's name, if thou canst tell?" Some Christian writers may have argued from these and similar passages, and it is perfectly allowable to expose the weak points of an adversary's argument; but it is mere special pleading to make them matters of prominence and importance, since no intelligent writer on the Messianic prophecies would ever think of quoting them.

Every one must deplore in Dr Adler's discourses the disrespectful and almost contemptuous terms in which our blessed Lord is mentioned. He is always adverted to as the Nazarene. The word, and still more, the mode of expression, conveys the idea of contempt and positive dislike. We are left with the painful impression that the Jews, if here correctly represented by Dr Adler, regard the Lord Jesus, not with mere feelings of indifference, but, like their ancestors, with hatred; that not only do they see no beauty in Him, that they should desire Him, but would have been ready to unite in the cry, "Away with him, away with him, crucify him, crucify him."¹ There is

¹ We do not believe, however, that Dr Adler is here a fair representative of Jewish opinion. There are many Jews who are ready to express their love

throughout the discourses not the most distant appreciation of the character of Christ, although such an appreciation is seldom wanting in the writings even of those who do not believe in the divinity of His mission. This style of argument appears to us to offend good feeling and good taste. It is certainly uncalled for and unnecessary to the candid controversialist, and betrays more a sense of weakness than of confidence.

Whilst the belief in a future Messiah is undoubtedly a portion of the creed of the modern Jewish Church, yet it is very difficult to ascertain from their writings what their views are of the character of the Messiah whom they expect. It would seem that their Messianic expectations bear a close resemblance to those of their ancestors in the days of our Lord. They still cling to the notion of a temporal Messiah, though their idea is not so gross as that of the ancient Jews. They disregard the prophetic, deny the priestly, and attend solely to the kingly office of the Messiah. The general opinion among the Jews who are regarded as orthodox is, that the Messiah will restore the Jews to their ancient land, rule over them as king, and convert all nations to their religion. They assign to their own nation a pre-eminence in the kingdom of the Messiah; and expect that Judaism will become the religion of the world. There is a vagueness in the statements which are made on this subject by Dr Adler. "At the advent of the Redeemer," he observes, "warfare shall cease, and peace be established throughout the earth: Israel shall be gathered to the promised land, and the Messiah shall rule over them." "The belief of the unity of God shall be the governing principle of all hearts: all conflicting creeds shall cease, and the animosity and hatred that spring therefrom shall be at an end." "In the days of the Messiah, when the worship of the one God shall have become the religion of the world, the whole of Palestine shall be a temple, and the whole earth a holy land."¹

and reverence for the person of the Lord Jesus Christ, and even to acknowledge the resemblance between His life and character and the Messianic prophecies. Such are not far from the kingdom of God.

¹ He thus states the difference between the Christian and the Jewish idea of the Messiah: "Christians believe the mission of a Messiah to consist in delivering mankind from the consequences of their hereditary guilt, and in obtaining atonement for the sins that had been committed by them. Judaism teaches that in the days of the Messiah mankind shall be redeemed from ignorance, error, and injustice, and the one God universally acknowledged and adored."

But although there is some obscurity in the views of the modern Jews concerning the character of their Messiah and the nature of his kingdom, there can be no doubt that they now universally deny the doctrine of substitution. Notwithstanding the prominence given to the doctrine of the atonement in the Levitical services, this doctrine forms no part of the creed of the modern Jews. It is regarded by them as opposed alike to the mercy and justice of God. The Jew does not feel the need of any other righteousness than his own: his repentance, if sincere, will, he believes, avail with God for his forgiveness; he still stands on the ground of justification by the works of the law. "We have," says Dr Adler, "no mediator to save us from the effects of our guilt but our own sincere repentance, by which we hope to obtain the forgiveness of our God." And hence also the sacrifices under the law were not vicarious, there was no transference of the sins of the offerer upon the head of the victim; "the only value and efficacy of the offering consisted in this, that it proved the sacrificer to be repentant: it was an outward test and sign of his sincerity." How the whole sacrificial rites of the Mosaic law, with their sin-offerings and trespass-offerings, and especially the ceremonies on the great day of atonement, can be so explained as to be divested of their vicarious nature, it is difficult to see; it may be that the long cessation of sacrifices among the Jews has diminished in their eyes their importance and obscured their significance.¹

The doctrine of a suffering Messiah is now also universally denied by Jewish writers, and they affirm that there is no trace of such a doctrine in the utterances of the prophets. The modern Jews assert that it is the product of early Christianity, and that the first impulse was given to it by the apostles, in order to find a point of attachment between the prophecies and the sufferings of their Master. Hence all those prophecies which to Christians foretell a Sufferer—the Sufferer in the twenty-second Psalm, whose garments are divided and

¹ The Jews, however, make the restoration of their sacrifices and feasts the subject of prayer; as, for example, in the following prayer at their festivals: "O Lord our God, let Thy people Israel and their prayers be acceptable to Thee. Restore the service to the oracle of Thine house, so that the burnt-offerings of Israel and their prayers may be speedily accepted by Thee with love and favour, and the worship of Thy people Israel be ever pleasing unto Thee."

hands and feet are pierced ; the Servant of the Lord in the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah ; the Messiah, who is to be cut off in the book of Daniel ; and the pierced Saviour and stricken Shepherd in the prophecies of Zechariah—are referred by the Jews to some other person, or class of persons, than the Messiah. The Jewish Messiah is a king, and no sufferer ; one who shall sit on the throne of David, and bring about the golden age of Judaism.

But although recent Jewish writers are unanimous in their denial of a suffering Messiah, yet, as Wünsche has most convincingly shewn, this was not the view of the ancient Jewish Church. The quotations which he gives from the Talmud and Midrash are of the most interesting nature, and prove satisfactorily that the denial of a suffering Messiah by the Jews is a departure from the faith of their ancestors. We have space merely to indicate by one or two quotations the character of the evidence he adduces, referring the student of prophecy to the work itself. Thus in the *Tract Sanhedrim* in the Talmud, there is a statement of the titles of the Messiah, and in it occurs the following passage :—

“The rabbins say that his name is the Leprous One of the house of Rabbi, as it is written : ‘Surely He hath borne our sicknesses and carried our sorrows, yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted.’ ”

From the *Siphre debé Rab*, a Midrash on Numbers and Deuteronomy, there is the following quotation :—

“King Messiah humbled himself, and made himself of no reputation, on account of transgression, as it is written, ‘He was wounded for our iniquities.’ Much more will he make satisfaction for all generations, as it is written, ‘And the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.’ ”

The *Bereshit rabba*, probably belonging to the fifth century, has the following note on Gen. xxiv. 67, “And Isaac brought Rebecca into the camp of Sarah his mother” :—

“This is King Messiah, who lived in the age of the wicked ; but he rejected them, and chose the Holy One and His holy name, in order that he might serve Him with all his heart. He applied his heart to seek mercy for Israel, to fast, and to be afflicted for them, as it is said, ‘He was wounded for our transgressions.’ When Israel sins, he seeks mercy for them ; as again it is said, ‘By his stripes we are healed ;’ and again, ‘He bare the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors.’ ”

According to the *Midrash Samuel*, the afflictions of the

world are divided into three parts: one part is laid on David and the fathers, a second part is laid on Israel in banishment, and a third part is laid on the Messiah; and in proof of this assertion, these words of Isaiah are quoted, "And he was wounded for our transgressions." In the cabbalistic book, Zohar, where we have a very near approach to the Christian doctrine of substitution, there is the following remarkable passage:—

"In the garden of Eden there is a certain apartment which is called the apartment of the sick. Into this the Messiah goes, and calls all the diseases, and pains, and chastisements of Israel to come unto Him, and they all come to Him. And if He had not taken them away from Israel and laid them upon Himself, no man would have been able to bear the chastisements of Israel which are inflicted on them on account of the transgressions of the law; and this is it which is written, 'He has taken upon Himself our sicknesses.'"

This ancient application of prophecy to the suffering Messiah is candidly recognised and acknowledged by several recent Jewish writers. It is admitted that the interpretation of the servant of the Lord, as the nation of Israel, was not formerly universally recognised, but that some referred the title to the Messiah. Thus Rabbi Alshech, who lived in the middle of the sixteenth century, observes:—

"On the testimony of tradition, our old rabbins have unanimously admitted that King Messiah is here (Isa. lii. 13–15) spoken of. Therefore we also in agreement with them conclude that the subject of prophecy is David, that is, Messiah, as is evident and is confirmed by the Scriptures, for the prophet Ezekiel in the name of God says, 'And David my servant shall be king over them.'"

To those Jews who admitted that the prophets announced a suffering Messiah, it must have been difficult to reconcile this idea with the still more numerous predictions of a glorified Messiah. These two opposite Messianic phases must have presented an apparently inexplicable problem: how the Messiah could be at once a victorious King and a Sufferer. One mode by which this apparent contradiction was attempted to be solved, was the notion of a twofold Messiah. According to this view, the Messianic predictions refer, not to one, but to two Messiahs. There is a glorified Messiah, the son of David, to whom all those prophecies which speak of an anointed King, the glories of His reign, and the extent of His mighty empire, refer; and there is a suffering Messiah, the son of Joseph, to

whom refer all those predictions which foretell suffering, lowliness, and death. It is not the same Messiah who both reigns and suffers : one Messiah is to redeem, and another Messiah is to suffer. This was a favourite notion among the ancient Jewish rabbins, and is frequently alluded to with approbation in their writings. It is, however, now entirely abandoned by the modern Jews ; and the apparent contradiction between a suffering and a glorified Messiah, is now solved by the denial of a suffering Messiah.

The doctrine of the divinity of the Messiah is also denied by all recent Jewish writers. The Messiah whom they expect is a mere man, exalted indeed above other men in wisdom and holiness, endowed with divine gifts, but still human ; a prophet superior to Moses, a king greater than David. Indeed the Christian doctrine of the divinity of Christ is one of the great obstacles to the conversion of the Jews. They regard it as the peculiar mission and glory of their nation to testify to the unity of God, and to protest against the polytheism of the nations. Thus in their afternoon service there is the following prayer : "Guardian of a singular people, preserve the remnant of a singular people, and suffer not a singular nation to be destroyed, who acknowledge the unity of Thy name, saying, The Lord is our God, the Lord is a Unity." And in their morning service, there is the following declaration : "Lo we are ready, all of us together, both day and night, with our mouths and our heart, to testify of Thy unity, and that Thou alone art God. Thou art our God, and we are Thy servants, and the witnesses of Thy unity." Hence any opinion which might seem in any degree to affect the doctrine of the divine unity, is regarded by the Jews with peculiar abhorrence ; and as they consider the doctrine of the divinity of Christ in that light, it is specially obnoxious to them. Conversing with an intelligent Jew, he informed me that this, and not any failure in the proof of the Messiahship of Jesus, was the great obstacle in the way of the conversion of his nation. He expressed his appreciation of the character of Jesus ; he appeared to admit that there was an apparent resemblance between His life and sufferings and the Messianic prophecies ; but he asserted that as long as Christians maintained the divinity of Jesus, the Jews would never accept Him as their Messiah.

"Of all the Christian doctrines," observes Dr Adler, "which I have

brought before you, and which, in the name of God's truth, I have felt myself compelled to denounce, this dogma, that the Nazarene was literally the Son of God, is surely the most monstrous, the most repugnant to reason. The all-holy God, the essence of infinite moral perfection, whom the seraphim tremble to approach ; the God so pure, that 'the stars are not pure in His sight ;' the God whom holy writ brings before us as exalted so infinitely above all the imperfections inherent in man's nature ; the Holy One, who has said, 'To whom will ye liken me, or shall I be equal to,'—that same God is dragged down from heaven and likened to man."

Now this objection is certainly not to be met by any attempt to modify or conceal this great fundamental doctrine of Christianity. Nor can we here appeal to the full and ample proofs of the divinity of Christ given us in the Gospel of St John, or in the Epistles of St Paul ; for the validity of such an argument the Jews will not admit. If we would convince a Jew, we must make it clear to him that the doctrine of the divinity of Christ is not at variance with the doctrine of the divine unity ; that those who believe in a Trinity of persons also believe in a Unity of substance ; and that, although the divine nature must necessarily be incomprehensible, there is yet no contradiction in affirming a plurality in unity. But especially we must shew, by a deduction of passages from the Messianic prophecies which assert the divinity of the Messiah, that this doctrine is contained in their own scriptures ; that there the Messiah is called the mighty God, the everlasting Father, Jehovah our Righteousness, the fellow or equal with God, the Son of God, David's Lord as well as David's Son ; that His goings forth are asserted to have been from of old, from everlasting, and that He is held forth as the object of divine worship. We must shew them that, if they were to take an enlarged view of the dispensations of God, they would perceive that it was the Messiah who was with the Church in the wilderness, and the instrument of the divine communications made to their fathers. Indeed in the writings of the ancient rabbins there are some traces, few and faint, we admit, of this doctrine. Thus, in the book Zohar, the Messiah is called by the incommunicable name of Jehovah, the Angel of God, the Shekinah, the image of God, the Son of God.

We designed to have added a few remarks regarding the reasons of the unbelief of the modern Jews, and the difficulties which prevent their recognition of Jesus as the Messiah of their prophecies, but our limits are exhausted. We would only

observe, that the same motives which were the cause of the unbelief of the Jews in the days of our Lord, still actuate the nation in the present day. They deny the doctrines of substitution, of a suffering Messiah, and of His divine nature. Like their ancestors, they expect a temporal Messiah, a king who shall exalt their nation. They still regard themselves as the peculiar favourites of heaven. Now, it is evident, that as long as they entertain these views of the character of the Messiah as a national king, and are at the same time blind to His divine dignity, and nourish the expectations of national greatness, they cannot see the fulfilment of their prophecies in Jesus, and will not accept Him as their Messiah. Besides, the Jews have been educated in hostility to Christianity; their prejudices against it is the growth of centuries, and hence the extreme difficulty, humanly speaking, of their conversion. Nor must it be forgotten that the cruel treatment they have received from Christians, the terrible sufferings to which they have been exposed on account of their religion, the contempt with which they have for centuries been regarded, their being continually trodden under foot, as if they were an inferior race, must have embittered their hatred to the Christian faith and barred their hearts against the entrance to the truth.

P. J. GLOAG.

ART. III.—*Means and Measure of Holiness.*¹

JUSTIFICATION, Adoption, and Sanctification, are rightly specified by the Westminster divines as being the radical blessings which believers in Christ are made partakers of in this life, around which all other blessings cluster, or from

¹ It should be stated that this article was written, and was in the hands of the editor, before its writer had heard a whisper of the sad fainting of a standard-bearer whose name occurs most frequently in the course of the article. It has not appeared to the writer that its publication should be withheld in consequence of what has become known since the preparation of it. The question which he has endeavoured to argue, as to the antinomian tendencies of certain doctrines, is not decided, he is quite willing to admit, by the fact that a prominent advocate of these doctrines has lapsed into antinomianism, and he has no desire that this fact should be regarded as in any degree confirmatory of his views.

which, as from three sacred fountains, all other blessings flow. Of the three, it may be safely affirmed that, while the last two may be regarded as in one sense greater and more important than the first, inasmuch as they are ends towards which that first is a means, in another aspect it must be acknowledged as more important than they, since it is the grand cause of which they are resultant effects. At all events, it is the condition *sine quâ non* of their attainment. From the nature of the case, it seems to be self-evident that an unjustified sinner cannot be received into the number, or be invested with the privileges, of the children of God ; while, if not so necessarily from the nature of the case—though this also may be—yet certainly by the divine appointment in the well-ordered covenant of grace, the judicial cancelling of guilt, and the imputation of the righteousness which is of God by faith, is an essential preliminary to the divine in-working, in order to the perfecting of the Christian character. The graciously conferred title to heaven is the foundation of the graciously wrought fitness for heaven.

The dependence of these three upon one another, and of each upon some speciality in the person or the work of the Lord Jesus Christ, is a subject well worthy of careful study, and its elucidation is not only conducive to clear views of the great Christian system, but also to the orderly development of the Christian character and life. All Protestant divines agree in referring the justification of believing sinners to the great fact that a divine and divinely righteous person has been made sin for them ; to the incarnation, the obedience, the sufferings, and the death of Christ. The late Dr Candlish rendered good service to theology and to religion, both by bringing the subject of the adoption of believers more specifically under consideration than it had ever before, so far as we know, been brought, and especially by connecting it with the divine Sonship of the Redeemer as its special foundation and root. Although the formal chain of connection may be variously traced, there will probably not be much difficulty on the part of any in admitting that, as the justification of believers depends upon *Jehovah* being their righteousness, and their adoption upon their union with the eternally and only begotten *Son* of God, so their sanctification has respect to the relation into which they are brought towards the *Holy One* of Israel.

There is much more than a merely fanciful connection betwixt these three and the triad of Christian graces—faith, hope, and love. While all Christian privileges are received by faith, it is nowhere in Scripture said in express terms that men are adopted or sanctified¹ by faith, while it is again and again stated that they are justified by faith. Hope is the special and most appropriate attitude of the children of God's family in their non-age. Love and holiness are well nigh interchangeable terms, for love is the fulfilling of the law; and while it is a great truth that "without holiness none can see the Lord," it is scarcely another truth, but rather the same truth conversely stated, that "whoso dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, for God is love."

Less definite, perhaps, is the dependence of these three respectively upon the threefold office of Christ as the Redeemer, yet we think that a general association of each with each may be traced. While the priestly office of Christ in its intercessional function has much to do with all the blessings and benefits which his people receive, it is regarded in its sacrificial aspect as specially the procuring cause of their justification. It is amongst the adopted members of the family of God that the Elder Brother exercises his prophetic office, as it is written, "I will make known thy name *unto my brethren*": and it is in virtue of his kingly office and his kingly power that he rules in the hearts of his people, delivers them from the bondage of evil, "casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ."

The place which justification occupies amongst the Christian's privileges, as first in the order of its bestowal, and first in the order, if not of causation, at least of invariable and irreversible antecedence and condition, as well as its exclusive and immediate dependence upon faith, would have been enough to award to it the birthright prerogative amongst these privileges. But historical and controversial reasons have been added, and have given it, not indeed too high a place, for that

¹ The expression that comes the nearest to this is one in the Acts, "purifying their hearts by faith" (Acts xv. 9). But this manifestly refers to an evangelical purification of the Gentiles, corresponding to the ceremonial purification by circumcision.

were impossible, but perhaps a too exclusive place, in our doctrinal systems, and in our apprehensions of the high calling wherewith we are called. Luther did not state the matter too strongly when he characterised the doctrine of justification by faith alone as the article of a standing or falling Church. It is the one foundation which is laid, and other than which no man can lay. But all the more important it therefore is that a man take heed what he buildeth thereon. The first and great seal of God's foundation is, **THE LORD KNOWETH THEM THAT ARE HIS**; and the second is like unto it, **LET EVERY ONE THAT NAMETH THE NAME OF CHRIST DEPART FROM INIQUITY**.

We are certain that there is no proper tendency in evangelical doctrine to produce or foster antinomianism; but it is no less certain that the doctrine of salvation by grace is liable to this unhallowed perversion and abuse, and against this abuse both teachers and taught have need to be continually on their guard; not so much, indeed, against open and professed antinomianism, into which it is scarcely possible for any to fall, but those who wilfully turn the grace of God into licentiousness. But there is a false security, a feeling that all must eventually be right with those who have been brought by grace into the fold of the good Shepherd, that he will in due time deliver them from all evil, and that the question of greater or less sinfulness, of less or more speedy sanctification, is of little consequence as compared with the all-important question of rejection or acceptance, condemnation or justification, which is incident even to the true children of God, and that not only at the beginning of their Christian career, but at all stages of its progress.

Especially in times of extraordinarily earnest evangelistic effort, when unconverted sinners are constantly urged and entreated to accept Christ, and are certified that this is the one thing needful for them, the very work of God, and the whole and only work of God for them now to do, it is very possible that the evangelist may sometimes forget, and it is very probable that the converts, who have had the acceptance of Christ for justification pressed upon them as the sum of their duty, who have had their eyes constantly directed to this as their *terminus ad quem*, may fail to realise that this most blessed beginning is but a beginning—the first step of a life-long race—the foundation-laying of a tower whose top must, in no Babel sense, reach to heaven.

There is another error, of an opposite kind, relating to sanctification, which is probably not uncommon, and which is certainly very hurtful. Righteousness by faith distinctly and unmistakably excludes the works of the law. It is clearly and manifestly impossible that any work of ours can have anything to do with righteousness imputed of sole grace, and received by sole faith. But from holiness works cannot be excluded. They are of its very essence. Hence there is apt to arise a confusion in the mind, and an idea, more or less defined, that sanctification is, in whole or in part, a legal process, while justification is a purely evangelical gift. As an old heathen sage declared that he owed it to the gods that he was a man, to himself that he was a wise or good man, so we suspect there are Christians who forget that, in the matter of their sanctification, they are not workers, but the work of God, created in Christ Jesus unto good works; and so, having begun in the gospel, they seek to be perfected by the law; having begun in the Spirit, they think to be made perfect by the flesh.

We are therefore not sorry that various questions respecting holiness, the means of its attainment, and the measure in which believers may hope to attain it in this life, have recently been brought prominently before the churches of America and of this country, and we gladly contribute our share towards the discussion of questions of so vital importance. We cannot give a minute history of the origin and progress of a school whose disciples profess to have made a great discovery of truth that had been previously unknown, or at least to have restored to its place in the Christian system a doctrine that had been long unknown, or but seen darkly by a few as through a glass; but it is necessary that we should indicate the most prominent points in the development of what professes to be substantially a new doctrine.

The increased attention that has been given of late to questions bearing upon what we have styled "The Means and Measure of Holiness," has been mainly excited by the discourses and the writings of several American Christians, especially Mr and Mrs Boardman, Mr and Mrs Pearsall Smith, and Dr Asa Mahan. We have before us numerous books by four of these five authors, and reports of conferences held under their auspices at York and at Brighton. We have also the numbers hitherto published of the *Banner of Holiness*, a

weekly magazine that has been set on foot for the propagation and advancing of their peculiar views. Various ways have suggested themselves to us of stating these views and examining them. Perhaps we shall best succeed in giving our readers an accurate conception of them, by reducing into a sort of system the teaching that we find scattered throughout these volumes, and making our own remarks on the different parts of the system as we go along. So far as we know our own heart and mind, we have a very earnest desire to set forth the system as if it were our own, and to ascertain and expound the very mind of the Spirit on a subject which must be acknowledged to be of great interest and importance, a subject which is evidently exercising the minds of many earnest Christians, and regarding which we suspect that many have had their old beliefs unsettled, without their having found firm ground on which to rest anew. The whole system seems to us to rest upon two propositions:—

PROP. I. *Christ is the Sanctifier as well as the Justifier of his people.* That the Lord Jesus Christ has merited for his people all temporal and spiritual blessings; that holiness is one of the chief, rather the one chiefest, of spiritual blessings; that deliverance from the love and the power of sin is a main element of the salvation which it was the object of his mission to effect; that he does in fact purify and sanctify every member of his redeemed Church, and shall eventually present every member of that Church, without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, unto his Father:—all this is in accordance with the teaching of Scripture, as understood by the universal Church, with an amount of *consensus* which scarcely appertains to any other great doctrine of the Christian faith. To every one of his people Christ is “of God made wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.” This all Protestants hold. This all Romanists hold in terms, although, as with all other doctrines, many of them deprive it of any valuable significance. Yea, they are led by the very errors of their system to hold this doctrine all the more strongly; since, overlooking the essential distinction between justification and sanctification, or merging the former in the latter, they would have difficulty in shewing that believers receive any benefit from Christ at all, unless they hold that they receive this benefit from him. It does not much concern us what Uni-

tarians and Antinomians hold on such a subject, as we should regard the consent of the universal Church as complete, notwithstanding their dissent. Yet it is not without some interest that even they hold in some sense by this doctrine, the former maintaining that men are made better by the example of Christ, and the influence of his pure teaching and exalted ideal; the latter, reversing the Romanist system, and merging sanctification in justification, yet holding that such holiness as they imagine that they need, they get from, or perhaps in, Christ. In this first proposition, then, there is certainly nothing that is peculiar to, or distinctive of, the teaching that is now under consideration.

PROP. II. *Sanctification is by Faith.* This follows as a corollary from the preceding proposition, and must be held by all who hold that proposition. Whatever believers get from Christ, they must of necessity get by faith. As we cannot see otherwise than by the eye, nor hear but by the ear, so faith is the one receptive grace, the sole apprehensive grace, the hand of the soul that lays hold upon Christ, and puts the believer in possession of the fulness that is in him, the conduit-pipe through which the beaten oil flows from the heavenly reservoir into the seven golden lamps. The argument of the apostle in Rom. iv. 16, is not, indeed, employed by him with reference to this particular subject; but there underlies it a postulate which, if it be true at all, must be of universal applicability:—"it is *of* faith, that it might be *by* grace." The form of the postulate as assumed by the apostle is, That what is received otherwise than by faith cannot be given by grace; but it may be equally put under these other forms, What is received by faith must be given by grace; or, What is not given by grace cannot be received by faith; or, What is given by grace cannot be received otherwise than by faith. These statements are not indeed formally or logically identical with each other, but they are substantially so, for each is an enunciation of the great truth, that all gifts of God come from grace, and all come to faith. Grace is the only fountain, faith the only channel. Of course, we speak not now of the case of infants, and others incapable of exercising faith. We remember the late Dr John Duncan, once in conversation with us maintaining that the blessings which believers receive through conscious active faith, these are made partakers of through a

faith not less real, though germinal, latent, inactive, unconscious. We need not say that his arguments were extremely ingenious, but we confess that they were too metaphysical for our apprehension. We prefer to regard these as simply exceptional cases, for which, doubtless, special provision is made in the well-ordered and sure covenant, and which do not affect the truth of the general statement with reference to all those who are capable of exercising faith,—that is, of all those who are capable of having the statement itself addressed to them.

That sanctification is by faith, then, is essentially a principle of Protestant theology, and is no distinctive feature of the new teaching. This the teachers themselves will probably admit; but if they do, then they will maintain that they give to the doctrine of sanctification by Christ, through faith, a greater prominence than it has hitherto received in the systems of Protestant divines, the expositions of Protestant preachers, or the apprehensions of Protestant Christians. This may very likely be true, if we take the whole range of so-called Protestant teaching, and preaching, and apprehension; for the doctrine had but a doubtful place in the unevangelical compound of legalism and antinomianism which, unhappily to a large extent, usurped the name of Protestant preaching all over Europe in the cold, "moderate," glacial period of the eighteenth century, a system which taught that men were to take care not to be very wicked, and that God would require no more at their hands. But sure we are that the doctrine had quite as prominent a place as is now assigned to it in the theology and the preaching of the Reformers, of the Puritans, of the divines and preachers of the Second Reformation in Scotland; of the Methodists in England, of both sections, as represented by the Wesleys and Whitefield; of the sturdy old Evangelicals of the English Church, the Romaines, the Scotts, the Newtons, and the Cecils; and of the equally sturdy Evangelicals of the Nonconformists, the Doddridges, and the Booths, and the Fullers. And an equally prominent place does it hold in the dogmatic and homiletic and catechetic teaching of our evangelical contemporaries in all sections of the Christian Church. It is not, then, in respect of these fundamental principles that we differ from the new school. On the contrary, we deny that they have any exclusive propriety in these principles, or even in the

position that they assign to them. Here, however, our agreement with them ends. Here, too, the difficulty of our task begins, as it is no easy matter to evolve from such a mass of unsystematic literature, not always absolutely consistent with itself, a system which its authors will acknowledge to be precisely what they intend to teach. Our difficulty would be less if we had space at our command for extensive quotation; but this we have not. Still, we shall generally substantiate our judgment of what the system is, by quoting the very words of one or other of the writings before us.

All of them agree in holding that there is a special act of faith, which all believers ought to perform, but which great numbers of Christians never do perform, which consists in taking Christ for their sanctification, distinct from, and subsequent to, their taking him in their conversion for their righteousness. This act of faith Mr Boardman calls "second conversion"; Mrs Smith calls "entire consecration."

As to Mr Boardman's doctrine of "second conversion," it appears to us that the term is unhappily chosen, as he probably derived it from, and it will certainly suggest to his readers, the term employed by our Lord (Luke xxii. 32) to describe the restoration of a backslider, a very different thing from that to which Mr Boardman applies it. But as Mr Boardman leaves no doubt of the sense in which he uses the term, no great harm is likely to arise from the use of it, and we have no desire to make a man an offender for a word. As to the thing itself, we believe that what Mr Boardman calls "second conversion" is very usual in the experience of Christians, though we would account for this otherwise than as he accounts for it, or seems to us to account for it. He appears to us to represent it as a necessity that there should be various steps in conversion, which may follow each other very rapidly indeed, but which are always distinct and distinguishable, and which, in fact, are frequently separated by long intervals of time; yea, unless we greatly misapprehend him, he considers that a great number of Christians stop short after taking the first step, and never take the subsequent ones at all. In the English universities there is, we believe, a process called "cumulation," by means of which an undergraduate may take the degrees of B.A. and M.A. at once. This, however, is unusual and exceptional. The ordinary method is to take the lower degree by itself, and to pass to the

higher after an interval of some years, while very great numbers are satisfied with the lower, and never proceed to the higher at all. Precisely similar, according to Mr Boardman's view, is conversion, unless we greatly misapprehend his statements on the subject. The unconverted man is the undergraduate. The first "degree" in conversion is that of pardon; the second, of purity; the third, of power. First there is justification by faith, then there is sanctification by faith, then there is service by faith. These degrees are distinct from one another. The cumulative process, by which any two, or the whole three, may be taken at once, is not absolutely prohibited, but the recourse to it is very rare; while many who attain the first degree stop short of the second, and many are satisfied with the first and second without proceeding to the third. And the cumulative process is not properly a uniting of the degrees, but only a minimizing of the interval between the attainment of the several grades. Now, we think this a very unsatisfactory account of the matter; and we think it is essentially Mr Boardman's account of it, although, of course, the illustration is ours. To us it seems to represent Christ as in some way divided, or as dealing out his salvation piecemeal. Now, in our view of the matter, every genuine Christian simply in his conversion takes Christ, Christ in all his fulness, Christ as he is, and as he must ever be, he being yesterday, to-day, and for ever the same. But then the Christian's apprehension of the fulness of Christ is necessarily proportioned to his apprehension of his own wants. Now, although we believe that the mental and spiritual exercises of men before, in, and after conversion are as various as their temperaments and their circumstances, yet in general, perhaps universally, the want of pardon is the one great want that arises in the soul before conversion. It is the fear of wrath that drives the sinner to Christ, and he first apprehends Christ as his righteousness. But even then Christ is of God made to him sanctification also, although he has not yet felt any pressing want of holiness. The recognition of sin as an unspeakable evil, apart altogether from its consequences, is that which leads to an earnest desire for sanctification, and yet it is the effect of sanctification begun. It is when sanctification has been so far wrought in him as to make him feel sin to be a body of death, when he is so made holy as in some measure to estimate his remaining unholiness, it is then that

he realises a previously unfelt want, and being led under the pressure of this want to cry, *Who shall deliver?* his faith is enabled to apprehend that there is full provision made in the gospel covenant through Christ for holiness as well as for righteousness, for sanctification as well as for justification. But hitherto he has been only receptive. He has had respect mainly, if not exclusively, to his own safety and his own comfort. But this cannot be long. The new nature which he has received is essentially unselfish, is necessarily active. The Spirit working in him impels him to do good to others, and to glorify his Lord by active service. But he soon finds that to this he has no power; that his strength is absolute weakness. Here there is another want felt, and this want drives him afresh to the full treasury for its supply. We do not mean to say that these wants always arise precisely in the same order. Nor do we say that faith is always ready on the ascertainment of the want to have recourse to the full Christ for the supply. There may be at every stage a reluctance to take the right and reasonable course; there may be a chiselling out with infinite labour of one cistern after another, and the value of the fountain of living waters may only be ascertained on the breaking of these cisterns. Yet this is not because there is any division of Christ, but only because the fulness of Christ is apprehended only in proportion to the apprehension of the evils to be remedied, and of the insufficiency of all other remedies.

But while we admit that many Christians may pass through an experience like that which Mr Boardman represents as normally and almost necessarily intervening between what he calls first and second conversion, we cannot admit that this interval of legalism is, as he and others of the same school always represent it, the usual condition of the great body of Christians who do not belong to that school. Once a friend of ours, meditating a trip to the Continent, and having a well-founded distrust of his powers of French conversation, prepared himself by committing to memory the dialogues contained in some tourist's *vade mecum*. He had got them up so carefully, and there were so many of them, that he thought he should be master of any situation in which he could be placed. As soon as he landed at Calais, he proceeded to test his powers by addressing a porter on the pier in the opening sentence of the appropriate dialogue. It was of course no fault of his, but

decidedly his misfortune, that the answer of the porter was altogether different from the answer in the book, and so he was, in sailor-phrase, "brought up all standing." Greatly more fortunate are the writers before us in their intercourse with inquirers. Many conversations with such are recorded, and their answers to the questions put to them are always precisely fitted to lead on to the conclusion desired. Take the following, the first recorded by Mr Boardman in what we believe to be his latest book, *Gladness in Jesus*. The interlocutors are Mr Boardman and an English lady of high position :

"Tell me what is your hope of acceptance with God?"

"The finished work and perfect righteousness of Christ."

"And what is your trust for progress?"

"Prayer for the Holy Spirit."

This was certainly a remarkable answer. We do not believe that one in a thousand would have given it. Very likely the poor woman meant, "The Holy Spirit, for whose sanctifying operation I pray." Had she so expressed herself, Mr Boardman would probably have been at a loss for a rejoinder; but as it was, his answer was ready cut out for him. It was this: "Then you trust in Christ for freedom from condemnation, but in your own prayers for power to overcome sin and grow in knowledge and grace." We are quite willing to admit, and we do unfeignedly deplore, that legalism may creep into the hearts of Christians in respect of working out their salvation, and it is well that all should be warned against it; but we cannot admit that this lady's statement of her ground of hope, unless we give her credit for a large degree of verbal inaccuracy, is a correct statement of the views of Christians generally.

But our objections to Mr Boardman's doctrine of "second conversion" are small in comparison with those that lie against Mrs Smith's requirement of "entire consecration" as preliminary to sanctification. To us it seems to be utterly subversive of the very doctrine that it is designed to establish, subversive not only of the doctrine of holiness by faith, as that doctrine is held by Mrs Smith and her friends, but subversive of the doctrine of holiness by faith, as held by the universal Church of Christ. Be it distinctly noted that this entire consecration is uniformly represented as preliminary to the

obtaining of holiness by faith, and as a necessary and indispensable condition thereto. We are confident that we do not misrepresent Mrs Smith when we say that she places this consecration absolutely before the exercise of faith in Christ for sanctification, making no allusion to any aid to be received from Christ, or any working or co-working of the Holy Spirit, in order to the making of this consecration. But what in reality is consecration but sanctification? What is entire consecration but perfect holiness? Either they are identical, or consecration is the result of sanctification. In no possible sense can it be said truly that consecration goes before and sanctification follows. Dr Mahan, as might be expected, sees this as well as we do. "Such," he says, "is Christian perfection. It is the consecration of our whole being to Christ, and the perpetual employment of all our powers in his service." We do not see how there can be any doubt about it. Differing widely from Dr Mahan as to whether this measure of consecration is actually attained by Christians in this life, we entirely agree with him in holding that, when obtained, it is tantamount to Christian perfection. But Mrs Smith's system is simply this—Make yourself perfectly holy first, then go to Christ, believe that he will make you perfectly holy, and he will do it. Of course she does not know that this is the meaning of her system; but all the more is she blameworthy for putting herself forward as the teacher of a system whose meaning she is incapable of comprehending. We have no doubt that she is a good woman, and that, in spite of her system, she is looking to Christ for sanctification. If this be so, she is only one instance out of multitudes of people who are saved by illogicality and inconsistency from the legitimate fatal results of their erroneous beliefs.

In another and quite a different respect, all the writers with whom we are dealing seem to us to err, not by excess, but by defect, in stating the doctrine of sanctification by Christ. Each of them gives us a distinct account of the way in which he was led into his present position. Now, it so happens that in no one of the cases was there any approach to what we have likened to the cumulative method of graduation. One was five years, another ten, another twenty years living in undoubting assurance of pardon before adopting the method of

sanctification which they now advocate so strenuously. But during these several intervals they had each made some progress in holiness, a very unsatisfactory progress indeed, but still some real progress. But that progress, such as it was, was effected, according to their present shewing, not by that faith which they now inculcate, but by that striving which they now condemn as legal and carnal. According to their view, then, there must be two distinct ways of sanctification—one far better, indeed, than the other, by taking Christ by faith for sanctification; the other inferior, indeed, but still real, by dispensing with Christ, and simply striving. Now this is a far less evangelical and a far more legal doctrine than the orthodox, which maintains that there is but one way of holiness, as there is but one way of righteousness; and that Christ's being made of God sanctification to his people, is as exclusive of sanctification in any other way as his being made to them righteousness is exclusive of justification in any other way. In answer to this they would probably say that, in the interval betwixt their first and second conversion, they did not altogether reject Christ as their sanctification, but trusted partly to him and partly to their own endeavours, and that so much of sanctification as they then achieved was in virtue of the measure of faith which even then they exercised. If they say this, then it is an important modification of their present teaching, quite different from what they have said hitherto. But more than this, it will be fatal to their system, for it would utterly destroy the analogy between justification and sanctification, for which they so strongly contend. For they will admit that he who trusts partly to Christ and partly to himself for righteousness, does not, while he so trusts, attain to righteousness at all; and by parity of reason, it ought to follow that he who trusts partly to Christ and partly to himself for holiness, must equally fail to attain any holiness at all. But it is not for us to anticipate the answers they may possibly make to our objections to their system. It is enough to point out that that system, as it now stands, utterly fails to account for the admitted fact that some measure of holiness is attained by many otherwise than as that system prescribes, and that some measure was attained by the present advocates of the system before they adopted it.

The character of the sanctification wrought by Christ seems to us to be greatly and mischievously misrepresented in the writings before us. We do not so much allude to particular passages, as to the whole impression left on our mind by their perusal; and we are quite aware that passages might easily be quoted which are inconsistent with that impression, but these passages do not seem to harmonize with the general character of the works in which they occur. What seems to us to be described is rather a sort of mechanical restraint imposed by Christ working from without, than a change in the whole tendencies and tastes and desires and affections of the soul, produced by the Spirit of God operating within. We have said, and we frankly admit, that there are many passages and expressions which appear to indicate that the latter was not excluded from the thoughts of the writers. Still, if we had been set down, in utter ignorance of what sanctification is, to form an idea of it from these writings alone, we think we should have come to the conclusion that it consists mainly in interpositions of power to prevent the commission of sin, rather than in the production of a nature to which sin is an object of utter abhorrence.

By this erroneous conception of the character, there hang three important errors, as we regard them, in the teaching before us:—

First. The representation given of the *immediateness* of sanctification. From the very nature of the case, justification must be an act, done at once, requiring nothing, and admitting of nothing, to be added to it. Whether it be conceived of as done in the purpose of God in the decree of election and the institution of the covenant of grace, or on the release of Christ from the bonds of death, or on the actual faith of the believer, or at the proclamation of the sentence of acquittal at the judgment day, the act is, from the nature of it, necessarily instantaneous, an act and no more; so that there never is a time when the sinner is in part justified and in part unjustified. But equally from the nature of the case, sanctification is a *work*, advancing by degrees, and ever approaching completion. A change of condition *may* be instantaneous, such a change of condition as is implied in justification *must* be instantaneous; but a change of character *cannot* be instantaneous, it *must*

be gradual. And to this agree the statements of Scripture. The two following may be taken as examples out of very many that might be adduced: "He that hath wrought us for the self-same thing is God" (*κατεργασαμενος*, hath wrought us, as the husbandman works his field, as the smith works the iron, as the sculptor works the rough marble from the quarry into the life-like statue).—"We are changed into the same image *from glory to glory*, even as by the Spirit of the Lord." In marked contrast to these, and to multitudes of other passages of Scripture, and indeed to the whole strain of the apostolic epistles, appear to us to be the statements contained in every page of these writings respecting a sanctification complete for the time (though, indeed, capable of progress and increase in a certain sense, to which we shall afterwards refer), as resulting from, or consequent upon, a single act of faith. Is not the cause of this difference that the scriptural idea of sanctification is of something wrought *in* us, while the prevalent idea of these writers is of something done *for* us?

We are quite aware of the answer that will be made to this; the answer that is made again and again by anticipation:—Is not Christ able to sanctify us immediately as well as progressively? But it is manifest that the question simply brings us to the insoluble problem of accounting for the origin and permitted continuance of evil in the world. Has not Christ power enough to prevent every man and woman and child now in the world, and every man and woman and child that shall be in it till the end of time, from ever committing a sin in thought or word or deed? Doubtless he has sufficiency of power. But his infinite wisdom sees reasons, which are to us inscrutable, for not putting forth his power to that effect. And then our opponents should consider that even they do not venture to say that the sanctification of the believer is absolutely complete.

Second. Another evil that necessarily follows from the erroneous conception of holiness, is the representation that pervades these writings of the attainment of holiness by the believer without effort on his part. The idea which they have suggested to us is that of a man put into a boat, lying in it in absolute rest, and being carried down a gently flowing stream; whereas that suggested by the apostolic writings is

that of a strong rower, straining every muscle to stem the current, with the knowledge that he shall ultimately succeed in reaching the goal, but only in virtue of strength imparted to him by Christ, and received by faith. The one representation is that of faith dispensing with effort, the other of faith enabling for effort. The one seems to say, "*Work not out your salvation, for God worketh for you;*" the other says, "*Work out your salvation, for God worketh in you.*" In both cases a certain work of God is the premiss, but the conclusions are directly the opposite of each other, just because the works postulated in the premisses are altogether different. Somewhere in the course of our reading of these works, we have fallen upon the expression, "sanctification by works," as opposed to "sanctification by faith," and descriptive of the prevalent view of sanctification. No one who understands that view, and who does not design to misrepresent it, could possibly state such an antithesis. The doctrine of justification by works is false, but there is no absurdity in it; the doctrine of sanctification by works, if there were such a doctrine, were not only false, but absurd; excepting, indeed, in the very limited sense that every holy work, of hand, or head, or heart, is a contribution to the formation of holy habits, very much as physical exercises develop the muscles which perform them. To such an extent as this there is action and re-action, a holy heart prompting to holy acts, and these again reflecting an influence back upon the heart. This seems to be the principle that underlies the Preacher's declaration, "By the sadness of the countenance the heart is made better;" as the converse of it underlies the apostle's description of the unregenerate, "Enemies in their minds by wicked works."¹ But while, excepting in this sense and to this extent, it were both false and absurd to say that holiness is *by* works, it is neither absurd nor false, but simply true, to say that holiness *is* works; and this being so, it is both false and absurd to say that holiness can be *without* works; for this is just to say that holiness can be without holiness. The question is not between holiness by faith and holiness by works. The question is as to the specific action of faith in the production of holiness in the heart and

¹ That is, if the textual rendering of our Authorised Version is preferred, as we think it ought to be, to the marginal.

life of the believer. We hold as strongly as our friends can hold that Christ is made to his people sanctification, quite as really and quite as much as he is made unto them righteousness or justification ; but in ways according with the essential difference between justification and sanctification, between judicial righteousness and personal holiness.

Third. A third result of the erroneous view of the character of sanctification is the comparative obscuration of the work of the Holy Spirit in the sanctifying of believers. Mr Boardman has evidently felt that the system is liable to this objection, and he devotes a whole chapter in his *Higher Christian Life* to an elaborate apology. Upon the arguments contained in that chapter, bearing upon the mutual relations revealed as subsisting between the persons of the Godhead, we do not enter, but only state our conviction that some of them go near to traversing the principle laid down by all orthodox writers on the doctrine of the Trinity, that the three Persons, while one in essence, *distinguuntur quod ad operationes ad extra*. We allude to the matter now only because we conceive that the comparative want of prominence assigned to the Spirit's work in sanctification indicates a misconception of that work itself. Take, for example, the following sentences from the chapter to which we refer : "Literally and strictly the Holy Spirit, and not Christ, is the justifier, and sanctifier, and glorifier, for he it is who is the actual worker, the power that worketh in us, preparing the heart, producing the faith, and effecting the salvation in every step. But in the sense doubtless intended"—by Gavazzi, to the title of one of whose lectures he is referring—"Jesus is both justifier, sanctifier, and glorifier." Again : "Strictly and literally, Jesus is our justification, and sanctification, and glorification, and the Holy Spirit is our justifier, sanctifier, and glorifier." It is either extremely unsound theology, or extreme misuse of language, to say that the Holy Spirit is our justifier. "Strictly and literally," it is God that justifies, and if a distinction of persons be insisted upon, then it is federally the Father, certainly not the Son or the Spirit. To class together without distinction the Spirit's part in the matter of justification, and the Spirit's work in sanctification, to imply that he is the sanctifier only in the forced and unnatural and improper sense in which he is said to be the

justifier, were impossible for any one who regards sanctification as a great work wrought in the soul, by which all its tastes, desires, and affections are changed; while it is a very natural and appropriate statement for one to make who looks upon sanctification as merely the restraining of the still unholy soul from sinning.

Still more prominent in the present teaching than the view that it presents of the way in which sanctification is wrought, is that respecting the extent to which holiness is attainable by believers in this life. With some shades of difference between themselves, the teachers agree in holding that perfection is attainable, and that they have attained it, and that not after a long and progressive course towards it, but as the immediate result of their seeking it in the right way. At the same time, we frankly admit that they are careful to explain that their perfection is not absolute, but such that their actions, and words, and thoughts are sinless as done, and spoken, and thought by them. We have been told that this was not originally held by some of them, but has been imported into their later works, and the later editions of their earlier works. We do not know how this may be; but we are quite willing to take their statements as we find them, and to give them full credit for their second and better thoughts. Dr Mahan apparently concedes that better words and actions and thoughts might be required of higher orders of beings, or of men in a higher state of being, but holds that he has attained "human perfection." The Smiths especially dwell upon the imperfection of knowledge, as limiting the perfection of holiness, but hold that every Christian who takes Christ as his sanctification is kept from all consciousness of sin, or from all sin consciously committed. We shall first examine their system, and then Dr Mahan's. It is manifest that we cannot go into their arguments and statements in detail, but we shall endeavour to give a substantially fair view of the system of perfection, as held by the Smiths and Dr Mahan respectively.

This we shall best do by first of all extracting a few passages from the writings before us. The following are from Mr Smith's *Holiness through Faith* :—

"There is one point in this subject which, we find from letters received, is not understood, though repeatedly stated. When the Christian thus

puts on the Lord Jesus Christ, or recognises him living in his heart and reigning in victory over sin, he is not thereby made complete in understanding, or in judgment, or in doctrine. He simply is placed where he by faith receives from God power to act day by day up to the given measure of light upon his duty. It is the power of overcoming all *discerned* evil that is bestowed; and as the Spirit enlightens the conscience (or *consciousness*) from time to time, faith gives the victory. 'Beloved, if our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence toward God.' This is all that is claimed.

"To-morrow I may discern evil in things in which to-day I am living without condemnation. Were the sight of angels given us, we could scarcely take one step in our mingled surroundings. It has not pleased God to reveal at once either the whole measure of his grace and power, or the whole nature of the evil things around us. This principle is clearly stated by Paul. 'Let us therefore, *as many as be perfect*, be thus minded, and if in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal this unto you. Nevertheless, whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule; let us mind the same thing.' A heathen, converted last week, may be now walking up to the standard to which he has 'already attained,' and yet be in practices from which a further knowledge of God's will shall separate him. Through all the steps of his advance he may, through Christ, have no stain on his conscience (or knowledge). Thank God! there is provided in Christ, who lives in the heart by faith, power to walk from day to day without blame before God in love, in fulfilment of every duty as progressively revealed.

"The divine principle to a Christian is—'Whatsoever is not of faith is sin,' and conversely, whatsoever is of faith is not sin. 'Without faith it is impossible to please God,' but with faith it is possible to please God. I breathe to-day the atmosphere of the love of God, every past sin forgiven, and, through the blood of cleansing, without a present sense of transgression,—not a cloud to separate me from God; but I may not be able to walk to-morrow, with a clear conscience, in all the paths I tread to-day. Nevertheless, I am to-day walking in the light, having fellowship with God, and knowing that the blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, cleanseth me from all sin. This might be termed a Christian, not a divine, nor an angelic, nor yet an Adamic, 'perfection;' but those who by faith enter into its privileges may overcome the world, and be conscious that, up to the present capacity of the poor, weak vessel, they are filled with the Spirit."¹

Somewhat more distinct is the following:—

"Now we must inquire, What is the condition, as to indwelling sin, into which the soul is thus by faith brought? Is it, or is it not, an inward cleansing from *all* unrighteousness? So glorious is this revelation of Jesus as a Saviour from sin, and so complete faith's present overcoming of the world, that the consciousness cannot be trusted for a reply. We may well hesitate to accept the experience even of our own hearts, if it

¹ *Holiness through Faith*, by R. Pearsall Smith (pp. 39-40).

be unsupported by Scripture, as well as contrary to that of others. Consciousness does not so much take note of the quiescent state of the soul, as of its activities. Whether, because we do not feel the inward motions of sin, for a longer or shorter period, it is therefore purged, it is not in the range of consciousness to determine. When *we* dare not answer, the Scripture is very definite as to what is being wrought in the soul. We are told that the blood 'cleanseth us from *all* sin,' 'from *all* unrighteousness,' we 'being made free from sin,' as once we were 'free from righteousness:' 'free from the law of sin and death:' 'light in the Lord;' and that, 'being taught by him, as the truth is in Jesus,' is the putting on 'the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness.' The less we limit the intent of this large class of passages, and the more we cast ourselves upon Christ to have the real meaning accomplished in our souls, the better shall we understand them. Happy he who seeks prayerfully to raise his practical experience up to the level of God's Word, rather than to lower God's Word to the level of his own experience!

"We know no one who interprets these terms in their absolute sense, as though sinless perfection or the unconditioned holiness of God were ours. The Scripture addresses our *need* and our *consciousness*, carefully avoiding all metaphysical distinctions. My conviction is, that we do well to act on this Scripture plan of not analysing these things, but that we should simply receive them in their plain and obvious import. Doubtless, beyond our consciousness, there is always that which is contrary to the perfection of angels, or even of the (as yet) sinless Adam. I confess myself unable to enter upon the question as to in what sense this evil is, or is not, sin. Care must be taken in our definitions of 'sin' and of 'holiness.' A condition necessarily imperfect in even the knowledge of what is evil, and which is capable of hourly progress in holiness, is scarcely, in the accepted meaning of words, to be therefore called sinful and unholy. We seek to use terms in the intuitive sense, comprehensible by the great mass of Christians to whom the sacred Scriptures are addressed."¹

Now, upon these passages we must make two or three remarks. First of all, they undoubtedly recognise a subjective, and not an objective, standard of holiness; and we have no hesitation in saying that the legitimate and necessary logical conclusion from this would be most disastrous, while we doubt not that Christians who hold the doctrine are saved from its terrible consequences,—saved by the purity of their hearts from the rightful consequences of their own erroneous system. Let us briefly indicate one or two of these consequences. It will be allowed by all that the requirements of God from unconverted sinners are, at all events, not more stringent than from sanctified believers. It cannot, therefore, be unfair to

¹ *Holiness through Faith*, by R. Pearsall Smith (pp. 65-66).

apply to the former the same rule that is applicable to the latter. But if applied to them, it would lead to the monstrous conclusion that what would be great sin to the virtuous man of comparatively tender conscience, would be less sin to the man whose conscience was seared by immorality, and no sin at all to him who was so imbruted by vice as to call evil good, and good evil, to put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter; in other words, that excess of sin would lead a man to the perfection of sinlessness, even to an incapacity of sinning. Of course Mr Smith would be as much horrified at this conclusion as we are; but none the less is it a legitimate inference from his system.

Again, while it may be admitted that the system is not incompatible with progress in holiness (though we do not see that even this admission can be made, in so far as holiness consists in freedom from sin): certainly it affords little or no incitement to *seek* or *strive for* progress, to forget the things behind, and reach forth to things before, and press on, and ever on, towards the mark. We remember, from the days of our childhood, a story or allegory by Miss Jane Taylor, in which she contrasted the complacent satisfaction of a pert young lady who had "finished her education," and had nothing more to learn, with the eagerness to learn more of the man whose extensive knowledge only shewed him the extent of his ignorance. The young lady might advance in knowledge after this, but in the position she then occupied she would not seek for it as for hidden treasure. Precisely so with holiness. The man who believes that he is for the time as holy as for the time he can be, or needs be, who has persuaded himself that he has no longer a body of sin from which to be delivered, is surely deprived of the most powerful of all incentives to seek for progress. "Follow holiness" (*διωξτε*, pursue, as the greyhound pursues the hare), is the apostle's precept. "Wait till holiness come to you" seems to be the spirit of the teaching of this system.

In point of fact we do seem to see, even in the sentiments expressed in the books of Mr and Mrs Smith, this very result of the alteration, and therefore the lowering, of the standard of holiness. One thing we notice, that there is not the slightest reference to repentance on the part of Christians, or sorrow for those sins which it is admitted that they sometimes fall into, as

if repentance were a legal exercise, only fit for the unconverted, whereas, in reality, it is the most evangelical of all graces. Thus Mrs Smith says, "If, for one moment we fail, that is no reason why we should not trust the next moment. But remember, . . . the very moment you discover your failure, to go at once to Jesus, and have it all washed away in his precious blood." "He forgives, and then he cleanses and makes us just as pure as before; and he does it at once, as soon as we confess, so that we need not be hindered a moment." The following is Mr Smith's account of a portion of his own experience:

"After walking with little variation for five years in this privilege of an inward consciousness of the presence of God, and, with comparatively little exception, a *conscience* void of offence, I became, by the ever-increasing light, aware of forms of selfishness, self-consciousness, self-dependence, and self-seeking, not before recognised. I was as an Israelite in whose house was a defiling bone, before the sun had fully risen. By the grey morning light he had cleansed his dwelling, and was without condemnation of conscience; but when the noontide sun poured in his rays, the evil thing was discovered, to be now put away. At once the prayer of faith came, 'Cleanse me from this also, O my Saviour!' with full confidence that it would be done."

Not thus would Samuel Rutherford have spoken of "little variation," and "comparatively little exception." Ought not this experience to have led him to pray the psalmist's prayer, "Cleanse thou me from secret faults"? The main objection, in our judgment, to the system is the limitation and restriction which it necessitates, of the holiness which the Word of God enjoins and requires, and the purely arbitrary way in which the limitation is made. If Scripture teaches that perfection is attainable in this life, no one has a right to say that it is only a very *imperfect perfection* that is enjoined, even such perfection as they have themselves attained, a perfection compatible with "occasional variation," and "comparatively little exception." But most especially is the restriction unwarranted and unfortunate in respect of the defect of knowledge. Again and again and again the text is quoted: "That ye put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness;" and the question is asked, Is it possible that a man who has done this can commit sin? The answer is that he cannot, so far as he knows that it is sin that he commits, but he may do what is really sin without knowing it. But it is utterly forgotten that there

is another text much akin to this, for any reference to which we look in vain in the works before us: "Ye have put off the old man with his deeds, and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him." In like manner, there is no book of Scripture that our friends are fonder of quoting from than the First Epistle of John, yet one text in it is utterly ignored: "Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and know all things." In this connection we would advert to a flagrant misapplication of a text in this epistle, which occurs in almost every chapter of the books before us: "The blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin." We have often of late been pained to hear this precious text misquoted and misapplied by a different class of men from those with whom we are now dealing. The contextual condition being overlooked, and the all-important personal pronoun *us* being omitted, the text is frequently used by evangelists as if it taught the immediate pardon of all the sins of the sinner, on his acceptance of Christ as his Saviour. This is a wrong use of the text, but still a use of it in support of a great truth of which the Bible is full. But the writers before us pervert it utterly when they make it refer to their perfection of sanctification, or to sanctification at all. It does not teach the justification of the sinner, neither does it teach the sanctification of the believer, but it teaches the continuous acceptance of the saint, notwithstanding the imperfection of his holiness. Instead of teaching the doctrine in support of which it is so often quoted, it so distinctly implies the opposite, that it would have no meaning if that doctrine were true, unless, indeed, there be meaning in cleansing the clean.

Dr Mahan's books are much more of a theological character than any of the others that we possess. His system does not differ essentially from that which we have been considering. The main difference that we have noted consists in his allowing for the imperfections of man's powers, as well as the imperfections of his knowledge, as limiting the perfection of holiness attainable in this life. He states his views very clearly in the first discourse contained in his volume, entitled *Christian Perfection*. The text prefixed to the discourse is, "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect." We wish he had told us in so many words whether he considers that he and his friends are perfect to the extent that that text

requires, according to any reasonable interpretation of it. We are quite willing to give him the benefit of the old Puritan distinction, that the AS in it does not denote *equality*, but *quality*. Now, since any idea that we can form of the divine perfection includes not only that he does everything that is good, and in an absolute and perfect way, but also that his whole being is absolutely and infinitely abhorrent of every form and degree of evil, it will follow that human perfection, if it be of the same quality, must imply the doing of everything that we know to be good, in the best manner that our faculties and powers are capable of, and that our whole being is absolutely, though not infinitely, abhorrent of every form and degree of evil. Vehement as are Dr Mahan's protestations of his own attainment of perfection, and fairly, as we think he must allow, as we have admitted all that he can ask in limitation of the absoluteness of perfection required in the text of his own choice, we doubt if even he would venture in so many words to assert that he has attained to perfection as thus defined. If he did, then of course we should abnegate all right to judge him ; but we could not help thinking that, his sincerity being beyond question, it was more likely that he was self-deceived than that his estimate of himself was correct. And here we would notice that an enumeration of particular acts of holiness go but a very little way towards an answer to the question. Dr Mahan may have acted perfectly holily, as he believes he did, on certain occasions (and we have no doubt his actions on these occasions indicated a high degree of holiness, though we may have doubts as to the perfection of it even in the individual instances) ; and yet that will not prove him to be perfectly holy. A single act of sin constitutes its perpetrator a sinner, but a thousand, or ten thousand, holy acts, or holy words, or holy thoughts, do not constitute a man perfectly holy, or prove him to be so.

Dr Mahan argues from the precepts and the prayers of Scripture that perfection must be attainable in this life. He finds, for example, such a precept as that we have just quoted, and such a prayer on behalf of Christians as that of the apostle, "The God of peace . . . make you perfect in every good work, to do his will." Is it conceivable, he asks, that our Lord would have given such a precept, unless in some way it could be fulfilled by those to whom he addressed it ; or that the

apostle should have been inspired to utter such a prayer, unless He that inspired the prayer had been willing to answer it? In answer to this, it may probably be enough to say that surely God's right to require is not impaired by the inability that we have brought upon ourselves to render the service that is due to him. Dr Mahan is well enough acquainted with the ordinary view of such texts, that the Christian has set before him the standard of absolute perfection, and that he is required to strive to come ever nearer and nearer to it; and that he shall assuredly, by the grace of God, ultimately attain to it. Now, will he have the goodness, without admitting that this view is correct, to make the supposition that it were correct; would not all such precepts and prayers be easily explicable in accordance with that supposition? But now let us, on the other hand, suppose that his view is correct, what follows, but that a great portion of the Scriptures is wholly inapplicable to a large, and ever enlarging, number of believers? As the law is for the disobedient, surely precepts and exhortations are for the imperfect. Was there no one amongst the disciples on the mount, no one among those Hebrews who had been illuminated, and had endured a great fight of afflictions, who knew in themselves that they had in heaven a better and an enduring substance,—no one amongst all these who had attained such perfection as Dr Mahan and his friends have attained? If there were but one such, he might have said, he must have felt, O Lord, this precept is not for me; O Paul, this prayer is not for me.

Dr Mahan has got fast hold of the idea that his system must stand or fall according to the interpretation of the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. As to the one alternative he is quite correct, as to the other not entirely so. If it be so that the apostle, in that chapter, represents himself as groaning under a body of death at the time of writing this epistle, that is a virtual demonstration that perfect freedom from consciousness of sin is not the normal state of the Christian, and so Dr Mahan's system would fall. Although, however, it could be shewn that in that chapter the apostle does not speak of himself at all, or that he speaks of himself only as he was before his conversion, it would not follow that, at the time of his writing the epistle, he was not burdened with sin, but only that in that passage he does not tell us that he was; and so Dr Mahan's system would

not necessarily stand. But while such an interpretation would not establish the system, it would neutralize an objection which must otherwise be fatal to it. Accordingly Dr Mahan sets himself with great earnestness to interpret the chapter as representing the mental exercise of an unconverted sinner. We have two expositions by him, one in his *Christian Perfection*, and one in *Out of Darkness into Light*; while the *Banner of Holiness* has two others, one of which we should suppose to be also from his pen. It is worthy of notice that Mr Boardman and Mr and Mrs Smith frequently refer to the chapter as descriptive of the experience of a Christian man, but a Christian still imperfect, between his first and second conversion, between his conversion and his entire consecration. This will not satisfy Dr Mahan. He contends that the apostle is rhetorically describing the experience of a sinner under convictions wrought by the law, revealed or natural, and, when brought to the brink of despair, enlightened in the knowledge of Christ as the great deliverer. He labours to shew that an unconverted man, whether Jew or heathen, may so feel that he may truly make use of such expressions as these, "I consent to the law that it is good," "The good that I would," "I delight in the law of the Lord, after the inward man;" while, on the other hand, he maintains that Paul could not describe his own condition at the time of writing the epistle in such language as this, "I am carnal, sold under sin;" "Oh, wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" The whole interpretation, then, hinges upon these two questions, Could an unregenerate man truly use such language regarding himself as in the former class of passages? Could a regenerate man truly use, regarding himself, the language of the latter class? The former question Dr Mahan answers affirmatively, we negatively. The latter he answers negatively, we affirmatively. Yea, we go much further than this, and hold that none but a regenerate man could truly describe himself so.

With regard to the former class of passages, Dr Mahan must shew that *all* of them are applicable to unconverted men, we need only shew that *one* of them is inapplicable. Take, then, the strongest of them, "I delight in the law of the Lord, after the inward man." The quotations that Dr Mahan makes from the Old Testament, and from heathen writers, to shew that

such language is applicable to unconverted Jews and Gentiles, fall far short of his purpose. Most of them have no bearing upon the matter at all. One of them (Isa. lviii. 2) does, indeed, seem to make something for his purpose, since it speaks of a delight in that which is good. But then it is descriptive, not of the unregenerate, but of a community of God's people who had backslidden into formalism, who needed not conversion but revival. The most that any one of the others contains is an acknowledgment that good is good, such an acknowledgment as natural conscience makes in all men, save such as have reached the lowest stage of brutishness ; but in no one of them is there any affirmation of aught that can be called delight in that which is good. *Video maleora proboque, deteriora sequor*. What is this but the very opposite of what it ought to be, in order to support Dr Mahan's position ? "I follow the worse," and why ? For no reason but because I delight in it. And yet we are told that this language, put by a heathen poet in his heroine's mouth, is near akin to that which the apostle uses in the passage under consideration ! The truth is, that, in the apostle's judgment, the unregenerate man has no "inward man." He is carnal inwardly as well as outwardly, all of a piece. He has not only flesh, but a "carnal mind," all flesh together.

We are quite aware that the position we have laid down regarding the latter class of passages will appear paradoxical. But none the less is it true, that none but the spiritual man knows himself to be carnal, as a certain amount of knowledge is necessary, in order that a man may know himself to be ignorant. A man has made some progress in wisdom when he knows himself to be foolish. Of course, if a spiritual man described himself as carnal in such a way that he would necessarily be understood to mean that he was wholly carnal, his statement would be untrue. But this is not the necessary meaning of his language. If we heard a man say, "I am mortal," we should never imagine that he was denying the immortality of the soul. Even so, when the apostle says, "I am carnal," we do not understand him as denying that he is spiritual also. But could the apostle make the general statement, "I am carnal," if it were true that he was also spiritual ? We are not left to conjecture upon this point ; for just four verses further on he makes precisely the same statement,

accompanying it with the explanation that it is in this sense that he makes it: "In me, that is, in my flesh, there dwelleth no good thing." That assuredly is not the language of a carnal man, but of a spiritual man, to whom the remnants of a carnal nature still adhere.

Then, as to the agonizing question, "Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" The unregenerate, merely carnal, man does not regard his carnal self as a body of death, although it is such; but the spiritual man so regards the remnants of his carnal self. Dr Mahan so regarded them till long after his conversion, and unless the question be simply begged, it may be that he ought to be so regarding them now.

The importance of the answer depends upon the form of the question. Who *shall* deliver? I thank God, through Jesus Christ my Lord (*I shall* be delivered). And *therefore*, since such ultimate deliverance is in store for those who, while they have flesh, yet do not walk after the flesh, there is even *now* no condemnation.

We have sometimes attempted to illustrate to our own mind what we believe to be the scriptural view of sanctification and perfection, by reference to what the mathematicians tell us concerning certain lines which they call asymptotes. These they define to be lines which, being produced farther and farther, will ever approach nearer and nearer to each other, but will never meet. Of course, two such lines cannot be both straight, but they may either be two curves, or a curve and a straight line. In the latter case, the straight line is commonly spoken of as an asymptote to the curve, but equally is the curve asymptotic to the straight line. And this is the view of the matter fittest for the purpose of our illustration. We picture to ourselves the straight unbending line of perfect holiness—even holiness as it is in God—and the pathway which the Christian treads, as the curve constantly approaching it nearer and nearer, yet still below it. In this respect it is analogous to progress in all good things on earth, to the progress of the artist, the musician, the poet, the student of science. Each aims at an ideal which he can never realise, but the high aim ensures high success. So the Christian, strengthened with might by the Spirit in the inner man, and guided by wisdom put by the Spirit in the hidden part, still forgets the things that are behind, and reaches forth to things that are before. Day by

day is he mounting, as on eagle's wings, still onwards and still upwards, ever nearer perfection, but ever imperfect. Yet it is by no arbitrary decree that he is kept from perfection, but simply by the unalterable fact that the finite is not, and cannot become, the infinite. And may it not be—must it not be—that this constant progress and constant approach to the mark shall go on after death, as well as during his life on earth? In a very blessed sense, indeed, the soul of the believer shall at his death be made perfect in holiness, for then he shall be freed at once from temptation, from the last traces of indwelling sin, and from all the incumbrances and impediments which so interfered with the active service of God. But God's holiness shall yet shine as a bright asymptotic line of light far above him, and while during centuries and millenniums he mingles with the seraphim about the throne, he will still with them behold, and still with them adore, and, beholding and adoring, will still with them approach; yet will his nearer approach only enhance his wonder and his adoration, and in even deeper and more reverential tones he will join in the anthem which they, with wing-veiled faces, shall still be singing, Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Hosts.

THOMAS SMITH.

ART. IV.—*Fragments on Preaching.*¹

IT is not intended, on this occasion, to produce a treatise, or even a tract, upon the composition of a sermon. There are indeed a hundred different ways of making a sermon, all of them good if rightly applied. What it rather falls to me to do, is to pick out some topics which we, who all know a good deal about sermon-making, may perhaps do well to ponder in connection with the calling of a preacher. And probably a somewhat miscellaneous treatment will, on a subject of this kind, tend to promote the object of our meeting, quite as well as a more rigorous and orderly method.

New Testament preaching dates from the day of Pentecost. Tongues as of fire rested on the assembled church; and they began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them

¹ Parts of a Paper read at a Clerical Club.

utterance. The word of God, the testimony of Jesus, the gospel of our salvation, preached in tongues of men of every race, was to be the form of power by which the kingdom of God, in our dispensation, should spread abroad and prevail. But the tongues were tongues of fire. This fire is, first of all, the Holy Spirit, whose quick, pure, and living presence it denotes. But then it is intimated that the Holy Spirit was to prove himself fire *in the speech of men*. It is intimated that human minds, as they uttered themselves to their fellows, and human speech in that utterance, were to prove capable of taking fire, so as to brighten and burn with the truth and power of God's spirit. Such was the kind of preaching that was set agoing at Pentecost, and by it the world was to be won. Other forms of influence were not to be excluded. But this was to have the chief place. The word of power, coming burning-hot out of the living mouth of a believing man, is the leading form in which the Spirit's presence is evermore to make head in the Church against the world, and is to carry the Church on in her mission in the world. This gives us the fundamental view of our work as preachers; and nothing more is needed in order to illustrate its dignity and glory.

In looking back on our own ministry, some of us perceive a lamentable want of advertence to this characteristic of the right preaching. I say a want of advertence; not merely want of the thing, but want of perception of the claim the thing had to be sought and aimed at. The tongues were tongues of fire. Certainly we do not draw, from this, the inference that the style of our preaching must needs be loud, startling, ringing with emphasis, running mainly in the lines of appeal, or denunciation, or enthusiastic devoutness. Still less need we assume that tongues of fire are usually tongues of fireworks. All these things will be regulated by a man's disposition, by his mood, by his subject, and by his circumstances. But, fire!—it suggests earnestness, intensity, love, wakeful attention to the moral aspects of truth, sensitiveness to the mighty contrast of good and evil, sense of the greatness of God and salvation, gratitude, enthusiasm—how long might one go on in this way! No rules should be laid down as to the way in which this quality, being present, should make itself felt. Some men are very undemon-

strative. Some men indeed have natures that are normally cold, or at least seem cold, in all communications to others. Such men are not the fittest to preach; yet I will not say that such a man cannot make a preacher. I have known fire in such a man evidence itself by a certain caustic quality, slow but penetrating, which roused one's interest, fastened on one's conscience, and could not be shaken off.

Fire, by its nature, warms and burns. Hence this fire will usually get men over a difficulty which is sometimes fatally felt—the difficulty of getting into communication with other minds. Yet let us make this important point an object of special consideration, as in reason it always ought to be. It is an amazing thing how possible it is for a preacher to go contentedly on, not without some interest in his subject, genuinely felt, and not without some effort of mind in discussing it, but yet without getting hold of his hearers; without making them feel that he interests, enlightens, or helps them; and perhaps without any suspicion, on his own part, that this fatal defect exists. One of the causes is, that we are content to spend pains on what we are to speak, but do not bestow thought on what we are to speak to. Hence men work away in a kind of abstract method; they set before them a conception of what it is to do justice to their subject, or what is due to their ideal of a sermon, be that what it will: and in this groove of their own they proceed, without an effort to realise the state of mind, or states of mind, presented to them in the pews for the purpose of being influenced and enlightened. I do not maintain it to be requisite to present to our minds an exhaustive or detailed view of the mental states of the congregation. An effort to carry that out I should rather deprecate, for some reasons. It would probably be a false estimate; and the attempt would lay too heavy a burden on the springs of thought and feeling, and would bewilder composition, instead of enlightening and guiding it. But we might often greatly help ourselves, if we were to make use of our general knowledge of men, and our particular acquaintance with circumstances, for the purpose of estimating the inward state of as much as one person—and let it be one considerably different from ourselves; his previous training, his present temptations, his mental condition and resources. In the vivid realisation of this one case we

might plan and preach our sermon. Or, suppose we should sometimes try this experiment :—Suppose that, without making any direct and preparatory effort of psychological divination, you resolve to compose and preach one sermon (on any common topic) for the special, and, as it were, sole benefit and impression of one member of your flock, presented to your mind just as he sits in his pew. You need not begin by prying into his breast, but take him as represented in his familiar outer man, down to the curl of his whisker and the buttons of his great-coat. You are going, for once, to interest, to enlighten, to get hold of *him*. Plan the sermon as if you were planning how to talk to him on some subject that is delicate and important. Avail yourself of his business and his habits, make avenues to him, come up to him on this side and on that, to persuade him, and interest him, and arouse him. If you do this, what will come of it, when the sermon is preached? As concerns the person himself, to whom you devote so much attention, I promise nothing. I should not be amazed, nor greatly disappointed, if he sat like a statue, or if he slept like a dormouse. But I should think it far from unlikely that a score of *other* people, including some of the unlikeliest subjects, should give proof of quite exceptional interest; nay, I should not wonder if some of such unthought-of persons should give crowning evidence of your complete success, by an action of damages for defamation of character.

Whatever the importance may be of a vivid realisation of the state of mind of the hearers, I do not push the matter so far, as to propose that we go wholly over to their standpoint, and speak to them wholly, as it were, in their own tongue. We apprehend their standpoint, that we may the more successfully force them to apprehend ours. For we are to interpret to them the Bible; that is to say, what we have gathered from the Bible, what we see in it, what it has brought us to. We have also to interpret to them not merely our own individual mind, but the mind of our church; that conception and impression of Bible truth in which the various members of our church find their common home. Nay, I may add, we have to represent to them the mind of the *great* church, the church universal, the thoughts and impulses which it has drawn from the Bible in every age. We are to make them aware of our standpoint. Yet even for this purpose it is well

to make many concessions. I have observed in some young men—some of the best—a disposition to shrink from the received nomenclature of religious thought and feeling, because I suppose they felt or imagined a danger of its becoming a mere cant to speakers and hearers; they held it more manly and truthful, to select, sternly, a dialect that just fitted what thoughts they had, and that declined the common grooves. And certainly selectness and truthfulness in use of words is a great virtue in a speaker. Yet this purism—to call it so by way of taking the most favourable view of it—this purism involves an enormous loss. You lose the benefit of the education the people have had in the use of familiar words; you lose the associations which these words carry; you lose the mutual understanding which they so readily and happily establish; and you lose, indeed, the very best opportunities for introducing the fresh phrasing that may fitly carry your fresh and living view—the opportunities that arise when you have carried the people so far, by a trodden road, and then turn upon them to force them to realise where they are got to, and what is like to come of it.

Still, whatever is to be said about other people's states of mind, the roots of successful preaching must be found, certainly, in the state of our own.

By this I do not mean (let me here insert by way of parenthesis) that the most arresting or stirring sermon will always be preached by him who is furthest on in the divine life, even if the preaching gifts are equal. It will not be always so. There is a certain kind of stirring and impressive preaching that stands connected rather with what you may call a *first* view of some great spiritual object or relation, standing out to the eye very clear, though far enough off as yet. This may be preached with an eager interest and animation, quite sincere in its way, and with great effect. Afterwards, when a man is really making head, he may not at times either see quite so clearly, or preach quite so strikingly. Crossing stretches of dry land, or of enchanted ground, or down in valleys, where the voice rises into a *clamavi ex profundis*, there cannot be the same vigorous and impressive unity of representation; though the preaching may be more profitable in other ways. I make little doubt that Augustine, in the days when the right conception of the Creator and Lord of all

burst upon his mental eye, as he read the Platonists, could have preached a sermon on God, more glowing, more filled with the confident determination to possess his hearer's minds with the vision that fascinated his own, than in some later and better days. I think it is possible there may be preachers, whose success, such as it is, depends on their always coming up again and again to the borders of the promised land, which they never cross, and lashing themselves afresh into a kind of enthusiasm about what they see. They truly see it, afar off. A melancholy business; because it gradually gets hollow and mechanical, and dies away. In preaching, as in every other Christian work, there can surely be no permanent success, but in connection with personal progress. All I say is, however, that in preaching, as in other Christian works, we are not always to be disheartened, and filled with reproach, because we do not seem to succeed quite so well as we seemed to do at an earlier stage. We may be doing in reality better work than before; and we may be on the road, the only possible road, to doing better yet.

But this is a digression. I was saying that the roots of successful preaching must be found in our own state of mind.

To this state of mind belongs, for one thing, faith in preaching itself—that is to say, a lively apprehension of the fitness and hopefulness of assailing the human mind, in its actual relations to God, with preaching, as an agency chosen by divine wisdom, and ordained with divine promises, to do work which nothing else can do. There are doctors who have no faith in treatment; there are preachers who have no faith in preaching.

On this, however, I do not dwell.

But our own message ought to possess us, so as to bring about a certain concentration and vigilance. It is one thing that it should possess us, as a message to us, by which we live. Whatever we may have to learn about this, it is another, and a further thing, that it should possess us as a message *by* us,—a message with which we come charged, being ambassadors into this world with no other business. Here there rises before us this various human mind, on the great scale and the small, to which our embassy is, with which we have to deal. The human mind, with its busy rush of life sweeping on, its businesses, its pleasures, its philosophies, its politics, its religiousnesses, its ungodly impulses, its conscience-stricken hours, its

cares, its fears, its sorrows, its sins. Confronting this we should be standing, full of our message, revolving its applications to what we have before us, ready to strike in with it. Unless the message, as our message, possess us firmly and vividly, the stream that is running will carry us away. If the message does so possess us, it will awaken a spirit of vigorous initiative. We are to make these men hear, to make them think, to reach their hearts. Imagine an ambassador charged, at some great crisis, with a momentous proposal difficult to carry through, yet such as may become an era in the history of nations. You can see him at levees, at assemblies, amid the whirl and bustle of court life, full of his plan, watching every current that runs, resolute to turn all to his purpose, if he can. Some such attitude becomes us. But then we are apt to fall into a passive, timid, consuetudinary state of mind. Our message is a most excellent message; and shall be duly delivered twice a-week, or thrice even. But its wonderful relations to the human spirit are faintly and occasionally realised. The spirit of the world itself gets hold of us, more or less; it carries us away, sopites us, deadens us, brings in a leisurely superficial temper. It plays with our thoughts, runs off with our time, cushions our life on this side and that. It is the world that robs us of our sermons.

It is the world that robs us. But that does not mean that the Christian preacher is to be a strict recluse. A recluse, by dint of sheer concentration of thought and feeling, *may* be a wonderful preacher. But the preacher's true calling is rather to take an intense interest in the world, if he does it on right principles, and in a right spirit; for to the world as well as the Church, and to the world in the Church, as well as the world without it, his message is. Indeed, I rather think there is no man to whom the world's philosophy, and literature, and thoughts, and ways, may legitimately be so interesting as the preacher. For though all these must be dealt with cautiously, and under rules such as wisdom may suggest, still the preacher's question (full first, it is supposed, of his own message) is, what have I to say to this human spirit that is working so? He will never completely solve the question in theory. But in striving to deal with it, he will preach his best. Which does not mean that he will always be discussing and disputing with the world's thoughts and ways; but that his sense, both of the very thing he is sent to say, and the very

creature he has got to deal with, grows intense, and real, and practical in this process ; and so he will strike in like a man who means business.

I believe the main immediate source of good preaching is really just this animated and vigilant concentration of the mind, in the consciousness of a wonderful message from God, and in the consciousness of the wonderful human spirit we deal with. Is it not very much in maintaining this, and quickening it, that the Holy Spirit furnishes men with that preaching *fire* which was referred to before? Without concentration and tension of mind, there will not be a vivid realization of the wonderfulness of any element of our work. All will grow flat and unprofitable.

It is all very well to say this. But then I am bound to acknowledge that whatever the aim or effort of our mind may be, whatever its habit, whatever its grace, human infirmity must count for a great deal. There are times when we are weary ; there are times when we are stupid, even incredibly so ; there are times when our feelings are dull and flat. In short, there are times when the mind can hardly be got to move ; at least it moves heavily ; and we recognise with disgust, but without knowing how to remedy it, that everything we plan is quite below even our most ordinary conceptions of what is reasonable and fitting. Yet we must preach. And it is well for us that we must ; for there is no worse conduct of the mind than that which should permit us to wait for moods, and to decline effort till they come.

In this case I speak with hesitation and submission. There are men who think it advisable to make the best of what comes to hand, prepare the sermon at the usual time allotted for that purpose, and do what you can with it, when it comes to be preached, committing it to Him who is able to bring strength out of weakness. There is a good deal to be said for this ; especially as the habit of getting regularly through work, and accustoming the faculties to be set to work at appointed times, under whatever difficulties may exist, is an eminently healthy one. Yet, for my own part, I should lean rather to fight the battle out to the last possible moment ; to persist that better is to be found, and must be found. If this does not become a cover for dreaming, and doing nothing—if it is a strong determination to wrestle prayerfully with the subject till we get into the spirit of it, the effort is crowned sometimes

with wonderful successes ; along with smart penalties, I admit, for the Monday following.

It is, perhaps, in this connection that most importance is to be attached to the mode of preparing for the pulpit, and, in particular, thoroughly training ourselves to make the most of unpremeditated speech—unpremeditated not as to the matter, but as to the words. This applies only to a percentage of men. Many—most perhaps—will, if they take the proper way, make the best sermon, by writing it deliberately in their study. They will make it even more lively and telling, in that way, than they could in any other. But there are some men whose minds never wake up, in the study, to the degree of which they are capable. At least, in the case of some men, capacities and aptitudes of great weight in preaching never wake up there. Hence a sluggishness or a relaxed mental tension appears in the composition of their sermons; which cannot be cured afterwards, if they are obliged to deliver mainly as they have written. Such men only rise to the situation when they come to the pulpit ; but the sermon was settled, even in its phrases, twelve hours before. Ney was said to be an ordinary general enough, when the question was to plan movements in cold blood. It was when the balls sang round his head that the demon of battle woke in him, and his brain cleared as his heart grew high. Then those who had him on their hands found him a rough and sudden foe, full not only of courage, but of resource. So there are men who wake up to the full height of the great Christian argument, when they see the actual faces appealing to them from the pews. And for such men I suppose that an orderly preparation of thoughts as material for discourse, leaving a good deal open for the suggestion of the moment, must be the best plan ; if, that is to say, they have acquired the art of commanding their thoughts and words before an audience.

When from any cause the mind moves slow, it is an excellent resource, as we all know, to whet it on some great book. Though the Bible is the best of all books, it will sometimes be found that contact with the writings of some of those who have been, like ourselves, students of the Bible, gives a peculiar impulse to thought, and raises us suddenly into a new order of conceptions. Every man will have his own way and his own resources here. Sometimes we are helped by another's treatment of the very subject which we ourselves have in hand.

Sometimes—more often I should think—something helps us more, which stands in no very special connection with that, but belongs in general to the category of profound Christian thought. Generally I should say the books which helps us in preaching are those which bring out the significance of life for truth, or of truth for life.

In this connection perhaps I may be allowed to say, that I rather think our preaching suffers, all along the course of it, from want of sufficient conversancy with great and strong books, and of the meditative quality which, by somewhat deliberate converse with such books, is bred. The fact is, in this and other matters, the difficulty is time. In days gone by we have read so much of such books. Now we are busy men. Besides the periodicals and current literature, there is the special preparation for pulpit work, which involves reading bearing precisely on the text, especially commentators. This runs away with most of the time we have. But I suspect it would be worth our while to make sacrifices here. Much will come out of a man who is a resolute, and at the same time a select, reader. A sentence of Pascal would sometimes shoot more light and life through a sermon, than all the commentators upon the text since the days of Noah.

Nothing is to be prescribed as to kinds of books resorted to, provided they are either by men of genius, or by men of quite exceptional force of intellect and weight of judgment. The great point is here. Most minds deal with the form of things. But there are some which look into the substance of them, and hold up the thing as it is, with startling simplicity. It is the contagion of this vivifying power, the suggestions which it makes, that will often enable us to apply a quite fresh eye to a subject, to get that one decisive peep into it from which everything opens up in the right way. I do not know a more mortifying feeling, and it is one I have experienced too often not to know it well, than to feel sure that there is a road into a text, a right end to take it by; and yet to feel that I have not got it, and cannot find a trace of it, just because, no doubt, I fail rightly to present to myself those moral and spiritual facts and relations, which, if apprehended, would make the text instantly vocal with a hundred lessons.

In this strait, some minds will benefit most by contact with some strong divine of their own school, and will be rather put out, perhaps, by resorting to anything more remote from the

tracks along which sermons are commonly evolved. But I should say that very frequently the mind receives a more wholesome stimulus from those who belong to latitudes further off, who utter their impressions of the common truth from a position far removed from ours. I will go further, and say that occasional deliberate and earnest contact with the very strongest men who are wholly outside the Church, or clean against it, is a decided part of our duty with a view to preaching. This awakens a far livelier sense of the reality, the plausibility, the tenacity of the views and convictions on which the world rests its position, and so it gives a far more impressive conception of the work we have in hand. Some of these views have truth and God in them, and are to be appropriated. Others will startle us by their energetic ungodliness, and so deliver us from contented commonplace. There were days in Scotland when the moderate clergy preached Epictetus. I hope those days never will return. But a man might often do a great deal worse than read a little in Epictetus. The consideration of the Pagan's lofty aims and self-denying rules, and resolute insight into the worth of things, might inspire very wholesome reflections about the temper and the worth of our people's Christianity, and our own too. And there are men far less religious than Epictetus, from whom we may learn, at least, the strength of an enemy.

I have said nothing about the matter of our preaching. We are all agreed, I suppose, that the main burden of it ought to be the main things ; that is to say, the declaration of the message of salvation through Christ, with all the elements of truth which combine to make that message clear and impressive, or which prepare the mind for following out its admonition. It is sometimes made a question whether the articulate statement of the method of redemption in Christ, substitution, atonement, faith, forgiveness, and eternal life, should not be present, and somewhat prominent, in every sermon. I, for my part, do not accept that rule ; although I add, that I consider every sermon to gain in excellence, into which there naturally interweaves itself an exhibition of the work of redemption, and the way of being made partakers of it. But nothing is really useful that is artificial ; and no good service is done to those capital truths, by their being introduced awkwardly, and with no suitable connection and preparation. Now there are texts which naturally lead into lines of thought

that are not central, and yet most useful for occasional treatment. And there are congregations. A man may have a congregation that is gospel-hardened, and partly Antinomian. And though it would be very unwise, and unjustifiable every way, to treat them to mere legal preaching, and to give them the satisfaction of crying down their pastor as a heretic, it may be very wholesome, *occasionally*, to stop emphatically short of the truths they run away with, and to press exclusively the truths they run away from. But I should suppose it to be a rare thing that a fitly written sermon by a Christian minister should not have passages, which would call up to the mind distinctly the common ground of gospel on which preacher and hearers stand. I should think it not wise to preach sermons often, in which some cordial, and pretty articulate, reference to the great matter of Christian thankfulness and ground of Christian hope, would be out of place. And I suspect that, in every sermon on every kind of subject, a certain mode of treatment ought to have place that goes a great deal deeper than a mere restatement, however ample, of the evangelical theology, and which may render the sermon far more profoundly evangelical than any catchwords or shibboleths can do. There ought to be an implied view of God, of men, of truth, of spiritual life, such as could not be, unless the gospel were believed; such as makes everything delivered articulate naturally into evangelical belief; such as makes the mind and heart to look out towards Christ and the cross, even if these for the present are not specially dwelt upon. To be thoroughly evangelical, in that sense and manner, even on the most purely ethical or historical texts, seems to be a very great and rare attainment.

Perhaps a more arduous question, in some respects, is that which has respect to the representation to be given, and the impression to be made, as to Christian practice: how to bring out the genius of real Christian life. Here, of course, comes in the question of the way in which redemption and its doctrine bears practically on the cast, and spirit, and attainments of that life. How shall we adequately represent what it is to live by Christ? To succeed well in this department is itself a first-rate commendation of a preacher. And yet this is but one part, though the greatest part, of the great whole. Our business is to set the hearer, if it may be, in view of the true lines of Christian living, and in sympathy with its peculiar genius—its earth, its skies, its airs, its sounds, its outlooks. Here, doubtless,

we shall all do well to feel how much depends on the preacher's own state. The Protestant preacher's task is peculiarly arduous. The Romish preacher, so far as he aims at practice, has simply to aim at the ascetic. The more of that he can get, the better he succeeds. But the Protestant preacher has to make palpable, and illustrate, the Christian view of the world. He has to shew how earthly callings, and earthly relations, are to enter into that highest life, where all is forsaken for Christ, and all is sold to win that pearl. To do it, so as to make men feel that the kingdom of God is in truth and in power, is no light task. A high and sound tone in this department, simple, thorough, sincere, which makes it an evident and acceptable thing to give up all for Christ, and to lay down our lives for the brethren, is necessary, in the pulpit, if there is to be healthy Christianity, genuine humility, thorough conviction of sin, and earnest and deep repentance.

And who is sufficient for these things?

ROBERT RAINY.

ART. V.—*The Negative Tendencies of the Age.*

WERE any one, amid the ceaseless activity of the age in which we live, to put forward the inquiry of inspired wisdom, "Is there anything whereof it may be said, See, this is new?" and to answer that inquiry in the words of inspiration, "There is no new thing under the sun," the scoffer would curl his lip in derision, and the sceptic be ready with the muttered sneer, "dreaming idealist," "pietistic enthusiast," while even the thoughtful would consider such a statement as farfetched and extravagant. And yet, as the stream of time rolls on, the words of Israel's wise king are being more and more verified, "The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done is that which shall be done." We may mournfully exclaim, with the legendary hero in Tennyson's beautiful poem:

"The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils Himself in many ways,"

or lament the incessant change to which everything here

below is subjected, in the words of one who is said to have "uttered nothing base":

"It is not now as it hath been of yore,
Turn wheresoe'er I may,
The things that I have seen I now can see no more."

But still, in spite of all the progress, the restless activity, the intense eagerness to grasp at every new bauble that presents itself with its tinsel-glitter to the wondering eyes of the leaders of our age, we have every reason to affirm that, in reality, "there is no new thing under the sun." Is not the ocean of truth as unfathomable as in the days when the dying philosopher compared the researches of a lifetime to the work of a child gathering pebbles on the sea-shore? Have any of the great discoveries of the age brought us nearer the goal we are so desirous of reaching—the haven of rest where the storm-tossed bark may ride safely at anchor? Does not the unknown and inscrutable surround us and hem us in on all sides? Have we, in reality, added to the sum of human knowledge, or are we ever mocked by the phantasmagoria of a diseased intellect? Are we not ever at work with problems which seem incapable of solution the further we advance; and does not the end of our intellectual wanderings often bring us back to the point from where we started? Our age is involved in a labyrinth of speculations. As the wheel of time revolves, the new is ever superseding the old, and the old is ever becoming the new. From the dead past the mouldering remains of extinct philosophies are brought into the light of day, the fast decaying members are touched with the magic wand of science, and they spring again into life and vigour. Long-forgotten theories, gropings after truth, abortive attempts to pass the limits of the known, and to enter the world of the unknown and unknowable, are revived, modified by some master-spirit; and the admiring crowd of worshippers fall down before this golden image of their fancy with a shout of adoration, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" Yet the simple cottager, whose scanty stock of words has never passed beyond the narrow range of household duties, and in whose life of toil the Bible has shed the rays of a brighter world, is often nearer the truth when she utters the prayer of faith, "Our Father who art in heaven," than all the vain dreamers who are ever chasing the phantoms of their

own creation. Every age is but the outgrowth of every preceding age. The atmosphere of human thought is filled with ideas which come floating in upon our consciousness to rouse us into activity; we give these ideas a new form, clothe them in other words, modify them according to our fancy, develop them slightly to suit new intellectual tastes, and then we are considered *original thinkers*! Truth never alters, though the way of presenting it may be new. "The child is father of the man" in this respect also, that as the ages roll on, the germs of thought which apparently lie dead in the intellectual soil, are preserved, cherished, and prepared for future use.¹ This past and present are indissolubly united; the past has formed the present, the present forms the future. We live upon the past, we have the future under our control; our own present is but a single step beyond the narrow range of what has ceased to be. Hence our present is but too often a repetition of our past, and our future a repetition of the present.

As an illustration of this thought, we may instance the different stages through which the transmutation theory has passed. While *ancient* philosophy, unable to account for the origin of the universe, started the most extravagant theories, and evolved everything out of one simple element—whether earth or air or fire or water—or otherwise sought for a substratum in some imaginary indivisible atom, which, by combination with other atoms, formed all

¹ Great thinkers have at all times felt their want of true originality. Thus Goethe: "Much is talked about originality; but what does originality mean? We are no sooner born than the world around begins to work upon us; its action lasts to the end of our lives, and enters into everything. All that we can truly call our own is our energy, our vigour, our will. If I could enumerate all that I really owe to the great men who have preceded me, and to those of my own day, it would be seen that very little is really my own." Canon Liddon, who quotes this passage in his *Bampton Lectures*, says, on the same subject: "Our relationship to the world of thought has been, after all, that of a nurse, not that of a parent. We have protected the idea, cherished it, warmed it, and at last it has grown within the chambers of our own mind until we have recognised its value, and let it forth into the sunlight, shaping it, colouring it, expressing it after a manner strictly our own, and believing in good faith that because we have so entirely determined its form, we are the creators of its substance." A thinker of a different school, Mr Buckle, in his *History of Civilisation* remarks: "It is impossible for any man to escape the pressure of surrounding opinions; and what is called a new philosophy or a new religion, is generally not so much a creation of fresh ideas, but rather a new direction given to ideas already current among contemporary thinkers."

we see around us, *modern* science, throwing its mantle over the wild spéculations of antiquity, carries the extravagance of ancient sages a little further, and leaves us to grope about in the greatest uncertainty, continually taunting us with the cry, "Where is thy God?" Thus Lamarck derived all animals from a *monad*, which in course of time developed into a *polypus*, and this polypus again into all other forms of life, even the most elevated. The great transforming agent, according to this system, is "the force of habit, and the efforts which the new animal imposes upon itself." There are other transforming agents besides these, such as "the influence of subtle fluids," "efforts of internal sentiment," "acts of organisation," terms which are not very intelligible. But the principles which underlie the theory are very simple. Changes in external circumstances are supposed to superinduce a real change in the wants and requirements of the animals. These changes in their wants again necessitate new actions to satisfy these wants, so that, finally, new habits are engendered. These habits again tend to develop new organs, or strengthen those which are specially required, or render obsolete by neglect those which do not answer to the new wants. Thus, for example, the various kinds of antelopes in escaping from beasts of prey, had to depend chiefly upon their fleetness and agility. This, in course of time, gave them that symmetry of form and elegance in structure which we so much admire. In the same way the water-fowl acquired their web-feet after long ages of struggle in a new element to which they were attracted, and in which at first they could not move very freely. Lamarck acknowledges God as Creator, but as the Creator merely of dead matter. Matter is composed of minute cells, which act and react upon each other according to the play of different forces, so that, ultimately, life is produced by a sort of spontaneous generation. God Himself looks on with supreme indifference. Having once delegated His power to nature, He sinks into insignificance altogether.

Lamarck's theory was soon superseded by another. The anonymous author of the *Vestiges of a Natural History of Creation*, adopting La Place's "nebular hypothesis," maintained that, as the heavenly bodies were formed from an original fire-mist under the influence of physical laws, in the same way every organic existence on the globe may have

been produced. He held that "the simplest and most primitive type gave birth to a type superior to it in compositeness of organisation and endowment of faculties, and this again to the next higher, and so on to the highest." According to him, "the great trunk of animality lies in the ocean, up even to the mammalia." Seas and sea-animals were the first, therefore, to present themselves on the face of the earth; and, *by a process of development*, as the dry land gradually began to rise, the various animals which people the surface of the globe began to make their appearance. The line of development closes in man,—“Last of all issued from the woods a being erect, majestic, and with many traits of external beauty, to overspread the whole earth with his race.” Great stress is laid upon the changes which the human foetus undergoes in the womb. It is well known that the human foetus passes through the different stages of the reptile, fish, bird, and man: from this it is argued that man, the highest stage, is but the development of the lowest, and that, therefore, there is a regular gradation upwards, the simpler forms always producing the more complex.

Mr Darwin's theory of "natural selection, and the preservation of the fittest," is but another phase in the whole inquiry. Here, too, we are brought back to some "primordial form from which all the organic beings that have ever lived on this earth may have descended." The difference between Mr Darwin and his predecessors consists mainly in the fact, that, while they insist upon the existence of some internal power of development by which new forms are constantly produced in the great struggle for improvement, he maintains that the laws of nature do all that is necessary, by combining against the weakest, killing them off, and only preserving the fittest.

Without pronouncing an opinion on these different theories, do we not find in them the speculations of ancient philosophers slightly modified to suit the intellectual wants of this generation? Have we, in reality, made progress in the direction of truth? Behind such words as "law of development," "natural selection," "acts of organisation," and many others met with in Lamarck, the *Vestiges*, and Darwin, do we not find the vast abyss of the unknown, which will ever remain unexplored, and into which the feeble taper of science can throw no ray of light? What do these terms

imply? Are they not mere inventions to hide our ignorance, without solving the difficulties? With regard to Lamarck, Lyell has well said:

“When Lamarck talked of the ‘efforts of internal sentiment,’ ‘the influence of subtle fluids,’ and ‘acts of organisation,’ as causes whereby animals and plants acquire new organs, he substituted names for things, and resorted to fictions almost as ideal as the ‘plastic virtue’ of some geologists of the middle ages.”¹

The author of the *Vestiges* speaks of the law of development as *some abnormal and not yet understood tendency*: if *abnormal*, and *not understood*, what have we gained? Is it not possible that, after all, we may be wrong in our suppositions; and that, what we attribute to the great unknown, is the work of a supreme Mind, whose acts, however inscrutable, are guided by wisdom and love? Let us have done with this prating about “unknown tendencies,” and not venture to start a new theory of creation, when we cannot clearly define our position. Mr Darwin also does not give that full explanation of the new law which we desire. It is supposed to be some power of nature, yet where it originated, how it works, how it brings about the various changes in structure and form, we are left to ourselves to discover. If nature works these mighty changes, then what is nature? Mr Darwin defines the word as “the aggregate action and product of many laws.” If nature be merely “an aggregate of laws,” how can we speak of its *power of selection*? A mere “aggregate of laws” can surely have no inherent power to produce such mighty changes as are here implied? If for nature we substitute God, we can find no difficulty in ascribing to Him the origination of certain laws which are under His own control. Mr Darwin complicates matters still further by calling *nature*, *natural selection*, *struggle for existence*, “metaphorical expressions.” And yet these “metaphors” perform acts of intelligence and scientific skill, are called *powers*, as though they had real existence, and, in fact, have many of the attributes which are usually attributed to the Deity. Mr Darwin, anticipating some such objection, calls it superficial, and maintains that it is difficult to avoid personifying nature, even though natural selection be spoken of as an active power or deity. But the strength of the objection lies in

¹ *Principles of Geology*, vol. ii. p. 254.

the fact, that nature is made a *person*, and not, as it ought to be, an observable *mode of divine activity*; that nature's "laws" are considered to be certain independent forces over which God has no control; that the world is given over to the dominion of chance, or else becomes a self-governing machine, surveyed with stoical indifference by a distant, impotent God. Mr Darwin is at liberty to make use of any number of "metaphors"; but metaphors are not realities—and if not realities, how can they be supposed to perform acts of scientific skill? Or granting them to have real existence, where do they exist? in the animals themselves? or is there something outside of the animal-world superintending this process of change? In other words, must we acknowledge that, after all, the Supreme Being has more to do with the origin of species than the new theory is inclined to admit? In justice to Mr Darwin, it must be admitted that he does not exclude the divine Being. There is room for the action of Providence, which shades the insect's wings to preserve it from danger, or hardens the shell of the mollusc when exposed to a rougher sea. But, after all, the Deity is ignored, and nature substituted; and the idea of a special providence adapting its arrangements to the new circumstances which occur, left out of view entirely. Mr Darwin attributes to nature a creative energy which belongs to God alone; the devout student of the theory may still find room for the action of God's providence, but from the theory itself this does not necessarily follow.

What advance, then, has Mr Darwin made on Lucretius? He, too, assigns to nature the highest place in his system; he speaks of her as "*creatrix*," as calling all things into being without the intervention of the gods, as acting spontaneously in the generation and development of all organisms. Has Darwin improved upon this? Is not his theory the outgrowth of past speculations? and are its modifications really an advance upon bygone fancies of ancient philosophy? "The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done is that which shall be done." History must and will repeat itself; what one age rejects, another will consider the highest wisdom; and thus to the very end of time philosophical speculation will busy itself with the highest problems, and modify, change, remodel, whatever results may have been reached by antiquity.

Our age is not very original. We are blown about with every wind of doctrine. Scientific investigation is becoming more and more *anthropocentric* instead of *theocentric*. Hence in the anthropological studies of the age a subordinate place is assigned to the Deity, except where He is brought forward as a mere *Deus ex machina* to support some tottering theory or system which is fast crumbling away. Everywhere we meet with the eager inquiry, "What is truth?" and too often the answer is given in the hopeless language of Faust :

" Ich sehe dasz wir *nichts* wissen können
Das will mir schier das Herz verbrennen."

Hence there is intense restlessness, coupled with intense credulity. That which is fresh, startling, paradoxical, which feeds the flame of restless inquiry, which increases without satisfying the yearning for something real and substantial, is hailed with delight, while old landmarks are shifted and old truths denied.

The master-spirits of the age are feeling this struggle. Intellectual and moral weariness is the result. Nowhere does this appear more prominently than in the poetry of the age. Turn to any modern poet, and you find expression given to this feeling of despair which characterises every sphere of investigation. Pressensé has well said: "All poetry is a rainbow formed of tears wrung from us by our present miseries, with rays of glory from our noble origin." There is sadness in all true poetry, because there is sorrow in the human heart. The poet gives expression to the heart's longings and aspirations, its sorrows and cares, its doubts and struggles. To know the temper of an age, one must study its poetry. In the greatest drama of modern days—the *Faust* of Goethe—we find this startlingly exemplified. Goethe has read the world's heart. Hence those wild ravings of Faust are but the echo of the world's cries, his struggles but a copy of the world's attempts to free itself from uncertainty, error, and doubt. The agony of his despair bears the impress of reality. His soul is the battle-field of contending forces. On the one hand, there is a burning desire to fathom all the mysteries of the universe, "the secrets of th' abyss to spy," to know the unknowable, to scale the battlements of heaven, to settle the doubts which disturb mind and heart, to lay the evil spirit which

is destroying the very life of the soul ; and on the other, the feeling of helplessness, of utter inability to rise above the world and its associations, the conviction that he is "cabined, cribbed, confined," bound to the sensual and earthly, groping about in a darkness where no ray of light has penetrated, or can penetrate. The past is mystery, the present full of toil and trouble, the future all opaque, because knowledge cannot solve the riddle of continued existence hereafter :

" Oh happy he who still can hope
Out of this sea of error to arise !
We long to use what lies beyond our scope,
Yet cannot use even what within it lies."

Faust tries to rouse all his energies to the task ; he would follow the sun in his course ; he would rise from the world with its doubts and fears and unsatisfied longings :

" Oh God ! for wings to lift me from the ground,
Onward, still onward after it to strive ! "

Alas ! with the wings of the spirit no corporeal wings can keep pace. The yearning to move onwards and upwards is inborn. The struggle to reach the goal is incessant. But there is internal war the more we try to overcome doubt and darkness and despair :

" Two souls, alas ! within my bosom throne ;
One from the other wildly longs to sever.
One with a passionate love that never tires,
Cleaves as with cramps of steel to things of earth ;
The other upwards through earth's mists aspires
To kindred regions of a loftier worth."

In the quiet of his study Faust opens the sacred volume to find comfort there. The heart craves for a revelation ; perhaps the supernatural may bring a solution to all doubts. But the captious spirit is not satisfied : it still questions. Mind and heart, reason and faith, struggle for the mastery ; and the sacred Book is closed without bringing peace. Thus cast adrift, thus hopelessly lost to all holy influences, Faust enters into a league with the evil one, who drags him down into the very filth of debauchery ; but the end is bitterness, the bitterness of hell.

What Goethe has thus described in Faust, was specially applicable to his own age. The mighty heavings of the tide

of unbelief which was beginning to sweep everything before it, were experienced in his day, and the master felt its influence, and gave expression to popular feeling. Hence a vein of sadness runs through much of his poetry, and that of his contemporary, Schiller. Schiller's life was, in many respects, a nobler one than Goethe's. He stands above Goethe in the purity of his character, but below him in true poetic genius. Goethe never shrinks from grappling with the very highest life-problems, and he attempts a solution in his own naturalistic way. He himself has said in the *West-östliche Divan*: "The only real and the deepest theme of the world's and of man's history, to which all other subjects are subordinate, is the conflict between faith and unbelief." But the frivolity of his character makes him impatient of the struggle; that conflict has never been a matter of inward experience. Hence Goethe solves his problem in a very unsatisfactory way, while Schiller stands aghast at the awfulness of the crisis, and the tremendous issues involved in it. Schiller, therefore, attempts no solution: he bewails, with a pathos which is irresistible, his own inability to "face the spectres of the mind, and lay them." It has been well said, "Schiller knew *sin*, but no *redemption from sin*, no spiritual harmony; Goethe knew *no sin*, and therefore he attempts to harmonise without redemption."¹ The contradictions between desire and attainment, between hope and fear, between faith and unbelief, meet us everywhere in Schiller. Thus, in the *Götter Griechenlands*—a poem oftener misunderstood than any other—he enters a strong protest against the shallow deism of his day. His soul thirsted after the living God, and rationalism gave him a cold abstraction, which quenched all spiritual life. Hence he sought for a living breathing reality in the gods of ancient paganism. Those gods were human—the ideal creations of a mind seeking perfection, the embodiment of all that was beautiful and true in character or in life—but the dreary negations of unbelief lacked all that was divine, and ignored all that was human. No wonder that an earnest inquirer after truth should recoil from a theology so cold and lifeless. In some of Schiller's touchingly beautiful lyrics

¹ *Goethe's Faust. Eine Studie* door J. H. Gunning.

we find indications of his earnestness. But there is a hopelessness, a deep undertone of sadness, which startles while it attracts us. Thus, in *Der Pilgrim*, he exclaims:

“ Ah, the pathway is not given,
Ah, the goal I cannot near ;
Earth will never reach the heaven,
Never can the There be Here.”

In *Sehnsucht* and *Der Taucher* the same restless spirit gives utterance to its yearnings without any hope of relief.

But turning from Germany to England, we observe in the poetry of our own day the same struggle between the positive and negative. In Tennyson this has become painfully real. The most philosophic of his poems is *In Memoriam*, but already in the *Idylls of the King* we have an indication of his peculiar aptitude for treating the highest subjects in a truly artistic way. The weird music keeps us spell-bound; the purity of thought and loftiness of sentiment make an impression not easily forgotten. King Arthur is supposed to represent “the king within us—our highest nature—whether conscience, spirit, the moral soul, religious sense.” Each of the *Idylls* gives a picture of the wavering conflict between this highest principle and all the lower appetites and passions. King Arthur is at last overcome and sorely wounded, is conveyed “to the island valley of Avilion,” whence,

“ After healing of his grievous wounds,
He comes again.”

Whether in this we have indicated the soul's spiritual resurrection, or its purification by trial and disappointment, is not quite clear. There is a haziness about the whole, an air of mystery, which obscures the meaning; the allegory, if rightly interpreted by us, is not always well kept up. Like Sir Bedivere, we stand on the shore of that inland lake, gazing wistfully after the departing king, revolving many memories. But the only sound which reaches our listening ear is that of

“ The ripple washing in the reeds
And the wild water lapping on the crag.”

We have, therefore, to seek elsewhere for further light. *In Memoriam* gives us that light. Mr Tennyson's creed is expressed there. Always ready to let the science of the age sway his mind, and influence his thoughts, he is evi-

dently afraid to break with old forms of belief, and yet too careful to be hurried away by the new. The death of his friend has awakened memories of bygone days: he pictures that friend to us in all the nobility of his character and the grandeur of his intellect. Mr Hallam has had to struggle with doubt; every thoughtful mind has its seasons of perplexity. But a pure and lofty soul was his, fighting the spectres which himself had raised. In lines of touching beauty he has described his struggle:

“ Dark, dark, yea ‘irrecoverably dark’
Is the soul’s eye; yet how it strives and battles
Through th’ impenetrable gloom to fix
That masterlight, the secret truth of things
Which is the body of the infinite God.”

Tennyson also, in his tribute to the memory of his departed friend, speaks of him as

“ Perplexed in faith, though pure in deeds.”

The two are kindred spirits; and as the grave closes over the one, the survivor tries to look beyond death, and to clear up the mysteries with which it is surrounded. He raises a long series of speculations about the unseen world, from which he himself shrinks in the end, because his perplexity becomes greater the more he tries to grapple with his doubts. He leads us to the very borders of the unknown, and, as a mighty ocean stretches before us, we have to strain our eyes to catch a glimpse of the distant shore. But no ray of light pierces the darkness which surrounds us. Guided by one who has himself to feel his way, and who exclaims,

“ I falter where I firmly trod,”

we are conscious of the utter futility of attempting to obtain the proper answer to those “obstinate questionings” which have been forced upon us.

In Memoriam is in this respect a creature of the age. It is a grand and beautiful poem, remarkable for its reverence for the things of God; and yet too negative to meet the spiritual wants of the day. To the decay of faith, which we all lament, it presents but feeble opposition. The poet appeals very hopefully to the

“ Strong Son of God, immortal Love,
Whom we, that have not seen Thy face,
By faith, and faith alone, embrace,
Believing where we cannot prove,”

But, screening himself behind his "honest doubt," he discards many of the existing creeds, because truth is not to be found in them. He starts question after question, which he leaves unanswered, insinuating, though not fully expressing, what he really does believe. He tries in vain

"To face the spectres of the mind,
And lay them."

The very hopelessness of the task appals him; and the reader is left to solve the difficulties as he may, without any help from the writer who has raised those doubts. This dallying with doubt displeases us. But we live in an age of doubt, and our poets have caught the spirit; so that from them we cannot expect that higher and nobler faith which "endures as seeing him who is invisible."

Mr Swinburne is far more negative than Tennyson. He openly avows as his creed:

"God, if a God there be, is the spirit of man, which is man;"
and ventures to prophecy in terms bordering on blasphemy:
"Yet thy kingdom shall pass, Galilean: thy dead shall go down with the dead."

Mr Arnold, again, in the piteous accents of despair, exclaims:

"Your creeds are dead, your rites are dead,
Your social order too!
Where tarries He, the power who said,
'See, I make all things new'?"

Thus we have full expression given to the various tendencies of the age. Some we find boldly breaking with the traditional creeds of Christendom, taking refuge in a hopeless scepticism, feeling perhaps that

" 'Twere best at once to sink to peace,
Like birds the charming serpent draws,
To drop headforemost in the jaws
Of vacant darkness, and to cease."

Others are always hesitating between the two extremes, afraid to wander too far from the beaten track, and yet bold enough to break through old-established creeds, and to find a way for themselves. Such half-heartedness is sickening; and yet it passes for enlightenment. The more negative a certain class of men become, the more they boast of their

superior wisdom. They detect flaws in the ancient building of faith. They take out a brick here, and a piece of mortar there, carefully stopping up the holes thus formed with the dry sand gathered from a dreary waste of barren speculation.

But, turning again to Germany, it is interesting to notice how scientific materialism expresses itself in poetry. Ludwig Feuerbach, who not very long ago passed the "bourne from which no traveller returns," has written a long poem on death (*Reimverse auf den Tod*), part of which we transcribe :

"I depart from this life, to surrender myself to nothingness. The old fable, indeed, teaches that I should come among the angelic host ; but this is only a delusion of theologians, who have ever deceived us. My troublesome self will rot in its coffin ; ideality will be at an end, for death is no mere joke. . . . Therefore, beloved ego, adieu, adieu for ever. Alas ! alas ! weep not, dear soul, though the ego be shattered to pieces. . . . I go down into nothingness, to become the fuel of fresh life. . . . To you, beloved posterity, who will take our places, and draw the breath of life from our cold graves. . . . I must come to utter nothingness, if a new ego is to arise from me." ¹

Here we have reached the culminating point where the materialistic science and the poetry of the day converge. In no country has materialism expressed itself so boldly as in Germany. It does not believe in the supersensuous, the transcendental, the superhuman. Knowledge comes to us through the senses ; the senses reveal to us only the existence of matter, infinitely modified by force. Thus Büchner declares it *der oberste Grundsatz* (the ruling principle) of his philosophy, that there is "no force without matter ; no matter without force." Hence we know nothing of mind, except as dependent upon matter. Matter is alone true and real, uncreated and eternal. It is the "primeval cause of all existence ;" and by the eternal interfusion of matter and force, all organic existences have been produced. Man is but the highest and last stage in this process of development.

"The same carbon and nitrogen," says Moleschott, "which the plants derive from carbonic acid, humic acid, and ammonia, becomes successively grass, clover, wheat, beast, and man, to be again dissolved into humic acid and ammonia."

Thus there is an eternal springing into life, and becoming

¹ Quoted by Luthardt, *Fundamental Truths of Christianity*.

extinct ; a death springing out of life, a life growing out of death. Annihilation there is not ; neither is there any immortality of the soul, for we know nothing of the soul :

“The only immortality there is,” says the same writer, “is, that when the body is disintegrated, the ammonia, carbonic acid, and lime, serve to enrich the earth, and to nourish the plants which feed other generations of men.”

Man is therefore but the product of certain chemical elements ; his thought the result of certain molecular changes in the nervous system. To return to a Creator who called him into being is absurd, for the body is soon decomposed, and “a spirit without a body,” according to Büchner, “is as unthinkable as electricity or magnetism without the matter of which they are the manifestations.”¹ Creation, therefore, is a term unknown to materialism ; Creator, a postulate in the systems of theologians, a predication of an ultra-mundane existence, which the inexorable logic of scientific observation has proved to be false.

“We know of no creation,” says Vogt, “either in the beginning or in the course of the world’s history, and regard the idea of an extra-mundane self-conscious Creator as ridiculous.” [With the Creator all responsibility ceases.] “It is indeed true,” says Vogt. “Freewill does not exist, neither does any amenability or responsibility, such as morals and penal justice, and heaven knows what else, would impose upon us. It is impossible to demonstrate the admissibility of punishment. At no moment are we our own masters, any more than we can regulate the secretions of our kidneys.”

Such is German materialism. We have seen how one of its leaders found expression in poetry. It has been well said, that “true poetry occupies itself with only one theme—the torments of the human soul before the question of its

¹ It is not strange, amid the conflict of opinions, to hear a distinguished naturalist, whose *Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selections* have become so deservedly popular, maintaining the very opposite theory. *Matter*, according to him, does not exist, all is *Mind*. “The whole universe,” he says, “is not merely dependent on, but actually is, the WILL of higher intelligences, or one Supreme Intelligence.” Matter is not “distinct from, and co-existent with, Mind ;” “it is a far simpler and more consistent belief that matter, as an entity, distinct from force, does not exist, and that FORCE is a product of MIND. Both science and philosophy have demonstrated our incapacity to prove the existence of matter as usually conceived ; while it admitted the demonstration to each of us of our own ideal self-conscious existence.” Surely history is repeating itself, and instead of advancing on the royal road to

destiny." Whenever, therefore, a great intellectual or spiritual crisis is impending, by which our aspect of things, human and divine, will be modified, we shall find in contemporary poetry what effect it has on the human heart. Poetry, therefore, ought to be the reflex of those ideas which agitate and disturb the conscience. In our age especially, when the wildest theories force themselves upon our attention with startling reality, we must examine its lyrical poetry to notice the effect. If it be true, as Fichte has observed, that "our systems of philosophy are too often the reflex of our hearts and lives," it is nevertheless true that questions which disturb the heart and influence the life, will find an expression—not in the dry, formal language of philosophy, but in the softer melody of verse. M. Caro, therefore, has conferred an obligation on all lovers of literature, when, in an article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, of 15th May 1874, he drew attention to the writings of a Madame Ackermann, whom he calls *un poète positiviste*. She is a true poet, whose views of life are based on the speculations of Darwin, Spencer, and Comte. There is a hopelessness, a despair, in her poetry, which indicate the terrible and melancholy earnestness of her convictions :

"Her fierce passion, and her protestations against the God whom she abandons, strikes the reader at once on opening these pages. He feels keenly the violence of her anathemas against old forms of the ideal and the divine, which the poet repudiates with too much hatred, because she cannot believe in them."

It is impossible in a translation to give back the fire of her poetry. A few specimens are all that we can give. Her greatest poem is styled *Prométhée*, consecrated and dedicated

truth, we are retracing our steps. Is Berkeley's idealism to be brought up again in our day ? Truly "the thing that has been, it is that which shall be ; and that which is done is that which shall be done ; and there is no new thing under the sun." Mr Wallace thinks that the "noblest truth in philosophy, and what may prove the highest fact of science," has been expressed in the following verse of an American poetess :

" God of the granite and the rose,
Soul of the sparrow and the bee !
The mighty tide of being flows
Through countless channels, Lord, from Thee ;
It leaps to life in grass and flowers,
Through every grade of being runs ;
While from creation's radiant towers
Its glory flames in stars and suns."

to the name of Pascal. She cannot understand a life of Christian heroism, calmly bearing its cross without a murmur. Hence she reviles the God of Pascal. Against that God—the God of the gospel—her exasperated blasphemy hurls its bold but impotent defiance. It is thus she breaks out :

“ In Thine avidity, disastrous, infinite,
A cross and death were all Thou gavest him ;
Thou didst but rob his treasures, one by one ;
His love, his genius, Thou didst take away.
A sacrifice complete ! no mortal e’er
Did yield so many gifts to Thee !
Thy light was lightning falling on his soul ;
Thou didst devour both holocaust and altar.”

But, after all, can there be such a God ? Is it possible that a Being so fierce, so passionate, disposes the lot of man, and “gluts his ire” by imposing massacre or inflicting agony ? If He exist at all, let us dare Him with fierce anathema, to reveal His terrible power, and to crush us at once. Shall we meet Him with a salutation when about to trample upon us, and, like the gladiators of old, exclaim, “Ave Cæsar, morituri te salutant” ?

“ Who knows ? perhaps we sin in such a way
As to provoke His wrath ; His arm of strength
Might hurl this feeble planet from its sphere,
And break in thousand pieces this, our globe.
Our daring then will save from being born,
You, whom the gloomy future hides from view ;
We then shall triumph—we, who ceased to be,
Because this God with man can strive no more ;
Oh joy immense, after such misery !
Upon the ruins of this charnel-house
At length to raise the cry of liberty—
‘ No longer men on earth, the last were all.’ ”

What, then, is to be the end of all ? Shall we, thus liberated, reach the millennium of glory, when conscience, freed from servile fear, shall breathe more freely under the deserted heaven ? Faith banished for ever, God dethroned, will that open for us a grander and happier future ? Alas ! the reply is, “ We shall be sadder than ever.” The poet triumphs, because reason and science have conquered all ; but there is a grimness of despair in that song of triumph which startles and appals us :

“ At length there opens up, where science thrones,
A void, which faith has held, alas ! too long ;

There, in that dark abyss as lord, it reigned,
And meant to fill it with its dismal light,
But now we drive thee from thine own domain.
Oh, tyrant fierce ! the day and hour are come
When thou shalt wander exiled and alone,
Thy phantoms gone, and closed for e'er th' unknown.

“ But he who triumphs o'er thee will expire ;
His ruin is complete, the conqueror overcome.
In dispossessing thee, all has been lost ;
We stay, but without refuge, help, or hope,
The vast abyss still opens to our gaze,
And the desire, though banished, still returns.”

Have we not something Miltonic in this poetry ? Are we not reminded of Satan's despair, when heaven was closed for ever, and hell, with all its horrors, broke in upon the suffering fallen angel ?

Our poet, having worked herself into a state of frenzy, and intoxicated with blasphemy, now turns to Christ. The cross is to her a stumbling-block. Pascal found rest for his soul on Calvary. But, alas ! he has been sadly deceived. That Christ can bring no peace :

“ When from his Golgotha, with blood-stained brow,
Thy Christ would come to us, His arms outstretched,
And to our bleeding heart would bring a balm,
And with His word divine would whisper peace.

Then would we turn from this celestial tempter,
Who offers us His blood, but takes our reason.
We would resist th' exchange so terrible,
Our mouth would never cease from crying ‘ No ! ’
No, not that cross, which casts a baleful shade,
A night, in which the human spirit dies ;
That cross, which bars the way to all advancement.
No, not that instrument, where innocence
And justice, too, expire.”

Thus breaking with faith, with God, with Christ, life becomes a sad, a hopeless mystery. A dire necessity sweeps us on, from which there is no deliverance, either here or hereafter.

Madame Ackermann does not stand alone. Her pessimistic creed is shared by many ; and though few thinkers dare to go the lengths she went, she has but given expression to what many feel. In our age there is a tendency to revive ancient speculation. Men have wearied themselves in their search after truth ; the task has become hopeless, and a

refined heathenism has been declared the highest wisdom of the day. It is ever thus when men leave the fountain of living waters, and hew out cisterns which can hold no water. The human heart craves for some revelation of God, and if the Word made flesh be discarded, man will create his own God, and worship that creature of the imagination. Hence the tendency to revert to ancient forms of belief; hence the paganising of religious thought. It reminds us of a scene in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. When the ghost of Hamlet's father appears before the castle of Elsinore, Horatio addresses it in great perturbation:—"Speak, speak, I charge thee, speak!" And when it stalks away, apparently unconscious of his presence, he yet again makes an attempt to attract its attention, "I'll cross it, though it blast me." So, too, in this intellectual and spiritual crisis, of which we are the witnesses—a crisis terrible in its significance and intensity—we often hear the cry of the burdened heart to the unknown God: "Speak, speak, O God; we charge thee, speak!" But as no voice reaches us from the sky, as no answer comes, save the dreary echo of our own cry, as Moses and the prophets are to be the only guides sent us from on high, the daring blasphemy of many who have long since broken with traditional beliefs, or discarded the God-given revelation, exclaims, "I'll cross Him, though He blast me." The grandest intellects of the day have gone to wreck in this way. We have not, indeed, the frivolity which characterised the great revolutionary crisis in France. The age of the Diderots or Voltaires is past. Men are in earnest; all flippancy disgusts the sober-minded. But it is the earnestness of those whose task is a hopeless one. It is scepticism shaping its course in the dark. There is not the freshness and vigour and elasticity of faith. Reason attempting to grope its way up to God, unaided and alone, may well be compared to the stern warrior, with brow furrowed by lines of thought, eagerly trying to gain a foothold at the sword's point, amid the mists and darkness of the Unknown; while the angel form of faith is soaring upwards with radiant face, and eyes beaming with light from above. Nowhere does this strike us more sadly than in the later works of John Stuart Mill. Reared in a cold atmosphere of negation, under a father

whose austerity chilled the heart of his nobler son, nursed in the selfish Utilitarianism of Bentham, taught from his very youth to suppress those feelings of love which gushed from his heart—we find a character which at once commands our respect, though it inspires us with pity. There was a spiritual crisis in that life, which is well described in the “Autobiography,” a revolt from the narrow soulless Benthamism of earlier years. The “happiness theory” was modified, and a certain amount of satisfaction was the result. But other and greater questions remained; the life-problems had not been solved. How shall we account for the sin and misery in the world? is there really a wise and beneficent Creator who “seeth the end from the beginning,” and who maketh “all things work together for good to them that love God”? A hopeless pessimism gives answer: “I could not find absolute goodness in a world so corroded with suffering and deformed by injustice as ours.” And in the posthumous essays on Religion and Theism, we are told that the one great characteristic of nature is “its perfect and absolute recklessness”; that nearly all the things which men are hanged or imprisoned for doing to one another are nature’s every-day performances”; that “Anarchy and the Reign of Terror are overmatched in injustice, ruin, and death, by a hurricane and a pestilence.” What, then, is God? Mr Spencer had long since, in his peculiarly dogmatic way, maintained that “duty requires us neither to affirm nor deny the Personality of God.” Mill the elder had found “no halting-place in Deism until, after many a struggle, he yielded to the conviction that, concerning the origin of things, nothing whatever can be known.” But Mill the younger simply ignores God. The world, according to him, is hopelessly wrong. The elements of good and evil are ever struggling for the mastery, and even those “optimists” who believe that “whatever is, is best,” must conclude “that their God could do any one thing, but not a combination of things; that His government, like human government, is a system of adjustments and compromises; that the world is inevitably imperfect, contrary to His intention.” If there be an Author of good at all, a Being of perfect beneficence, then “the only admissible theory of creation is, that the principle of good *cannot* at once and altogether subdue the

powers of evil, either physical or moral." His beneficence, therefore, if granted, is at the expense of His power. If Mr Mill had half the frivolity of Strauss, he might have quoted with equal satisfaction those words of Diderot, "Il n'y a point de bon père qui voulût ressembler à notre père céleste" (*Alte und neue Glaube*, p. 30). These being Mr Mill's views about God, what are his views about Christ, and the Bible which has painted Christ's character? Of the Bible he speaks with a reverence which many of his followers might copy :

"Even now it would not be easy, even for an unbeliever, to find a better translation of the rule of virtue, from the abstract to the concrete, than to endeavour so to live that Christ may be our life."

Miracles are, of course, rejected. The gospel of John is a compound of mysticism, borrowed from Philo and the Alexandrians, and of "long speeches about himself put into the mouth of the Saviour." These speeches, which the Church of God at all times has considered her greatest treasure, are characterised by Mr Mill as "poor stuff," which numbers of men "might have stolen" at any time, "as the multitudinous sects of Gnostics afterwards did." And yet

"the prophet of Nazareth, even in the estimation of those who have no belief in his inspiration, must be placed in the very first rank of the men of sublime genius of whom our species can boast." He was "a man charged with a special, express, and unique commission from God, to lead mankind to truth and virtue."

Such is Mr Mill's theology. Students of his works were prepared for some such result. The theology is generally the outgrowth of the philosophy. And in Mr Mill's philosophy we find utterances which might have led us to anticipate his opinions on the Being of God, as set forth above. Mind and matter are not carefully distinguished, and made imperceptibly to shade into each other. Mind is considered to be "a series of feelings and possibilities of feeling;" matter "a series of sensations, with a background of possibilities of sensation." But as sensations and feelings are necessarily interwoven, it may be questioned whether a real distinction is here given. Hence Mr Mill elsewhere rather inconsistently says, "The thread of consciousness which composes the mind's phenomenal life, consists not only of present *sensations*, but also of *memories* and *expecta-*

tions." The difference between *matter* and *spirit* is a cardinal point in all philosophy. If this difference be overlooked, wrong conclusions in the great doctrines of theology will be the result. The belief in a personal God, and the immortality of the soul, will have to be given up. What Mr Mill thought of the immortality of the soul, we cannot gather with sufficient clearness from his posthumous works. He speaks of a "problematical future existence," and believes in a kind of pure morality not dependent for its ascendancy on any hope of reward. The consolation man is to receive from this morality would be the approbation "of those whom we respect, and ideally of those living or dead whom we admire or venerate." This seems to correspond somewhat to the idea of Comte, who maintained that every great man had two forms of existence: the one conscious before death; the other unconscious after death, in the hearts and memories of other men. As Mr Mill's theory of morals, though an improvement on Bentham's, is a thorough selfish one, it need not surprise us that its application is limited to this world. When, therefore, he speaks of the "infinite and eternal beatitudes" as "baseless fancies, which must recede into the past," and puts in their place "the good of one's country," and "the absolute obligation towards the universal good," it may well be questioned whether Mr Mill believed in a future state.¹ The difference between matter and spirit is the *question brulante* of our day, and every leading thinker has to deliver his opinion. Hence Professor Huxley, in his own impetuous way, expresses his contempt of all opponents in the following emphatic words:

"After all, what do we know of this terrible matter, except as a name for the unknown and hypothetical cause of states of our own consciousness? And what do we know of that 'spirit' over whose threatened extinction by matter a great lamentation is arising, like that which was heard at the death of Pan, except that it also is a name for an unknown

¹ In the *Posthumous Essays*, a section is devoted to the discussion of the Immortality of the Soul. But there is a haziness about it, a want of outspokenness, which one would not have anticipated. The usual arguments for the immortality of the soul are discarded. All we know is, that there is a *probability* of a continued existence hereafter. "There is no assurance," says Mr Mill, "of a life after death, on grounds of natural religion. But to any one who feels it conducive either to his satisfaction or to his usefulness, to hope for a future state as a possibility, there is no hindrance to his indulging that hope" (p. 210).

and hypothetical cause or condition of states of our consciousness? In other words, matter and spirit are but names for the imaginary substrata of the groups of natural phenomena.”¹

Along with matter and spirit, every supernatural element in the history of the world, every providential adaptation of means to an end, every manifestation of design in the works of nature, is ignored.² God is an unknown quantity, a cipher in the universe. Professor Huxley has published no creed, but he is unsparing in his denunciation of traditional beliefs. He avows himself a disciple of Hume, claims fellowship with Herbert Spencer, believes only in “experimental reasoning concerning matter of fact or existence,” commits every volume to the flames which does not contain “abstract reasoning concerning quantity and number,” banishes all else to the region of “sophistry and illusion.”

A man of a totally different stamp is Mr Matthew Arnold. His religion is that of the polished gentleman, who does not shrink from a refined atheism, as long as it does not exercise the conscience overmuch. Mr Arnold finds that the Bible has lost its hold upon the masses, because men have read the Bible wrong. The key to a true interpretation is “culture,” which is variously defined as “perception, delicacy of perception, the quality specially needed for drawing the right conclusion from the facts.” To this must be added, “a special knowledge, good fortune, natural tact, to make our criticism sure.” But true “culture” is difficult; so, too, is the right reading of the Bible. Mr Arnold, however, as the high priest of culture, will lead the way for as many as choose to follow. Unfortunately, however, his creed consists of cold, lifeless abstractions. He begins by denying the personality of God. Our conception of God springs from a gross anthropomorphism, which involves us in a number of absurdities. God is not a person, but simply the “not-ourselves,” “the stream of tendency by which all things fulfil the law of their being,” which “a man

¹ *Lay Sermons*, p. 143.

² [This Article was in type before the delivery in Glasgow, 16th February 1876, of Professor Huxley's Lecture on Morphology and Teleology, which shews the consistency of the theory of evolution as held by him and the argument from design for the being of God. We welcome this frank and honest utterance, as modifying the statements in the text.—Ed.]

of imagination instinctively personifies as a single mighty living and productive power." Even among the Israelites God was simply "the power that makes for righteousness." But popular religion has wrongfully represented that same God of Israel as "a magnified and non-natural man, working stupendous miracles." What Moses meant by the term Jehovah, was simply "the not-ourselves, by which we get the sense for righteousness," while modern interpretations have raised the name into that of "a mere mythological deity," or by translating it as "Lord," have given us "the notion of a magnified and non-natural man." Gradually, however, even among the Jews, there arose an "Aber-glaube, or extra belief," by which the simple creed of their fathers was encrusted with dogmatic prejudices. Revelation lost its clearness, and the popular religion become more and more anthropomorphistic. Prophets and righteous men, it is true, tried to preserve the simplicity and purity of their primitive beliefs, but the mass of their countrymen could not be raised out of their numberless misapprehensions in regard to the Supreme Being. Men began to look forward to the future, in the hope that some great and radical change, socially, politically, and religiously, would ensue. Hence the belief in a coming Messiah sprang up. Even prophets delighted to picture this glorious future in glowing colours, but in reality "it was a kind of fairy tale which a man tells himself; which no one can prove impossible to turn out true, but which no one also can prove certain to turn out true." When Christ appeared, He applied to Himself what the prophets had predicted. But while doing so, He tried to restore those simpler, purer intuitions, which time had nearly effaced from religious thought. His "sweet reasonableness, exquisite, mild, winning felicity," together with "His method of inwardness, and the secret of self-renouncement working in and through this element of mildness," which produced the total impression of His "epieikeia" or "sweet reasonableness," were the means by which He brought about this change. His watchwords were *repentance* and *peace*, the former consisting specially in that "method of inwardness which takes counsel with conscience;" while to produce the latter He drew attention to the fact, that man in this world has to live two lives—a higher and a lower—the higher

being "the life properly so called, full of light, endurance, and felicity," and destined to rule over, restrain, and keep under the lower, "in connection with the lower and transient self."

This, then, is the new religion of culture. Whether it be an improvement on the old Hegelian theory, that God is only man's contemplation of his own inward being, may be gravely doubted. At times Mr Arnold makes an approach towards Hegelianism, as, for instance, when he says that the impulse in man to seek after God is not different from the impulse to seek his own perfection. But while Hegel's religion is the apotheosis of self, Mr Arnold denies the "theos" altogether; and God, "if a God there be," is to him some dreary abstraction, of which nothing whatever can be predicated. Hence Mr Arnold's book is a mere literary curiosity. It has its merits, from a literary point of view; but, in reality, nothing has been contributed towards the solution of the great problem of the day—how to harmonise Christianity with negative thought. The new reading of biblical doctrine, attempted under the influence of broad churchism and culture, is a failure; and the new theory will soon be consigned to the limbo of theological antiquities. Washington Irving has somewhere said that "theories are the mighty soap-bubbles with which the grown-up children amuse themselves, while the honest vulgar stand gazing in stupid admiration, and dignify these learned vagaries with the name of wisdom." The theology of culture has but added another soap-bubble to the many which amuse the grown-up children of the age.

While thus the existence and personality of God are the great themes of discussion in our day, it is interesting to notice the opinions of leading scientific men on these subjects. There is too often a shirking of the question, a hesitancy to express themselves fully and clearly, observable among physicists. The form in which they delight to speak of God is as the great Unknown; or, otherwise, they so represent nature as though the existence or non-existence of God is a matter of no consequence at all. Hence the doctrine of final causes, as adopted by Christian philosophy, is entirely ignored in modern biological research. Every manifestation of design in the works of nature, every adap-

tation of means to an end, which we in our simplicity deemed conclusive in establishing an argument for the existence of God, has been gradually explained away. It is granted, indeed, that there are wonderful correspondences; but we are warned against ascribing any intention to nature. Where we speak of a designer, science speaks of the laws of development and growth; where we rise up on stepping-stones from nature to nature's God, science interposes a barrier of fixed, unalterable, inexorable law. It is maintained that life is a mere mode of motion; that there is no such thing as "vital force;" that what we, in our ignorance, called by that name, was merely another form of one of the "physical forces." Even the spiritual part of man's nature is but a modification of the various physical forces acting upon the bodily organs. Sensation and thought are due to molecular changes in the nerve-centres, and the brain; what we term "soul," is but matter under different influences.

May we not fairly ask here for proof, for evidence, upon which these bold assertions rest. If unverified theories and fanciful hypothesis take the place of experiment and observation, do not scientific men lay themselves open to a charge of dogmatism, which is as pretentious as it is unphilosophical and intolerant? And what have we gained? As far as human research goes, living and dead matter seem to run in parallel lines, and science has not yet found the point where they converge.

Following in the wake of Huxley, Professor Tyndall has attempted to solve the mystery of the universe. In his inaugural address at Belfast he maintained that the great benefactors of mankind were the atomic philosophers—Lucretius, Democritus, Epicurus, Giordano Bruno—for they tried to base science upon law, and swept from the field of theory a mob of gods and superstitions with which the popular mind had crowded scientific investigation. Lucretius especially finds favour, and is quoted with approval, where he "combats the notion that the constitution of nature was in any way *determined by intelligent design*," and maintains that, "from all eternity, atoms had been driven together, and, after trying motions and unions of every kind, had fallen at length into arrangements, out of which this system

of things has been formed." Professor Tyndall endorses the views of those philosophers of antiquity and of modern days, who denied the existence of any design in nature, and believed that the whole universe was formed by the fortuitous concourse of atoms. These atoms—small and indivisible portions of matter, without intelligence, will, perception, life—have produced all we see around us. But where do they come from? Have they existed from all eternity, or must we consider them to be "the prepared materials, the manufactured articles, which, formed by the will of the Highest, produced, by their subsequent interaction, all the phenomena of the material world?" This is the theory held by Professor Clarke Maxwell; but of him Tyndall says very significantly, "I doubt the legitimacy of his logic." It is indeed acknowledged that there is some *insoluble mystery*, by the operation of which "life is evolved, species differentiated, and mind unfolded." The key to the true solution must be found in the words of Lucretius, "Nature is seen to do all things spontaneously of herself, without the meddling of the gods;" or, in the saying of Bruno, that "matter is the universal mother who brings forth all things as the fruit of her womb." And if we trace the line of life backwards, we must be prepared to answer questions which are approaching with accelerated speed, and which must be answered, whether they are introduced with reverence or irreverence. Hence the Professor sums up his theory in the following words:

"Abandoning all disguise, the confession that I feel bound to make is, that I prolong the vision across the boundary of the experimental evidence, and discern in that matter which we in our ignorance, and notwithstanding our professed reverence for its Creator, have covered with opprobrium, the promise and potency of every form and quality of life."

No wonder that these dreary negations have found a fitting climax in words of sad meaning:

"Here, however, I must quit a theme too great for me to handle, but which will be handled by the loftiest minds after you and I, *like streaks of morning cloud, shall have melted into the infinite azure of the past.*"

It is true these words have been recalled, and some exquisitely beautiful lines from Wordsworth's poem on *Tintern Abbey* have been substituted. But the words *have* been uttered, and the shock caused by them has possibly urged Professor Tyndall in his published address to alter and

amend what at first he may have considered perfectly legitimate.¹

If views like these are generally adopted, what then is to be the religion of the future? To this question M. Caro has given answer in that interesting paper on Madame Ackermann's poetry, from which we have already quoted. If, he says, the doctrines of physicists are the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, there will in the future be no feeling of aversion to Jehovah, such as we now have to Jupiter. For there will be but one philosophy, that of nature; one religion, that of nature; one poetry, again that of nature. Jehovah will disappear, and nothing remain but that *gouffre défendu* of Madame Ackermann, "around which our desires will be eternally wandering," and that Unknown of which Mr Spencer speaks so authoritatively. M. Caro is right:

" If Tyndall's last word be indeed the last,
Of Hope and Faith hence with each rag and tatter,
A black cloud shrouds our future, as our past ;
Matter, the wise man's God : the crowd's—no matter."

Dogmatism is characteristic of the science of the day; and a recklessness has taken possession of the leading physicists, before which everything is to give way. Tyndall himself has boastfully pointed to the time when "all religious theories, schemes, and systems which embrace notions of cosmogony . . . must submit to be controlled by science, and relinquish all thought of controlling it." That time, according to him, has now come. We may wonder at the audacity which has prompted this assertion, and regret, with the *Spectator*, "that cowardly subservience to authority which marks some would-be students of science." But there are many who will accept this mindless theory of the universe, because all religion, all responsibility, will be done away with. "Thought evolved from matter is thought without responsibility, man is necessarily sinless;" and conscience will raise its warning voice in vain.

While the learned thus indulge in the wildest possible extravagances, there is provided for the masses an increasingly redundant supply of infidel and impure literature,

¹ We have quoted from the address as published in *Nature* immediately after delivery, and not from the pamphlet as altered by Professor Tyndall, after the various criticisms.

Dr Duff drew attention to the fact some year or two ago, in his admirable address as Moderator of the Free Church General Assembly. It has been calculated that in 1851 more than 12,000,000 copies of infidel publications were issued from the London press alone ; while the total annual issue of immoral publications, according to the *Edinburgh Review* of the same year, has been estimated at 29,000,000—making therefore a larger aggregate than the total issues of the Bible, Tract, and other religious Societies. The perusal of these works by the lower classes, and the sensational stories scattered abroad by the wretched penny papers, contribute largely to spread infidelity and immorality among the masses.¹

But the truth must prevail. Christianity has nothing to fear from these repeated attacks. With the lamps burning and the loins girt, the Church must wait for the coming of the Bridegroom. “The gates of hell shall not prevail against her.” The story is told, that about a hundred years ago a number of infidels met together in the magnificent saloon of Baron d’Holbach. The doctrines and the person of Christ were discussed ; and every one of the assembled guests aimed his shafts of ridicule at the Christian religion. At length Diderot, one of the fiercest and most impetuous of the number, rose and said :

“Excellent, excellent gentlemen ! in all the world none will be found better able to combat traditional beliefs than you. But yet of all the evil we have meditated against that accursed book, the Bible, I challenge you all to compose a history so simple, and yet so dignified, as that of the sufferings and death of Christ—a history which, after so many centuries, still exercises such an influence.”

When these words had fallen from the lips of Diderot, an ominous silence took possession of the assembled infidels.²

¹ Popular demagogues in our day are trying very hard to uproot Christianity. As an instance may be mentioned what Christlieb calls the “blasphemous manifestoes of the Commune and the ‘International.’” In *La Libr. Pensée* for October 1870, Gustave Flourens, a leader of the Red Republican party in Paris, wrote as follows :—“Our enemy is God. Hatred of God is the beginning of wisdom. If mankind would make true progress, it must be on the basis of atheism. Every trace of religion must be banished from the education of our children.” (See Christlieb, *Modern Doubt and Christian Belief*, p. 139.)

² This story is told by Stier in his *Reden Jesu*, and quoted by Van Oostersee, *Voor Kerk en Theologie*, i. p. 2. It was related to Hess in the last century. by an eye-witness.

And as we watch the course of events, we have no reason to fear. Another Armada may be sent to extirpate Christianity; but of this it will be said in future ages, as of the first, "*Flavit Deus, et dissipati sunt.*"

JOHANNES J. MARAIS.

ART. VI.—*Salvation and Baptism: An Excursus on*
1 Peter iii. 21.

THE voluminous controversy which this passage has occasioned has not led to a satisfactory settlement of its exegesis. We have never met with any explanation of the apostle's words here which we could accept. We propose in this paper an exposition which commends itself to our own mind, and which we humbly hope students of the New Testament will consider not unworthy of attention. We proceed upon the assumption that what an apostle has written was intended to be intelligible, and we argue that if there is confusion in our interpretation of his words, the fault must be ours, not his. If we hold less than this, how can we enter upon the study of his writings with any degree of confidence? The conflicting state of critical opinion on the verse before us is a sufficient justification of our attempt.

Let us look for a little at a few of the interpretations which have been offered. In this survey we shall limit ourselves to what has been written on the first clause. The main fountain as to the misunderstanding of Peter's words is here. And we need do little more than quote certain translations which this clause has received. These will indicate with sufficient accuracy for our purpose the views founded upon them.

It seems to have become very early a settled belief, that in this passage the apostle wished to compare baptism with something mentioned in the immediately preceding verse, and all interpreters have laboured since that time to make this comparison clear. No one hitherto appears to have been able to call in question the accuracy of this established belief. We hope to be able to prove that there is no comparison here made between baptism and anything mentioned in the preceding verse. This may seem a bold assertion, but we speak

advisedly, and we hope the remaining portion of our paper will justify this boldness. But, meanwhile, let us make our proposed reference to published expositions. The Vulgate translation is, "*Quod et vos nunc similis formæ salvos facit baptismus.*" This is simply unintelligible, the *quod* reminding us of the absurd use of *which* often occurring in the speech of the uneducated. Erasmus was justified, after quoting this version, in adding, "*Græca plus habent lucis.*" Zeger translates, "To which a similar baptism also now makes us safe." Not to mention other objections to this translation, it implies that a baptism of some kind or other has already been spoken of. But no one requires to be told that no such subject has been mentioned in the preceding context. Castalio's translation is intelligible, but is not a correct version of any Greek text extant: "In like form, baptism also now saves us." Knatchbull reads the two last words of the preceding verse along with our text thus: "By water also baptism, which is the antitype (of the ark of Noah, wherein eight souls were saved), doth now save us." But this translation would imply that it had been said in the preceding verse that Noah and his family were saved *by water*. This would not be so, either in sound or sense, if you removed the expression in question from the preceding verse, and prefixed it to the twenty-first. But, further, the words, *δι' ὕδατος*, whatever meaning we assign to them, belong so evidently to *διὰ τὸ ὑδατίζεσθαι*, that it would be an act of violence to read them in any other connection. But, once more, this translation makes baptism the antitype of the ark. Grammatically, this is impossible; but how can the resemblance between the two be made out logically? Dr John Brown says, "The words may be rendered with perfect accuracy, which was a type or figure of the baptism which saves us." We hope we shall not expose ourselves to the charge of want of respect for a name we revere, when we say we cannot admit the accuracy of such a rendering. It contains nearly as many errors as words. No Greek text ever heard of warrants such a translation. It arbitrarily alters the collocation of the apostle's words, as well as makes havoc of the rules of syntax. It reads baptism as in the genitive case, and calls in from the region of fancy another *which*, in order to complete a fictitious sense. If we are permitted to take such liberties as this with the Word of God, we may make it teach

anything we please. Alford's translation is as little intelligible as any we have yet mentioned : " Which, the antitype (of that) is now saving you also." If any of our readers can make sense out of this, or can construe it according to the rules of English Syntax, all we can say is, that we envy them their ability. Is it possible that correct expositions can be built upon such translations ?

The question of textual criticism must be disposed of before we proceed further. What are the actual Greek words which we have to expound ? What did Peter write ? It is plain that we can make no satisfactory progress till this question is settled. A good deal of the diversity of translation exhibited in the preceding paragraph is due to variation of text. Did Peter write δ or ω , and $\upsilon\mu\alpha\varsigma$ or $\eta\mu\alpha\varsigma$? These are the alternative readings upon which we have to decide. There is a great preponderance of authority in favour of δ . No editor now ever dreams of accepting any other reading. There is more doubt whether we should read $\upsilon\mu\alpha\varsigma$ or $\eta\mu\alpha\varsigma$. It is gratifying, however, to think that, whichever of these we accept, the meaning is not materially affected, nor is the grammatical construction interfered with. The three best Codices, however, —the Sinaitic, the Vatican, and the Alexandrine—read $\upsilon\mu\alpha\varsigma$. We therefore accept Alford's text. This is the text accepted by such men as Lachmann, and Buttmann, and Tischendorf. There is hardly any room for suspecting its perfect accuracy. We read then as follows, giving, however, for reasons which will afterwards appear, another than the ordinary punctuation : δ καὶ $\upsilon\mu\alpha\varsigma$ ἀντίτυπον νῦν σώζει. Βάπτισμα οὐ σαρκὸς ἀποθεις ῥύπου ἀλλὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς Θεόν, δι' ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, κ.τ.λ. And we translate thus : " Which also now saves you an antitype. Baptism is not a putting away of the filth of the flesh, but a good conscience's request to God through the resurrection of Jesus Christ," &c.

Our readers will observe that this translation is, in some respects, new. The first clause is made to contain an assertion not hitherto ascribed to the apostle. Our rendering is, however, quite literal, and our only wonder is that it should never have been thought of before. We have been compelled to adopt the above punctuation, in order to make it possible to translate without violating the rules of Greek Syntax. The construction of the first clause is naturally completed with the

word σώζει, and with that word the sentence must of necessity terminate. A new subject is introduced by the immediately succeeding word βάπτισμα. The hitherto received mode of punctuation used in this verse can lead to nothing but confusion, for it seeks to construe two distinct sentences with two distinct subjects, as if they were only one. Our new punctuation abolishes the use of brackets. We need hardly say that the punctuation of our Bibles is not of inspired authority. Every interpreter feels himself free to punctuate in such a way as he thinks will give the most natural, clear, and consistent sense to the words which he has to explain. It is admitted on all hands that the apostle is speaking of baptism when he uses the words,—“Not the putting away of the filth of the flesh.” As, in the Greek, the term *baptism* immediately precedes these words, why not put the two together, and read as we propose?—“Baptism is not a putting away of the filth of the flesh.” The translation which we offer relieves the construction of the first clause, and assigns an intelligible meaning to Peter’s words.

The first question raised in connection with the *exposition* of our text is, What is the antecedent to *which*? What is it that saves, according to the apostle’s assertion? This question has received various answers, as our brief review of opinions has shewn. Some say, *the ark*. But this is plainly inadmissible, either grammatically or logically. *Which* is neuter in Greek, and *ark* is feminine. Then how can the ark save *now*? The great body of interpreters answer the question now before us by saying, *water* is the antecedent. And they shew great diligence in attempting to explain how *water* saves. It is not *water per se*, but *water* as used in baptism which secures this result—*Which water as the antitype baptism now saves you*. Every one hitherto has assumed that baptism is here said to save. Those who believe in baptismal regeneration find this belief quite to their purpose. But the great bulk of interpreters think the apostle no sooner wrote this sentiment down than he perceived it was too strong, and proceeded to qualify it by the language of the subsequent part of the verse. The plain English of this is, that the apostle made a clumsy job of it in attempting to say how baptism saves, and was compelled to make an explanation which involves the whole matter in hopeless confusion. This is certainly not very complimentary

to Peter's command of Greek, not to mention his inspiration at all. But as this is the commonly received interpretation, we must subject it to a rigid scrutiny. It is exposed to several fatal objections. These objections we can state in answering the question, What is the antecedent to *which*?

1. If we make water the antecedent, we require to establish a new doctrine of the relative. The hitherto received doctrine on this subject is, that the relative gathers up and repeats the idea of its antecedent. It includes nothing more and nothing less. It certainly does not include something totally different. But the view we are refuting overturns this doctrine. According to it, the relative and its antecedent represent two radically distinct thoughts. The water of the antecedent has destructive, the water of the relative saving, properties. If the antecedent in this case is water, then it is the water of the flood which is meant, and it is the idea of this water which the relative ought to repeat. It is not any kind of water, but, specifically, the water of the flood. So that the apostle's meaning must be—"which water of the flood also now saves you." How such a doctrine accords with Scripture, we are not skilful enough to demonstrate. How could this water be obtained, even if we were persuaded of its saving efficacy? We are aware that those against whom we write do not understand the apostle's words thus; but we must have a new doctrine of the relative to read them in any other way, if we are to make water the antecedent.

2. If we make water the antecedent, we must go further, and make it synonymous with baptism. This is done by those against whom we write. But this is to confound things that differ. Water is used in Christian baptism; but water is not baptism. We might as well say that bread and wine are the Lord's Supper. We must not confound the elements used in the Christian sacraments with the sacraments themselves. We speak of a baptism of blood; but who would ever think of saying, baptism is blood? We read of the baptism of the Spirit; but who would ever dream of saying that baptism is the Spirit? We read of a baptism of fire; but who would ever dream of saying, baptism is fire? Alford seems to have felt the force of this objection when he wrote: "Even baptism (not *the water* of baptism)—the parenthesis following is a kind of protest against such a rendering—but water, in the form of

baptism, becomes to us baptism." Does this explanation make our readers any wiser? For our own part, it is a piece of logical legerdemain, which we confess ourselves unable to follow. How does water, in the form of baptism, become to us baptism? When does water ever take the form of baptism? Alford's words are useful, however, as shewing how vain is the attempt to identify water with baptism. In fact, the view which Alford adopts puts *which*, *antitype*, and *baptism*, all in apposition, and makes them all synonymous with *water*. It is impossible to construe the first clause of the verse in any other way in accordance with the view which we condemn. Alford cannot escape from this impossibility by tagging on *baptism* to the end of the clause as a kind of appendix.

3. If we make water the antecedent, we confound the distinction between *type* and *antitype*. Water, according to the ordinary view, is both type and antitype. Alford and others try to get over this confusion by saying that the water to which the relative refers is not the water of Noah's flood, but water generally, the common term between type and antitype. This ingenious refinement, or desperate shift, as we ought rather to call it, has no warrant from the apostle's words. The water referred to by *which*, if water is the antecedent, is the water of Noah's flood, and can be no other. The established laws of grammar are nothing, if this is not so. And if the water is the same in both cases, then type and antitype become identical.

4. If we make water the antecedent, we destroy the logical connection of the apostle's words. This objection is the most overwhelming of all. It was urged long ago by Piscator. The water of the flood, he pointed out, did not preserve any one, but destroyed very many; but here mention is made of preservation. This objection is unanswerable. If you speak of the water of baptism as now saving, this implies that it has been spoken of before as saving. But every one knows that this is not the case. The water spoken of in the preceding verse drowned all the antediluvians, excepting Noah and his family, who were preserved by special means. Entering the ark, they were carried in safety through the water—*δυσώθησαν δι' ὕδατος*—which would otherwise have drowned them also. How, then, can water be said to save now *also*? But some try to escape from this objection by saying that it is baptism, as the antitype of

the water of the flood, which saves. Now, granting, for the sake of argument, that water and baptism are synonymous, does the explanation offered mend the matter much? The type and the antitype are not contrasts, but differ from one another only as the seal differs from the impression. They bear the very closest resemblance to one another. But how can there be any resemblance, as to effects at least—and this is the matter to be attended to—between the water of the flood and the water of baptism? They point in opposite directions. The water of the flood is associated with destruction, the water of baptism with salvation.

We hope we have taken our readers along with us up to this point, and that they agree with us in thinking that the antecedent to *which* cannot be *water*. The question of the antecedent may now be resolved into this other, What did Peter regard as leading to the preservation of Noah and his family? The answer which we obtain to this question will point out to us what is the antecedent to *which*. Our text expressly declares that what led to the preservation in the one case leads to salvation in the other. The apostle's words are, "which also now saves," &c., clearly shewing that what saves now also preserved Noah and his family long ago. Now, what led to the preservation of Noah and his family?

1. Was it the preaching of Christ referred to in the nineteenth verse? There cannot be the slightest doubt that, but for the Redeemer's warning words to them, they would have shared in the general catastrophe. Steiger is forced to admit the influence which Christ's preaching had in securing the preservation of Noah and his family, though his view otherwise is far from sound. His words are: "What brought deliverance never was the water alone, but the word of God, which they believed, bringing them through the water." It is certainly in accordance with the narrative in Genesis to account for the deliverance of Noah and his family by the warning words which were received. At first sight it seems as if here we had found the answer which our question requires. But a moment's thought dissipates the illusion. The preaching of Christ to Noah and his contemporaries was preaching for those times, not for all ages. We cannot say that it is the warning which was addressed to the men of that time which saves us. The message then delivered was not the gospel, properly so called.

Then, again, if you understand Peter to say that the preaching of Christ to Noah and his family led to their preservation, and if you thus make this preaching the antecedent to *which*, you destroy the structural unity of the sentence, which begins with the eighteenth verse, and ends with the first clause of the twenty-first. Now, what is the leading idea in that sentence? A glance at it will shew that its aim is to illustrate the operation of Christ's desire to bring men to God. To say the very least, you obscure that aim if you ascribe the preservation of Noah and his family, and our salvation, to Christ's preaching to the antediluvians. The unity of thought in the sentence must be maintained. The apostle's thinking is clear, logical, and precise.

2. The true antecedent to *which*, is Christ's desire to bring men to God. It was this which led him to become our substitute, and die for us. It was this which led to the preservation of Noah and his family, and it is this which leads to our salvation now. This view maintains the structural unity of the sentence, and brings out a clear, consistent and Scriptural sense. This we shall endeavour to shew as briefly as possible. In order to do this, we must first try to point out the purpose for which Peter wrote this sentence. Those whom the apostle addressed were exposed, it appears, to very considerable trials. These trials, the apostle reminds them, were sent upon them in accordance with the divine will. They were appointed to them for a good and wise purpose, and if they would submit to them, much benefit would accrue to the cause of religion. The sufferings of the saints promote God's glory,—“the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church.” Let them be animated with the desire to bring men to God, even though, in carrying out that desire, they might be called upon to suffer even to death. To enforce his appeal, the apostle introduces the example of Christ, and shews how he, in carrying out his desire to bring men to God, died on the cross, preached to the antediluvians, and now saves his people. Peter's sentence contains three members, each of which exhibits an illustration of Christ's desire to bring men to God. And these members stand to one another in the closest logical relation. Christ died to bring men to God; in pursuance of which object or desire also—*ἐν ᾧ καὶ*—he preached to the antediluvians of Noah's day; which object or desire also—*ἐν ᾧ καὶ*

—now saves men. Is it because this construction is so simple that it has hitherto evaded the notice of interpreters?

The words, “θανάτωθεὶς μὲν σαρκὶ ζῶσκηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι,”—“put to death for the flesh, but made alive for the spirit,” must be read parenthetically, as illustrating the moral influences of our Lord’s death and resurrection in leading men to God. He was put to death for the flesh, the unrenewed nature of man; the mortification and destruction of the flesh was the great moral result aimed at by Christ’s passion. He was made alive after his death for the spirit, the renewed nature of man; the vivification and development of the new nature in man was the great moral result aimed at in his resurrection. The believer is one who has died to sin and become alive to righteousness. We have shewn at length elsewhere¹ that this must be the correct meaning of the clause which we have quoted, and that it is incorrect to regard *flesh* and *spirit* as referring to our Lord’s human nature and the Holy Spirit respectively.

We do not require any elaboration of argument to prove that the salvation of men is due to Christ’s desire to bring them to God. This desire has been at the foundation of all the gracious arrangements which have been made for the good of our race. This desire our Saviour is carrying out in connection with the special appliances of the gospel. These appliances are all saturated with his intense love to our souls. So that we can say, it is the Lord who adds daily to the Church such as shall be saved.

The use of the word *antitype* by the apostle shews that the preservation of Noah and his family, in the ark, is to be regarded as typical of the salvation of sinners from the wrath to come. One of the great fundamental principles of the relation between the type and the antitype is, that the series of ideas connected with the latter occupies, as it were, a higher platform than that occupied by the former. Thus Abraham and David were types, Christ is the antitype. And while all the points in which these Old Testament saints resemble Christ are found in them in an imperfect form, in him they are found in perfection. This principle is illustrated in the present case. The mere statement of the points of resemblance is all that is necessary to shew this. In the case of Noah and his family,

¹ *Christ’s Object in Preaching to the Spirits in Prison.* Second Edition. Maclaren. Edinburgh. 1871.

the blessing secured was bodily preservation ; in the case of those saved through the appliances of the gospel, it is the eternal wellbeing of the soul ;—in the case of Noah and his family, the preaching to which they listened was connected with the coming flood ; in the case of those whose souls are saved now, it is the message of the gospel ;—in the case of Noah and his family, the preaching was adapted to that age only ; in the case of those who hear now, it is adapted to all who live under the New Testament dispensation ;—in the case of Noah and his family, only eight persons were saved from destruction ; the ransomed of the gospel dispensation constitute a multitude which no man can number.

We construe the word *antitype* as in apposition with the pronoun *you*. Are we justified in doing so ? Our right can hardly be disputed. All grammarians admit that the appositive word naturally, and very generally, follows the main noun or pronoun. But it may be said, How can *you* and *antitype* be in apposition, for the one word is singular and the other plural ? Here we must apologise for being elementary, but our excuse is that we are anxious to carry every one of our readers along with us. It is a well-known rule in grammar, that while words in apposition must be in the same case, they need not be of the same number. *Ἀντίτυπον* may be either in the nominative or accusative case, so far as its form is concerned ; but it makes confusion, as we have already shewn, to read it as a nominative, and construe it in apposition with *which*. The construction which we follow is easy and natural. The following examples of plurals and singulars in apposition are given by Winer : “Therefore, my *brethren*, dearly beloved and longed for, my *joy* and my *crown*.” “And hath made *us* a *kingdom*” —the true reading of Rev. i. 6.

The sentence which begins with the second clause of our text, and extends to the end of the chapter, is intended to throw additional light on the teaching of that clause the exposition of which we have just concluded. The thought of the apostle would have appeared bare without this addition. Two things are essential to our salvation. There must be a desire on our part to be saved, and there must be a desire on the part of Christ to save us. The apostle shews how we manifest our desire when we seek baptism, and how Christ is able to carry out his desire through the unlimited power which he possesses.

But before attempting anything like an exposition of the remaining part of our text, we must face the question, Why does Peter introduce the subject of baptism at all? If this ordinance was not suggested to his mind by the water of the flood, how do we account for the apostle's mention of it? It is admitted on all hands that the apostle had in his mind's eye a misconception regarding this sacrament which he wished to remove. This misconception is sufficient to account for his reference to this Christian rite. There is a constant tendency in the human mind to rest in outward forms. There is a large ritualistic element in all our natures, and this element is constantly cropping out, and assuming more or less magnitude. It appears that at a very early time baptism was regarded as of the nature of an *opus operatum*. This belief actually led some to delay this ordinance till the hour of death, so that as they passed from life, they might be cleansed by the magical annihilation of their sins, and, without hindrance, enter into glory. The words of the apostle here lead us to infer that this heresy had already begun to take shape in the Church. Peter therefore strikes at its root in the incisive words of the second clause of our text. He contemplates a reader as saying: "I have been baptised. Do I require anything else in order to salvation? Does not this cleanse me from all sin, and secure for me a place in heaven? Has not all been done that is essential to my salvation, when I have submitted to this Christian rite?" And the apostle, in effect, replies: "No; you have formed quite a false idea as to the relation in which baptism stands to salvation. Baptism is merely the expression of your desire to be saved, but this desire cannot take you to heaven apart from Christ." The apostle was thus led to explain what baptism is, in relation to our salvation. He does not give us a definition, properly so called, of this rite. He merely gives us such an account of it as is necessary to refute the false idea regarding it already referred to. His teaching takes first a negative, and then a positive form.

1. He tells us what baptism is not, in relation to our salvation. It is "not, a putting away of the filth of the flesh." The common explanation of the word *flesh* here is the outward part of our bodies—the skin. Of course the matter is not put in so pointed a form as that, but such is the thought. And the idea is, that the apostle wishes to say that baptism does not

cleanse away the outward impurities of the body. Steiger says, "The full sense is, not the laying aside of bodily filth, consequently the laying aside of what is spiritual." And he quotes Justin Martyr, *Dialog. Con. Tryph.*: "For what is the benefit of that baptism (the Jewish lustration) which cleanses the flesh and the body only?" Now, on what conceivable grounds can we suppose the apostle would make such a statement, if that be the meaning of his words? Who ever held that baptism is mere washing? Whether the ordinance be administered by the immersion of the whole body, or by the sprinkling of a portion of it, the result is not to wash the skin. Wetting is not washing. Surely the apostle had something more important on hand than to refute so frivolous an idea as that with which his commentators have credited him. Besides, is there any instance in the New Testament where *flesh* is used in the sense of skin? Evidently, the word *flesh* here has the same meaning as we have assigned to it in the eighteenth verse—man's corrupt nature; and the intention of the apostle is to say that the mere rite of baptism cannot remove the corruption of our fallen nature. The removal of this requires a much more powerful agency than the observance of any rite.

2. The apostle next states what is the actual relation in which baptism stands to our salvation. It is "not, a putting away of the filth of the flesh, but a good conscience's request to God," &c. The main difficulty here is to determine the meaning of the word which we have translated *request*—*παρρωτηρια*. Our Authorised Version translates *answer*. And many infer that this must be the meaning of the term, because they imagine there is here an allusion to the answers given to the questions put to candidates for baptism in early Christian times. Grotius says, regarding these questions, "In baptism the bishop, or some other in his name, in this manner asked, or, which is the same thing, stipulated, Do you renounce Satan? The person about to be baptised said, I renounce him. Again, he was asked, Do you adhere to Christ? He replied, I do adhere to him." This Tertullian, in his treatise on baptism, calls "the engagement of salvation." He also says, in his treatise on the resurrection of the flesh, "The soul is sanctified, not by the washing, but by the response." There is no evidence, however, that such questions as these were put to those who received baptism in Peter's time. Besides, the

proper meaning of *εἰσρωτήματα* is not *answer*, but *request*, or at least, something which looks for an answer. It is derived from the verb *ἰσπεύω*, I ask. Bengel makes it mean *interrogatio*, or *rogatio*, *question*. And undoubtedly the word sometimes bears this meaning. Wiesinger makes it *prayer* or *desire*. Alford, while not thinking himself perfectly correct, translates *inquiry*. Wiesinger seems to us to give the true sense. We do not address an *inquiry* to God, but a *prayer*. But how is baptism a request or prayer to God? It is only, of course, constructively such. The man who seeks baptism reveals the same state of mind as that exemplified by the man who prays. He expresses, in no ambiguous manner, his belief in the purifying doctrines of the gospel, and his desire to secure the benefits which the gospel offers. Baptism is the ordinance which God has appointed for marking our connection with the religion of Jesus. That religion is associated with many benefits. By baptism, therefore, we make application to God for the bestowal of these benefits. We do our part in connection with the covenant which he has made with men in Christ, and shew our determination to look to him for what he has promised. What, then, are we to regard as the request which baptism presents? The answer to this question is to be gathered from the antithesis between the second and third clauses of our text, "Baptism is not a putting away of the filth of the flesh, but a good conscience's request to God," &c. The clear inference from these words is, that what cannot be secured through the mere rite of baptism, is secured through the request of a good conscience. It is by divine agency alone that moral pollution can be removed. Christianity is a purifying system. By being baptised, and thus embracing that divine system, we put ourselves in God's hands for the purification of our natures. We ask him to do for us what he has engaged to do. It is the disposition, therefore, which we bring to the baptismal font, and not the mere outward observance, which we are to look to. But, supposing the disposition at the time of baptism were everything that could be desired, is that efficacious for our perfect sanctification? No one who knows anything about the teaching of Scripture will embrace such an opinion. The believer's sanctification is a gradual thing; and, in order to our being made perfect in holiness, we must,

throughout life, strive to maintain a good conscience by cleaving to Christ, and seeking to live up to our light. The request which is presented in baptism will lead to the putting away of the filth of the flesh only if it is a lifelong desire. The removal of all moral impurity is synchronous with our salvation. So that we may express the spirit of the prayer which baptism presents as a desire to be brought to God, or a wish to be saved, or a desire to be sanctified wholly. Hence we cannot agree with Alford, who makes it the prayer for a good conscience, which, he says, is the aim and end of the Christian baptismal life. The form of words used by Peter refutes such an opinion. Baptism is "a good conscience's request." The good conscience is there, and the request is its outcome. The good conscience precedes, does not succeed, baptism.

This interpretation is confirmed by Acts xxii. 16: "Arise, and have yourself baptised, and your sins washed away, calling on his name." To understand these words, we must bear in mind the well-known grammatical principle, that when two imperatives are connected by *καί*, the first sometimes contains the condition under which the action indicated by the second will take place. The application of this principle leads us to say that Paul was here exhorted to have himself baptised, in order that his sins might be washed away, which is exactly the sentiment uttered by Peter on the day of Pentecost: "Repent, and be baptised, every one of you, in the name of Christ, for the remission of sins"—*εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*. The expression, "calling on his name," is expository of what goes before. When Paul submitted to baptism, in order to have his sins washed away, he was then and thereby calling on the name of Christ.

We shall say little as to the meaning of the last clause. We take the sense to be, that the request presented in baptism, and which we have shewn must be the disposition of the life, is warranted by the resurrection of Jesus Christ. We are to look to him as the channel through which comes all that is essential to our sanctification. God has committed the whole work of our salvation to his Son's hands. Our Saviour has done everything necessary to qualify him for his exalted office—he has fully satisfied all the claims of justice in our room. God has raised him from the dead in token of his satisfaction with the work which was given him to do. The last verse of the chapter

—that is, the verse which follows our text—shews what abundant warrant we have for reposing our confidence in Christ as a perfect Saviour. He is possessed of all power in heaven and on earth, and can, therefore, bring infinite resources to bear on the work of our salvation.

A. WELCH.

ART. VII.—*The Physical Cause of the Death of Christ.*

THE physical cause of the death of Christ has never yet been satisfactorily explained, for even at the present day it is spoken of as a matter of doubt or uncertainty. This uncertainty, however, may be the result of not attending sufficiently to the records of his death; for as he was truly man, as well as truly God—as he had a true body and a reasonable soul—his death, like that of ordinary men, must have had some physical cause; and it is natural to suppose that the records of his death will specify or indicate that cause.

The following inquiry is an attempt to ascertain from the Scriptures, especially from the evangelical records, the *mode* or manner of Christ's death; and the inquiry it is thought will bring out the physical cause of it. The subject is of great interest and importance, and deserves the careful consideration of every one; for "as everything concerning Christ, so more especially everything concerning his death in all the mysteries of it, ought to be the principal subject of a Christian's study and knowledge" (Charnock).

The writer is deeply sensible of his unfitness for the task he has undertaken; but thinking he has seen in the inspired records the physical cause of the Saviour's death, and having had his views approved by some eminent divines, he is desirous of submitting them to others, in the hope that some one will take up the subject and handle it theologically, for the question, How did Christ die? is one for scriptural interpretation, rather than for medical investigation. Our endeavour will be to conduct our inquiry with that reverence and humility which the subject demands.

Death is the extinction of life. The death of man—that is, the extinction of his natural life, is the separation of his soul

from his body. The cause of this death is spoken of as moral and physical. The *moral* cause of it is sin ; the *physical* cause of it is disease, old age, or some violence done to the person.

The man Christ Jesus was without sin—"he was holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners"—and therefore was not personally liable or subject to death. But having become the substitute of sinners—to save his people from death as the *penalty* of sin—he died *for* them ; and thus the moral cause of his death was the sins of his people. And with regard to the physical cause of it, as he was not personally liable or subject to death, so neither was he personally liable or subject to those diseases, or physical changes, which (themselves the effects of sin) cause the death of sinful men. But as he actually died, the object of our inquiry is to ascertain *how* he died, or what was the immediate and physical cause of his death.

The opinions which have been held concerning the death of Christ differ as to the cause assigned for it. His death has been ascribed—1st, To the sufferings of crucifixion ; 2d, to divine power or supernatural agency ; 3d, to the wound inflicted with the soldier's spear ; 4th, to an unusual degree of weakness, original or acquired ; and, 5th, to rupture of the heart, induced by the inner agony of his spirit.

By many the death of Christ has been ascribed to the ordinary sufferings of crucifixion. "Put the question," says a recent writer on the subject, "to any Christian child, How did Christ die ? and he will tell you he was crucified. And by that he will mean that he died for the same reason that any other crucified man dies. His answer, too, would seem to be natural, perhaps the most natural to any unsophisticated reader of the Gospels. It is a fact, however, that this view of the case has commended itself to few, saving a comparatively small number of modern scholars." Whoever carefully examines the narratives of the four evangelists, will be compelled to acknowledge that the Saviour's death was not the result of crucifixion. From that narrative it is evident that, in the opinion of the Jews and of Pilate, the sufferings of crucifixion would not have caused the death of Jesus, nor the death of the malefactors, for one or two days at least. Writers on biblical antiquities say, that "when the victim of the cross was left to suffer till death came to relieve him, death did not take place commonly till the third, and frequently not till the fourth

or fifth, day." The narrative says that the Jews, to accomplish the death of Jesus and of the two malefactors—that their dead bodies might be taken away before the Sabbath—besought Pilate that their legs might be broken, and the request was granted. "Then came the soldiers, and brake the legs of the two malefactors. But when they came to Jesus, and saw that he was dead already, they broke not his legs." Thus it is manifest that the death of the malefactors was caused, not by the sufferings of crucifixion, but by the breaking of their legs. And thus is it manifest, beyond all question, that the death of Jesus was not caused either by the sufferings of crucifixion or the breaking of his legs, but that his death had taken place before the soldiers came to him. How he had died, after being but six hours on the cross, is declared in the preceding part of the narrative, and will be the subject of our future consideration. In the meantime, it is to be observed that the understanding among the Jews, the remarks made by Pilate and the centurion, as well as the conduct of the soldiers—all of them competent judges of the fact, and interested in ascertaining its reality—coincide with the conclusion deducible from the gospel history, that the death of Jesus happened much earlier than was expected, and was not the result of crucifixion.

Many think that the crucifixion was the cause of Christ's death, because the Jews, who crucified him, are in many places of the New Testament charged with being his murderers, with putting him to death, with killing him. But these charges against the Jews, which must be taken in their full and unqualified sense, in so far as the intention and deed of the Jews were concerned, are in perfect keeping with Christ's words: "No man taketh my life from me," and with the evangelical narrative, which makes it manifest that the opinion which ascribes the death of Christ to the sufferings of crucifixion, is not warranted by the inspired records, and must therefore be rejected.

The oldest and most prevalent opinion concerning the immediate cause of the death of Christ is that held by most of the early Fathers of the Church, by most of the Reformers, and by many of the most eminent of modern scholars, who agree in attributing it to divine power or supernatural agency; ascribing it to his exercise of that power over his life, which they believed he possessed, in accordance with John x. 18.

With this opinion, as now briefly stated, we entirely agree. But their views were defective, in that they did not perceive or point out the *physical* cause of the death.

Some have supposed that Christ's death was caused by the wound inflicted with the soldier's spear; but any one who reads the narrative given by the evangelist John, will see that he had died before his side was pierced with the spear.

Another explanation, held by a few, ascribes his sudden death to an unusual degree of weakness, original or acquired. But this view of his human nature is inconsistent with the fact that he was free from those diseases and infirmities, hereditary and acquired, which are the effects of sin; and that as an atoning sacrifice, he was perfect in body and mind. To say that he was in any sense physically delicate is mere assumption. Throughout the whole of his history we have no evidence whatever that there was any weakness, or debility, or delicacy about his frame, more than is common to man in perfect health. Nor were there any signs of extreme weakness or exhaustion about him on his way to Calvary. From what is said by three of the evangelists, that "one Simon, a Cyrenian, was compelled to bear his cross," it has been thought by some that he was so exhausted, by his sleepless night, and scourging in Pilate's hall, that he was unable to bear any part of his cross. But we must not overlook what the evangelist, John says—that "he (Jesus), *bearing his cross*, went forth into a place called Golgotha." This circumstance, that he carried part of his cross, and the manner in which he turned and delivered a long address to the daughters of Jerusalem, agree in shewing that he was not in a state of exhaustion on his way to Calvary; and the loud cries which he uttered, the energy of mind and body which he displayed, in the very act of dying, prove beyond all contradiction that his sudden death was not the result of weakness, or faintness, or bodily debility.

But the latest explanation of the death of Christ is that of those who—rejecting as erroneous all the four explanations just stated—have supposed that the immediate physical cause of his death was rupture of the heart, and consequent effusion of blood into the pericardium. This opinion was, a few years ago, brought into notice by Dr Hanna, in his work on *The Last Day of our Lord's Passion*; and he, as he informs us, "adopted it from a devout and scholarly physician, Dr Stroud,

who, in a treatise on the physical cause of the death of Christ, published in 1847, ventured to suggest that the immediate physical cause of the death of Christ was the rupture of his heart, induced by the inner agony of his spirit."

Dr Stroud's theory is shortly this :—That, as in the history of the human passions, it is a familiar fact that strong emotion has of itself prostrated the body in death—that joy, or grief, or anger, suddenly or intensely excited, has been known to produce death ; and as in such instances it has been found by *post mortem* examinations that the death resulted from actual rupture of the heart, the blood issuing from the rent thus made having filled the pericardium (the membrane surrounding and inclosing the heart), and by its pressure stopping the action of the heart, so this proved result of extreme intense emotion was realized in the case of the Saviour—his sorrow, deep beyond all other sorrow, having broken his heart, as common earthly sorrow has sometimes broken human hearts—the agony of his spirit upon the cross having told upon his physical frame in a way analogous to that in Gethsemane, and equally analogous to other results verified by experience. All this, however, is admitted to be but "a conjecture, a thing conceivable ;" and it is even admitted that, to obtain positive evidence that rupture of the heart was the cause of death, a *post mortem* examination of the chest would be necessary. But then it is alleged that this positive evidence is put into our hands—that within an hour or two of our Saviour's death, what the skilful knife of the anatomist does upon the subject on which it operates, that the soldier's spear did upon the dead body of our Lord—it broadly and deeply pierced his side, so as to pierce the pericardium, from which there flowed blood and water. Now (it is said) this is precisely what would have happened on the supposition that the heart of Jesus had been ruptured under the pressure of inward grief, precisely what has been noticed in other instances of this form of death. And what shuts us up to this conclusion is, that no other satisfactory explanation can be given of the outflow of blood and water from the pierced side of the Saviour. Such is the explanation of the death of Christ given by Dr Stroud ; but it is, in our opinion, exposed to serious objections, medical and theological, some of which we will here mention.

1st. "Rupture of the heart is limited to those advanced in

life, or to such as have been labouring under some degeneration of the structure of the organ ; a condition which rendered it liable to be torn, when subjected to the pressure of some physical exertion, or the weight of mental agony. Now, in regard to Christ, we know that, at the period of his death, he was in the prime of life ; and that as morally he was holy, harmless, and undefiled, so physically he was without spot or blemish."

2d. "That the immediate cause of the death of our Saviour was rupture or laceration of the heart, is a doctrine in regard to which there can be no absolute certainty."

3d. "To obtain positive *proof* that rupture of the heart was the cause of death, a *post mortem* examination of the chest would be necessary."

These three statements are admissions made by two medical authorities brought forward in support of Dr Stroud's theory. We regard the admissions, and here state them, as objections to the theory ; for the first of them appears to us very much like a rejection of the theory ; the second declares it to be a doctrine in regard to which there can be no absolute certainty ; and the third desiderates as positive proof that which was not obtained. The allegation that "the piercing of the Saviour's side after death accomplished that which a *post mortem* examination of the heart would have done," is obviously untenable ; for, First, we do not know which side of the body, nor what part of the side was pierced. Second, the broad and deep wound which the spear made (its size being inferred from Thomas being afterwards asked to thrust, not his finger, but his hand into it), could not have been made on the side of the chest without having fractured some of the ribs—none of which we know were broken. Third, whether the spear pierced the side of the chest, or, which is more probable, the side immediately below the chest, it is certain that it could not have gone on to the pericardium without piercing parts from which blood and water might have flowed. And, lastly, the supposition that the spear went direct to the pericardium, and pierced it, but not the heart nor any other organ, is too fanciful to be accepted as medical evidence of the cause of death in any man.

4th. Dr Stroud, and those who adopt his theory, say that "mental emotions and passions, when in overwhelming excess, occasionally, though rarely, produce laceration or rupture of the

heart." This we admit ; but we cannot admit that the mental emotions, the disordered and ungovernable passions, of a few fallen, sinful men are, in their actings and effects, the *criteria* by which we are to judge of the emotions of the man Christ Jesus. He was "separate from sinners"—separate from them as much in his holy emotions as in his righteous life. "In self-government he had no parallel ; though he took our nature with all its sinless passions, yet in his case passion was completely under the government of moral principle." "His soul," it is true, "was exceedingly sorrowful, even unto death ;" but "the support which his human nature received from his divine nature enabled him to sustain that wrath which the Lawgiver saw meet to lay upon a person who was bearing the sins of the world" (Principal Hill).

5th. The fact that blood and water flowed from the pierced side of the Saviour cannot be regarded as positive evidence that his heart was ruptured, for in Gethsemane "his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground ;" and there are well-authenticated instances on record of cutaneous hæmorrhage, where a dew of blood has appeared upon some portion of the skin, without its being ruptured or altered. From these instances, and other well-known medical facts, we are warranted in concluding that, without any rupture of any internal organ, an internal effusion of blood may have taken place into some internal cavity or part in his side, from which, on being pierced, blood and water would flow.

6th. The explanation of the death of Christ given by Dr Stroud is, from beginning to end, a mere hypothesis ; for, first, the opinion that agony of spirit caused the rupture of his heart, is admitted to be but "a conjecture, a thing conceivable ;" and then, second, what is advanced as positive evidence of the "conjecture," namely, that the soldier's spear pierced the pericardium, and accomplished that which a *post-mortem* examination of the *heart* would have done, is an assumption so incredible and unwarrantable, that we cannot but wonder and regret that an explanation of the death of Christ should have been founded upon it.

7th. The radical and fatal errors of Dr Stroud's theory are, first, that he does not give due attention to, but, as we shall see, rejects the *mode* of, Christ's death, as expressed in the inspired records ; and, second, that he conducts his inquiry into

the cause of death, not on physiological, but on pathological principles, which are not applicable to the death of him who was without sin, and therefore without disease, and not liable or subject to death, but had power to lay down his life of himself.

Lastly. Dr Stroud's theory is founded upon an erroneous conception of the *person* of Christ. In beginning his investigation of the immediate cause of the death of Christ, he says (p. 29), "In all that concerns the sufferings and death of the Saviour, attention will be exclusively directed to a pure and perfect human nature, subject to those influences and agencies which the circumstances involved, and which the Scriptures represent." And he ends his investigation by saying (p. 223), "If in this inquiry the mysterious association of the divine with the human nature of Christ, which is so plainly revealed in Scripture, has hitherto received little notice, it has been for the obvious reason that with the Saviour's sufferings and death his human nature alone was directly concerned." Looking *exclusively* "to Christ's pure and perfect human nature as *alone* concerned in his sufferings and death," it is no wonder that Dr Stroud fell into the error, and "ventured to suggest" that Christ died of rupture of the heart, induced by the inner agony of the spirit. No human creature, not even Adam as he came from the hand of his Creator, could have endured the sufferings that were laid upon Jesus, and which he endured. The extract from Principal Hill's lectures, given above, gives the true conception of the person of Christ "in all that concerns his sufferings and death." For the Scriptures teach that the human nature of Christ was not only free from sin and all sinful infirmities and disease, but also that it never existed by itself, but, from its conception, *subsisted* in the person of the eternal Son of God, so that he "was, and continues to be, God and man, in two distinct natures, and one person, for ever." He suffered and died therefore not as a mere man, but as God-man, and could not sink under his sufferings, as Dr Stroud affirms. Considering that Christ's human nature was prepared for him by the Holy Ghost, and that he, the Son of God, assumed it into a subsistence in his own divine person, "that he might sustain and keep it from sinking under the infinite wrath of God, and the power of death" (*West. Conf.*). Considering also that God had promised to uphold him in all his sufferings

(Ps. lxxxix. 20, 21 ; Isa. xlii. 1, 4, 6 ; xlix. 8 ; l. 7-9), "it was impossible" that he, God-man, could sink under agony of spirit, or die of rupture of the heart (Acts ii. 24). Dr Stroud's theory overlooks not only the dignity of Christ's person as the eternal Son of God, but also the fact that the Father and the Holy Spirit had each of them a part in preparing his human nature for, and in sustaining it under, his sufferings. The theory indeed appears to us something like an impeachment of the wisdom and power of the Godhead. This we say of the theory, not of the author of it, for we believe that had he perceived the objections to which it is exposed, he would never have given it that publicity which it has received. His treatise exhibits a great amount of patient research and pious sentiment, evincing the author to have been, as Dr Hanna has said, "a devout and scholarly physician." But as a medical explanation of the death of Christ, his theory is untenable ; and as a theological opinion, it is not only unscriptural, but anti-scriptural, and far from honouring to the person and work of the exalted Redeemer.

Having considered all the explanations of the death of Christ which we have seen, and having found that neither the sufferings of crucifixion, nor the wound inflicted by the soldier's spear, nor an unusual degree of weakness, nor rupture of the heart induced by the inner agony of his spirit, was the immediate cause of his death, we proceed to consider the evangelical records, in the hope of ascertaining from them what was its immediate and physical cause.

The death of Christ is recorded by all the evangelists, and "it is singular that our translators have not observed the three modes of expression which the evangelists have here adopted" (Townsend). According to our English New Testament, they have all expressed it by saying, "he gave up," or "yielded up, the ghost." But, according to the Greek New Testament, Matthew has expressed it by saying (xxvii. 50), he dismissed, or sent away his spirit. Mark (xv. 37) and Luke (xxiii. 46) say, he breathed out. And John says (xix. 30), he gave up, or delivered up his spirit.

There is no essential difference or diversity in the meaning of these expressions—on the contrary, they are in perfect harmony, or rather identical. For whilst Matthew and John say that Jesus dismissed and delivered up his spirit, Mark and

Luke tell us the way he did so—he breathed it out. This is quite evident from Luke's narrative, for he says, "When Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit: and having said thus, he breathed out;" that is, he breathed out his spirit. The expression, he breathed out, is evidently exegetical of the expression, "into thy hands I commend my spirit." Mark does not indicate what Jesus breathed out, but the word, as it stands in his narrative, warrants the conclusion that Jesus breathed out his breath unto death. The united testimony of the evangelists, then, is, that Jesus died, or laid down his life, by breathing out his spirit; in other words, he breathed out his breath unto death, and (so) dismissed and delivered up his spirit.

But the terms employed in describing the manner of Christ's death require a separate and more particular consideration. When Matthew and John say that he dismissed and delivered up his spirit, the meaning evidently is, that Christ's spirit—that is, his human soul—was not taken from him, as every man's spirit is at death. "The spirits of mere men are, in general, violently separated from the body in a way over which they can have no control; it was for our Lord only to die as the Prince of Life, by an act of supernatural power, and to separate, at his own pleasure, the spirit from the body" (Townsend). Christ had the disposal of his spirit in his own power. He actually dismissed his spirit. The evangelists do not say that his spirit was taken from him, or that it departed from him, or that it returned to God who gave it, as is said of the spirits of men at death (Gen. xxxv. 18, Eccl. xii. 7); but they positively declare, that he sent away or dismissed, gave up or delivered up, his spirit—words which cannot mean merely that he gave himself up, or willingly consented to die, but that he died, or laid down his life, by his own voluntary act.

But as Matthew and John could not see Jesus dismiss or deliver up his spirit—no man could see him do that—how, it may be asked, did they come to know, and affirm so decidedly, that he did so? Apart from inspiration, there were two ways whereby they must have known it. First, they must have known it from the declaration of their Master, when, before his death, he said, "No man taketh my life from me, but I lay it down of myself," &c.; and second, they must have known it

from having themselves seen, or from having heard from others who had seen, something about the manner of his death, which convinced them that he, by his own act, dismissed his spirit. There can be no doubt that Matthew and John would remember their Master's declaration, and on the ground of it believe and declare that he gave up his spirit, or laid down his life of himself. For although they may not have understood his words when they were spoken, yet when he died, or when he was risen from the dead, they must have understood and believed his declaration, just as they understood and believed many of his sayings, which his death and resurrection brought to their remembrance. But, second, they must have known that he, by his own act, dismissed his spirit, from having themselves seen, or heard from others, something about the manner of his death, which convinced them that he did so. This appears from the expression employed by the other two evangelists in recording the death.

Mark and Luke, as stated above, record the death by a word which means "he breathed out." This word, when taken as expressive of Christ's death, leaves us to conclude, and the conclusion is inevitable, that Jesus breathed out his breath unto death. Luke says, in commencing his Gospel, that his object in writing it was "to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among those who, from the beginning, were eye-witnesses of the Word." When, then, he says with Mark, that Jesus breathed out his breath unto death, he must be understood as recording a fact which was most surely believed among those who, from the beginning, were eye-witnesses of Jesus—a fact, therefore, which was most surely believed by Matthew and John, who, knowing it, were fully warranted in declaring, as they have done, that he dismissed and delivered up his spirit; for the man who breathes out his breath unto death does of necessity give up his spirit. The fact recorded by Mark and Luke was evidently the ground or reason why Matthew and John recorded the death in the words they have employed. John, indeed, was an eye-witness of the death of Jesus, and having seen him breathe out his breath unto death, he must be regarded as an eye-witness of what he has recorded.

Here it is of importance to observe, that as from the words of Matthew and John it is evident that Christ was active in

dismissing and delivering up his spirit, so from the words employed by Mark and Luke, it is equally evident that he was active in breathing out his breath unto death. The verbs employed by all the evangelists are active verbs ; and the one adopted by Mark and Luke is derived from another, which means, to breathe, to blow, to blow as the wind, to blow strongly (Matt. vii. 25-27). The Saviour was active in breathing out his last breath ;—his breath was not taken from him, as every one's breath is at death ; but he breathed it out so strongly and persistently, that he prevented inspiration, stopped his respiration, and thus died.

From this examination of the terms employed in recording the death of Christ, we see that the evangelists do not assign any of the ordinary, or natural, or violent, causes of death for his death. They do not say that he died in a faint, or from weakness, or from the sufferings of crucifixion, or from rupture of the heart, or agony of spirit ; neither do they say that he dismissed his spirit by a word, or command, or fiat of power, without any physical agency ; but, according to Mark and Luke, he called into exercise and made use of the physical agency of expiration, and by that function of his physical nature, he breathed out his spirit ; or, to combine the expressions of all the evangelists, he breathed out his breath unto death, and (so) dismissed and delivered up his spirit, thus laying down his life by an act of his divine power, the obvious effect and the Physical Cause of His Death being Privation of Breath, or—speaking medically—*Apnœa*.

It will be seen that the words we have adopted, as expressive of the immediate cause of the Saviour's death, are an exact copy of the expressions employed by the evangelists in recording his death. And if their expressions are to be interpreted, as they must be, by the words which Jesus himself spoke before his death, "No one taketh my life from me, but I lay it down of myself ; I have power to lay it down,"—then the above explanation of his death is established upon scriptural authority.

But here it must be carefully observed, that the act by which he laid down his life was not the act of his human nature, but the act of his divine nature—not his act *as man*, but his act as God. This is quite evident. For, as it is impossible for any mere man to accomplish his decease by breathing out his breath, or dismissing his spirit, so it was impossible for Christ,

as man, to do so. As man, he *suffered* death—voluntarily, submissively, obediently—but as man he could not lay down his life in the manner recorded. We must then beware of regarding that as true of his human nature, which is true only of his divine nature or person.

The power to lay down his life, which Christ claimed, was not a power inherent in or belonging to his human nature, but a power inherent in and belonging to his divine nature. This is very evident. For the power which he claimed, and possessed, was power, not only to lay down his life, but to take it again; and he could not speak of his human nature as having this power inherent in itself, for “no such power of communicating life to itself when the vital energy has ceased, can be inherent in any creature, seeing it is the peculiar power of the Deity to communicate life to his creatures. It must therefore be resident in the nature in which our Lord is essentially Son, and be true in his divinity, in which his human nature exists.”

Besides, his human nature was prepared for and assumed by him, the eternal Son, to be a sacrifice and offering for sin; but the sacrifice of his “body,” which he offered, was not, could not be, the act of his body, or human nature, but was the act of his divine person, as God’s High Priest. It was the act of the Son of God *in* human nature, who, by his divine power, breathed out his spirit unto death, and thus “sacrificed himself.” (See Heb. x. 1–14, and ix. 26.)

The manner of Christ’s death, as recorded by the evangelists, may be illustrated by the vivification of Adam. When man was formed of the dust of the ground, “the Lord God,” it is said, “breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul.” Breath may be called the breath of life, because breath, or the breathing of air (respiration), is necessary to the existence and maintenance of animal life; and as the breathing in the breath of life into Adam’s nostrils, and by them into his lungs—his first inspiration—was the commencement of his respiration, and immediate cause of his animal life, so Christ’s breathing out the breath of life in him—his last expiration—was the stoppage of his respiration, and immediate cause of his death. And further, as with the breath of life breathed into Adam, that is, with his animal life there was given to him a living soul, so by breathing out the breath

of life in him, that is, by giving up his animal life, the Lord Jesus gave up his living soul.

That Christ was to die in the manner recorded by the evangelists was evidently foretold by Isaiah, when he said (liii. 12), "He hath poured out his soul unto death," This prediction of the prophet is seen to be fulfilled in the death of Christ, as recorded by all the evangelists, especially by Luke, who says, "He breathed out his spirit." And what is remarkable, Isaiah completes his expression with the words "unto death," words which are evidently understood to be added to the word used by Mark and Luke, so that we have the evangelists saying with the prophet, "He hath poured out his soul unto death." The words of Isaiah are very expressive, for what words could better, or so well, express the uninterrupted expiration whereby the Saviour died, than the words, "He hath poured out his soul unto death."

From what we have now seen, it appears that all the evangelists have recorded the death of Christ, and that two of them have done it by a word which not only registers the death, but also specifies the immediate, and indicates the physical cause of it; and this fact ought, we think, to be regarded as authoritative and decisive of the question as to the immediate and physical cause of his death.

Before passing from the expressions which describe the manner of Christ's death, it is of importance to observe, that the expressions employed by the evangelists in recording his death are not employed anywhere else in the Greek New Testament, nor at all in the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament, so far as we know, in recording the death of any one. Of no one but Christ is it said that in dying he breathed out and dismissed his spirit. The phrase, he gave up the ghost, is used in our English New Testament in recording the death of Herod and of Ananias and Sapphira; but the original word in these three cases is not a word employed by any of the evangelists in recording the death of Christ, but a word which means, he suffered deliquium, he died in a faint, he breathed out the breath or principle of animal life. Herod and Ananias and Sapphira breathed out their last breath, just as all men do, by having their breath and life *taken from them*. This is manifest from the records of their death. Again, although in our English Old Testament the same phrase is used in recording the death of Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob,

&c., yet, according to the Septuagint, the word used in these cases signifies, he failed entirely, came to an end, ceased ; so that the expression, he gave up the ghost, is not the proper rendering in any of the places of the Old or New Testament where the phrase is employed. Hence we have not in Scripture any analogous case, or example of that mode of death which Christ died ; and the reason is obvious—no man ever died as he died—his death, like his resurrection from the dead, was an act of his divine power.

Some learned men question whether the expressions used by the evangelists to indicate Christ's actual dying can be regarded as so peculiar and so significant of the voluntariness of the act as is above represented. They say that the expressions, which are exclusively applied in the Greek New Testament to the death of Christ, are applied by Greek classical writers to the death of ordinary men. This need not be questioned ; for in our own language the expressions, he gave up the ghost, and he expired, are applied to the death of ordinary men, and even to the death of irrational animals. But this application of the expressions does not in the least lessen the importance which we attach to them, as applied by the evangelists to the death of Christ. The things recorded in Scripture must be received, understood, and explained, not according to the words, or uses of words, of uninspired men, but according to the words of the men who wrote the Scriptures. The inspired writers "speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth, comparing spiritual things with spiritual," explaining spiritual things by spiritual words—the words of the Spirit (1 Cor ii. 23 ; 1 Thess. ii. 13). And when, in recording the death of Christ, they have employed words different from that which they have employed in recording the death of ordinary men, it is manifest that his death, as to the mode or manner of it, was different from that of ordinary men. The sacred writers "always wrote pure truth in infallibly correct language" (Hodge) ; but it is not correct language, it is not pure truth, to express or record the death of any ordinary man by saying, he delivered up, or dismissed, his spirit, he expired, or breathed out his breath unto death.

The expression, he gave up the ghost, and that other common among us, he expired, seem to have come into use as conventional phrases to denote one's death, although no man

ever did, or ever can, of his own will, give up his spirit, or expire so as to accomplish his death. No man, in health or in disease, has power to die by expiring or giving up his spirit. This will appear more evident when we consider Christ's words, "*I have power to lay down my life.*"

From an examination of the records of his death, we have ascertained what was its immediate and its physical cause; but the evangelical narrative takes us farther into the mysteries of his death, mentioning certain circumstances attending it, which explain more fully the immediate cause, and the sacrificial nature of his death, and these we will now consider.

From the evangelical narrative, it appears—

1st. That Jesus, on the cross, immediately before his death, gave unequivocal indications that he laid down his life by his own voluntary act.

Jesus voluntarily gave himself up to his enemies *to be crucified*. This it was *necessary* for him to do, that the Scriptures might be fulfilled, and that his death might be what it really was (Gal. iii. 10). But to suppose that he gave himself up to his enemies, that they might take his life from him, is to contradict his own plain, unambiguous words, "No man taketh my life from me, but I lay it down of myself," &c. These words he spoke some time before his crucifixion, and now, on the cross, his desertion by his Father being over, every word and action of his indicated that he was about to do as he had said. No one can fail to perceive that in his last moments he was *intent* on laying down his life, and that he proceeded in doing it, with calm deliberation, fixed determination, and heavenly majesty. Jesus, it is said, knowing that all things were now accomplished, and that one thing only remained to be fulfilled, namely, that vinegar would be given him to drink, that this Scripture might be fulfilled, he said, "I thirst." Then, having received and tasted the vinegar, he said, "It is finished." And having said thus, he cried with a loud voice, saying, "Father, into thy hands I commend (commit) my spirit." Here was an unequivocal *intimation* that he was about to give up his spirit, or lay down his life, by his own voluntary act. And how could he do so? Crucified as he was, how could he do it, but just in the way recorded by the evangelists, who say that, having bowed his head, he breathed out his spirit. The bowing down of his head indicated that

he was making an expiration, for in inspiration the head is elevated. He bowed his head, perhaps, for the purpose of compressing his chest, and preventing it from being again expanded. But however that may have been, it is evident that he bowed his head for the purpose of breathing out his spirit. The evangelists do not say that he breathed out his spirit, and that *then* his head declined ; as if he had died in a faint, or of any disease of sudden illapse. Had he died from any disease of the heart, as rupture of that organ, his last expiration would not have been seen, as the evangelists say it was ; and it would have preceded, rather than followed, the bowing down of his head. From the bowing down of his head we learn also that before he bowed it it was *erect*—a plain proof that he was not labouring under extreme weakness, or exhaustion, or disease, but that he was in full strength. Everything, indeed, that he said and did before he died, makes it manifest that he died by his own voluntary act of divine power.

2d. From the evangelical narrative it appears that the death of Christ, by breathing out his breath unto death, was witnessed by the centurion, who, when he heard Jesus commit his spirit into the hands of his Father, and then saw him immediately breathe out his breath unto death, was convinced that he was not an ordinary man, but a man who had power, even divine power, over his life, for he said, “Truly this man was the Son of God.”

That there was something marvellous and worthy of being recorded in the loud cry which attracted the centurion’s attention, cannot be doubted ; but neither can it be doubted that there was something more marvellous, and more *necessary to be seen and recorded*, in the last expiration which Jesus made ; for had not his loud cry been followed by his act of breathing out his breath unto death, it would have appeared that he had failed in giving up his spirit into the hands of his Father. But his last expiration *was seen*, and hence Mark, in bringing forward the centurion as a witness of it, says that the “centurion stood over against him”—a favourable position for *seeing* Jesus as he cried out and breathed out his breath unto death.

3d. From the evangelical narrative we see that Jesus, by breathing out his breath and spirit unto death, stopped his respiration suddenly, and thereby caused an internal effusion

of blood ; the evidence of the internal effusion being, that, an hour or two after death, when his side was pierced by the soldier's spear, forthwith came there out blood and water.

On reading the gospels, it will be observed that all the evangelists make it manifest that Jesus, by breathing out his spirit unto death, stopped his respiration suddenly. This fact, so clearly seen in the records of his death, demands our particular attention. For, according to the findings of medical science, when the respiration of a man in health has been made to cease "by suddenly cutting off the access of air to the lungs, the right side of the heart, the great veins, and indeed the venous system generally, become loaded and distended with dark blood ; and in the stomach blood has been found actually extravasated—in short, *unequivocal hæmorrhage*." And in such cases it is found that the blood "exudes from the *unbroken* surfaces of organs without any appreciable *lesion* of arteries, veins, or capillaries, just in the same manner as sweat oozes from the skin."

We state these facts, not for the purpose of founding upon them, but to shew that the explanation of the death of Christ, which we are drawing from the evangelical records, is in perfect harmony with medical science. Every medical man, who admits that Jesus died in the manner recorded by the evangelists, will admit that the sudden stoppage of his respiration would possibly cause an internal effusion of blood into some internal organ or cavity in his side, from which, on being pierced, effused blood would flow. According to medical science, and according to Scripture, as we shall presently see, the sudden stoppage of his respiration (his death), and the internal effusion of his blood, stand in the relation of cause and effect.

That the flow of blood and water from the Saviour's pierced side gave evidence that, in and by his death, his blood was shed internally, appears when we consider what takes place when blood is shed or drawn from the surface of the body into some external vessel. When blood is taken from a vein in the arm, and received into a cup, and the cup remains at rest, the blood soon separates into blood and water—that is, in medical language, *crassamentum* and *serum*; and if in an hour or two the contents of the cup be poured out, there will come out, not the fluid blood as it came from the arm, but blood and water, shewing that blood had been shed from a blood-vessel into the

cup sometime before its contents were poured out. In like manner, when blood is effused internally, into some internal cavity of the body, it there also soon separates into blood and water ; and if in an hour or two the cavity be pierced, there will come out blood and water, giving evidence that blood had been effused into the cavity sometime before it was pierced. The blood and water, then, which came from the pierced side of the Saviour, was positive evidence that his blood had been effused internally, into some internal cavity or part in his side, sometime before his side was pierced. Had there been no previous internal effusion of blood into his side, blood only—that is, blood in its normal state, would have come from it when it was pierced ; but the blood and water which came from it gave positive proof that, sometime before his side was pierced, blood had been effused into it, and had there separated into blood and water. That the blood was shed or effused when he died, is evident from the period of time that elapsed between his death and the piercing of his side. The period is not precisely stated by any of the evangelists ; but they say that he died at, or rather after, the ninth hour (three o'clock P.M.), and that he was taken down from the cross “when the even was come”—that is, at the eleventh hour (five o'clock P.M.) ; so that his side must have been pierced within an hour or two of his death. From these circumstances it is evident that, when he breathed out his spirit unto death, his blood was shed internally.

4th. From the evangelical narrative we see that, in the death of Christ, there was the giving up of his life, and the shedding of his blood, and thus the “sacrifice of himself,” as taught in other parts of Scripture.

On reading the narrative of the Saviour's death, we see at once that he laid down his life ; but we do not see so readily that, in doing so, his blood was shed. Yet, as we have seen, the blood and water, which after death came from his pierced side, gave positive evidence that his blood was shed in the act of dying. And this important truth is taught in many parts of Scripture. There are many texts that might be adduced in proof of it ; but a brief consideration of two ordinances having reference to his death will be sufficient.

First, We know that the blood of Christ was shed in and by his death from his words to his disciples, when he instituted

the ordinance of the supper. On that occasion, it is written that "He took bread and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, saying, Take eat; this is my body, which is broken for you. Likewise also he took the cup, saying, This is my blood of the New Testament, which is *shed* for many for the remission of sins." In these words our Lord evidently referred to his death, when his body was to be broken, and his blood shed. He obviously meant, that as he himself had broken the bread, so his body would be broken; and as the wine had been poured out, so his blood would be poured out in the act of dying. We have seen that his body was broken—his soul separated from his body—by his breathing out his soul unto death; and from his words to his disciples, just quoted, we see that his blood was to be shed by the same act of dying. Every time, indeed, that we partake of the Lord's Supper, we have in the cup a sensible sign and proof that his blood was shed in and by his death; for, says the apostle, "as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come."

Second, We know that his blood was shed in the act of dying on the cross, from the work he was then engaged in accomplishing. He was then, as the Great High Priest of his people, making atonement for their sins; and, like every high priest, it was necessary that he should take and bring the blood of his sacrifice before the Lord. His sacrifice was his body; and it behoved him, as the Priest, to make atonement with the blood of his sacrifice—that is, with his own blood; for without shedding of blood there is no remission of sin. No other priest but the high priest could, on the day of atonement, sacrifice the sin-offering, and with its blood enter into the holy place, and make a typical atonement. And so none but the Great High Priest could sacrifice the true sin-offering, and, with its blood, enter into the holy place, and make the true atonement for sin. "Christ," says the apostle, "being come an high priest, put away sin by the sacrifice of himself; and by his own blood entered into the holy place" (Heb. ix. 11, 12, 26). Here we have it distinctly and positively declared, that Christ sacrificed himself, and by his own blood entered into heaven.

We have, then, two kinds of proof for the doctrine that Christ's blood was shed when he died:—First, we have the above positive statements of Scripture, and others that might be quoted; and, second, we have the flow of blood and water

from his pierced side, previously considered. We have the fact, that his blood was shed when he died ; and the fact, that an hour or two after death there issued from his pierced side blood and water. And, connecting these two things as cause and effect, we conclude that, when he died, his blood was shed internally, and thus gave rise to the flow of blood and water from his pierced side. We must of necessity connect the two things as cause and effect, for we cannot understand or explain either of them but by thus connecting them. We cannot perceive in the gospel history any proof that his blood was shed when he died, if the flow of blood and water from his pierced side be not the proof of it. We cannot understand or assign any cause for the flow of blood and water from his pierced side, if the shedding of his blood in death was not the cause of it. We must either connect the two things as cause and effect, and thus get a clear understanding of them both, or deny their connection, and leave them both unexplained. But by connecting them both together as cause and effect, we see the truth and significance of them both ; and the doctrine is placed beyond a doubt that, in and by his death, his blood was shed internally, and after death poured out from his pierced side in the form of blood and water.

We regard the flow of blood and water from the pierced side of the Saviour as positive and most precious evidence that, in his death, his blood was shed. For, if it is not to be so regarded, where have we any evidence that the blood of his sacrifice was shed, and that with it he made atonement for sin. The blood which he lost, when his hands and his feet were nailed to the cross, cannot be regarded as the blood of atonement, for that blood, though shed with his consent, was not shed *sacrificially*. Neither can the blood which he shed in the garden of Gethsemane be regarded as the blood of atonement, for it was not accompanied with his death. Where then have we any evidence that Christ sacrificed himself, and thus made atonement for sin, but in that flow of blood and water from his pierced side, which was so distinctly seen and recorded by the apostle John, and which was evidently foreshadowed under the law, when the priest, having sprinkled the blood of his sacrifice before the Lord, "poured out all the blood at the bottom of the altar, at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation" (Lev. iv. 13-21 ; John xix. 34, 35 ; 1 John v. 6) ?

We attach great importance to the actual shedding of Christ's blood, and to the explanation of his death which secures it. In his death, there was both an offering and a sacrifice (Eph. v. 2; Heb. ix. 26). He offered his soul, which may be called his higher life—"He made his soul an offering for sin" (Isa. liii. 10, 12; Luke xxiii. 46). This, it is obvious, was not a sacrifice, but an offering. The life of the soul was preserved, and offered unto God. But then there was a *real sacrifice* of his body (Heb. x. 4, 5)—the giving up of his animal life, the symbol of which was the shedding of his blood. According to Old Testament usage, the shedding of the blood was the giving or pouring forth of the animal life, and the New Testament equivalent or antitype to this is the shedding of Christ's blood—the giving, not of his higher life, but of his animal life. In the sacrifice of Christ, as in the typical sacrifices, the real sacrifice undoubtedly stood in the pouring forth of the animal life; but then, in the typical sacrifices, and so also in the sacrifice of Christ, there was required the symbol of life, the shedding of blood, for without shedding of blood there is no sacrifice, no atonement, no remission of sin. The shedding of blood was essentially necessary to every sacrifice, and therefore to that of our Lord; and it is just because the shedding of blood was the symbol of the giving or pouring forth of the life, that we would expect to see the shedding of Christ's blood brought out in any scriptural explanation of his death. The sacrificial language of the Old Testament is adopted in the New Testament, especially in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and in that Epistle it is clear, beyond question, that in the sacrifice of Christ, as in the typical sacrifices, there was actual blood-shedding. A careful consideration of the following passages will shew that the actual shedding of Christ's blood, and the explanation of his death which secures it, are matters of vital importance, and not over-estimated in our inquiry:—Matt. xxvi. 28; Acts xx. 28; Rom. iii. 25; v. 9; Eph. i. 7; ii. 13; Col. i. 20; Heb. ix. 7, 12, 13, 14, 18–24; x. 4, 19, 28, 29; xii. 24; xiii. 12, 20; 1 Pet. i. 18, 19; 1 John i. 7; Rev. i. 5; v. 9; vii. 14.

We are now in a position to obviate the plea advanced in support of Dr Stroud's theory—namely, that it accounts for the outflow of blood and water from the Saviour's pierced side. This plea seems to be the main argument on which they rest

the truth of their explanation, for they say, "What shuts us up to this conclusion (that Christ died of rupture of the heart) is, that no other satisfactory explanation can be given of the outflow." Now, supposing no other satisfactory explanation of the outflow could be given, it would not be a conclusive proof, nor any proof of the truth of Dr Stroud's theory, that it appears to give an explanation of the outflow; for a theory that seems to do that may, in itself, be a pure invention of the imagination, and highly objectionable, as Dr Stroud's theory certainly is. Had his theory been in any sense or in any degree satisfactory, the circumstance that it seemed to give an explanation of the outflow would have entitled it to a careful consideration. But when his theory is not satisfactory, when it is contradicted by Scripture, and unsupported by any rational medical evidence, it cannot be accepted on the plea that no other satisfactory explanation can be given of the outflow.

We have taken our explanation from the Scriptures, especially from the gospel history, the fountain of all truth concerning Christ's person and work, life and death, and we have found that, in fulfilment of the great work for which he came into the world, he sacrificed himself, laid down his life to the effusion of his blood—which blood, being effused within his body, was, after death, poured out from his pierced side in the form of blood and water; and thus we have an adequate, intelligible, and satisfactory explanation of the outflow—an explanation becoming the person and work of the divine Redeemer, the Great High Priest of God.

JOHN WOOD.

TRANSLATED ARTICLE.¹*Theiner's Acts of the Council of Trent.*

Acta genuina SS. œcumenici concilii Tridentini sub Paulo III., Julio III., et Pio IV. PP. MM. ab Angelo Massarello episcopo Thelesino eiusdem concilii secretario conscripta, nunc primum integra edita ab Augustino Theiner. . . . Tomus i. ii. . . . Zagabria (Croatia), typis et sumptibus societatis bibliophilæ; Lipsiæ, in œdibus Breitkopfii et Härtelii (1874).

WHEN the Bishop of Rottenburg closed his great history of councils without its true conclusion, the history of the Council of Trent, he did so with the apology, that to write a history of that council before the publication of the records of it, meant to work for the trunkmakers. These records, from the Vatican archives, lie now before us, edited by the former keeper of the same, Father Theiner, as they were written down by Massarelli; who, coming to Trent as secretary to one of the cardinal legates, and being immediately chosen secretary of the council, chronicled the acts of the three synods, which, taken together, are spoken of as the Council of Trent, and preserved the documents of every regular session from the first to the last eighteen years later.

The decrees of these twenty-five sessions were immediately, after the conclusion of the council, officially published as *canones et decreta concilii Trid.*, and are at hand in well-known editions. From Massarelli's publication we see only the sometimes important minorities, which, according to the procedure of the council, likewise committed their dissent, with reasons, to writing; these *cedulæ* were without further effect subjoined to the acts, so that even on dogmatic propositions, while unanimity was striven after, the decisions were reached only by majorities. But the importance of the *Acta genuina* lies in the transactions of the General Congregations, of those secret sessions, in which the proposals of the presiding legates were discussed, and even provisionally voted upon; as also in manifold preliminary meetings, during the first synod under Paul III., of the three classes into which the whole council was divided; the theological prelates as special authorities, and the so-called *theologi minores*, in truth the greatest Catholic theologians of their time, who, sent by Pope or princes, or brought with them

¹ From the *Jenaer Literaturzeitung*, 1875. No. XLII.

by bishops, exercised a decided influence on the formulation of the decrees. Theiner has given us all these acts, though not indeed without omissions and abridgments, which have called forth the objection, in the interest of exactness in the use of historical sources, that the Acts of Trent do not even yet lie before us according to the original documents. As far as any blame rests on the editor for this, the undersigned must take a share of it to himself.

Theiner had begun his edition in his own Vatican Press, with the full approbation of the Pope. Then the policy of the Jesuits, which has more and more ensnared Pius IX., found this publication dangerous to the authority of the Church, and Theiner was obliged to withdraw the sheets that were already in type. In Easter 1870, he complained of this to me. Our conversation ended in the persuasion that only in Protestant countries could such an undertaking be carried out without obstacle, and I had no hesitation in indicating that it was quite practicable to carry out this suggestion. On the 24th of April, as I returned early from Olevano, in order not to miss the public sitting of the council to be held on that day, I found a note for me expressing the desire that when I came again to St Peter's, I would come up, after the meeting, to Galileo's Tower (the official residence of the keeper of the archives in the Vatican), in order to have some further conversation on that subject. As in this still idyllic period of the council, the monotonous *placet* soon tired me, I went to Theiner while the sitting was still proceeding. He calculated the work would occupy four good quarto volumes, and counted it necessary, to prevent every obstacle connected with himself personally, that these four volumes should be printed simultaneously, and published on the same day. I did not conceal my fear that so big a work could be purchased by few at least in Germany, and that therefore its publication would in this view be a risk ; still, in the historical interest of the undertaking, I could assure him of the consent of my own publisher in Leipzig, who was also my intimate friend ; and we enjoyed the thought, that at the same hour when they held a new council below, the final publication of the history of the last great council was concerted against the will of the Jesuits on the heights of the Vatican.

Soon after this, Theiner, who had been highly valued by two so

different Popes, was deposed by the influence of the Jesuits, and the gate to what was to him the very well of life, the historical secrets of the Papacy, was shut against him, while the Pope, in memory of what he had been to him, left to him undisturbed his official residence and its belongings. He still possessed the complete copy of these Acts, and our plan remained in force; but he delayed its execution from year to year, distracted no doubt by the contending interests of the learned historian and the papal official. At length, in the spring of 1874, when he had responded to the pressure of his friends to give up his Vatican residence after the summer rustication (because, if the now enfeebled man were to die there, we regarded his manuscript treasures as lost), and when already a residence in an independent religious house beyond the Tiber was prepared for him, he communicated to me his decision to begin printing his book in Leipzig in the ensuing summer, under my supervision.

About this time also he wrote the preface, which makes no allusion to the Rome of the day, unless in the observation that by departing from the course prescribed at Trent, every future council would become a comedy, and be a source of ruin to the Church and of joy to the heterodox. He has there also held it necessary for the glory of Trent, to describe, on the one hand, in sufficiently dark colours, the shadows which at that time rested on the Church, and, on the other, to describe our reformers in not less dark hues, and this in the tone of a Romish controversial preacher. Theiner was, at least in the latter half of his learned life, no zealot; he lent assistance to Protestant scholars, as far as his office permitted, without reluctance. I have myself, in the course of an acquaintance that extended over twenty years, and gradually ripened into friendship, never heard from him one offensive or proselytising word; we treated each other's ecclesiastical standpoint as a historically and morally necessary presupposition.

At the same time as he wrote me his decision, he told me with special delight, to quiet my mercantile solicitude, that he had found means to reduce the extent of his work by fully a half. His means were—(1) that all documents which were already correctly printed in other books, should be omitted, retaining only a reference to the books where they might be found. This certainly carries with it a measure of inconvenience for those who seek thoroughly to study and to write the history of

the Council of Trent, but still it must strictly be counted right and proper not to swell out collections of original documents, by printing a second time what we already possess under sufficiently careful editing in well-known works. (2.) The titles and designations which continually recur in mentioning the names of every person who voted, should be omitted, and the formal addresses which contain nothing bearing on the business of the council, should receive only a general indication of their nature, even when they had not been previously printed. The second class of omissions certainly affords scope for the influence of personal judgment; but let one reflect how many of such addresses at the Council of Trent are already known—sermons, introductions, addresses by prelates, formal speeches by the ambassadors of princes, who at that time were not without reason termed *oratores*—and he will hardly feel uneasy about the loss of the *specimina eloquentiæ* that have been committed to oblivion. (3.) Omission and contraction of the *vota* that were given. To judge of this bold excision, one must consider the usual method of procedure in regard to these *vota*. All those who were entitled to vote commonly voted, with a statement of their reasons, in the order of their place in the General Congregations; and these congregations, when the object was to find for conflicting opinions a formula that would unite them, were prolonged by manifold repetition; and as is the manner with eloquent ecclesiastics, these *vota* were, in spite of all exhortations to brevity, often carried to great length, so that when under Pius IV. the number of members had grown, a single test vote on a decree occupied several days.

So in our oral conversation, I understood that the *vota* of those who sought and said the same thing would be only specified and counted, but not monotonously repeated. Certainly something more appears to have been done; the less important *vota* are sometimes abridged. In this way, something of the definiteness of the original documents has been lost—a disadvantage which must appear the more considerable, from the relation of Theiner's work to Massarelli's records, for Massarelli seems to have already done the same thing, and it hence sometimes seems doubtful whether the abridgment was made by Theiner or by Massarelli himself. The records of the public sittings are formal notarial instruments, but those of

the General Congregations and other transactions seem more like reports made up out of the original notes. I found no trace of a regular official reading of these reports; but only in case of doubt, as for example in a congregation upon original sin, when the vote in relation to the Virgin seemed doubtful, Massarelli writes (i. 146): *legi vota, an bene collecta essent et concordarent cum sententiis dictis*, and no opposition is made to his certification of having put down the *vota* (i. 212), *quae ad unguem et ad verbum per me notata sunt*. When in the General Congregation of 7th November 1562, it was asserted and disputed that a canon for the divine institution of episcopacy had already been decreed by the council under Julius III. in 1551, Massarelli, as we again learn from what he himself writes (ii. 165), delivered an extremely accurate and complete oral account of what had then occurred, from which it appeared that the canon in question was indeed proposed and discussed, but no decision was reached. He appealed to his *acta*, now for seventeen years, faithfully noted down. Still he appears not to have read to them the part of the *acta* bearing upon the subject; and he concludes pathetically: *Verum si mihi in actis concilii non crederetur, cui crederetur?* And with this the whole affair passed as settled. The acts of the council under Julius III. he concludes with the confession (i. 600): *Ego Angelus Massarellus, etc., quia sessionibus, decretorum publicationibus, congregationibus tam generalibus quam particularibus et omnibus et singulis aliis actibus suprascriptis interfui, eaque omnia adnotavi, ideo ea omnia uti vera originalia et authentica manu propria scripsi et hic in fidem et testimonium præmissorum subscripsi*. This is certainly true of his conduct of his work in the Synod under Pius IV. also, where he at the same time voted as bishop.

There is extant, moreover, another note-book of the same Massarelli, described as *Diarium privatum*, drawn up at different periods of the triple council, and in two different forms, one apparently meant for his cardinal, and carried only for so long, the other being continued as preparatory material, and for his own use. In it, it is said (i. 64): *Hodie non est habita congregatio generalis*; and of letters to the Cardinal of Trent (i. 54) it is said: *Quas heri sero acceperat*, shewing it was written contemporaneously. What Raynald has im-

parted to us from this book in his annals, and Theiner in his notes to the acts of the three first sessions, contains more of what occurred outside the council, but also many an individual incident of the council itself, which has not been admitted into the records.

A critique by Dr von Druffel, in the *Bonn Theolog. Literaturblatt* (July 1875), seeks, by comparing the Diary with Theiner's text, to prove the untrustworthiness of the latter. In it there stands the simple notice (i. 33), that on St Stephen's day, Count Ludwig von Nugarola preached before the council, he being described as *cler. saecularis*. But in the Diary we read, that on the intercession of the Cardinal of Trent, it was permitted to that Count, who, though he was a layman, was skilled in theology, to preach this sermon. The result did not answer expectations. The Count wore during the sermon a borrowed cap, such as the cardinals and the auditors of the Rota wore. Hence, concludes Dr von Druffel, "if the text of Theiner is right, the interesting fact falls, that a layman then preached the feast-sermon, and at the same time the trustworthiness of the Diary is set in a very suspicious light. But Nugarola himself in a writing, of date 1549, complained that admission to the council was denied him, on account of his being a layman: '*Non consequi potui ut mihi quod maxime optabam in concilium pateret aditus. Magnum enim se facturos patres illi putabant nefas, si me, qui nullis essem initiatus sacris, in suum gregem admississent.*'" Now this, according to the critique in question, shews that Theiner has, of his own accord, added to the text of the record the word *cleric* as a self-evident completion of it, and is thus convicted of an open and naked untruth. But this judgment is too rashly pronounced. It cannot have been the bare entrance to the council that the theological Count means, for this was constantly granted to the higher lay nobility under the title of witnesses; what he wished was a seat and a vote. This desire, on the part of an actual layman, would at that time have been unprecedented, as would also a lay-sermon before the council. But if one looks more precisely at the words of his complaint, they indicate only the want of priestly ordination, *nullis sacris initiatus*; the Count could therefore still have possessed the *ordines minores*; and if this were so, the same Massarelli might, in an indifferent notice, describe him quite rightly as

clericus, and yet might in his Diary, in his anger at the sermon and the usurped cardinal's cap, describe him as a layman.

Dr von Druffel also cites from the Diary an expression of the Bishop of La Cava: *Evangelio Joannis non credo quia ab ecclesia sit acceptum sed quia Joannis est*, which, in the congregation of 15th February 1546, was called heretical, as in fact it is Protestant, doctrine. Raynald, in his annals, omitted this on purpose, says our critic, "because it was one of the most devoted bishops of the States of the Church who was assailed with this reproach of heresy." Theiner, too, omits the expression, and though this can hardly excite suspicions of systematic falsification, "he is not to be acquitted of the charge of omitting important matters, and so depriving us of the means of checking Raynald's falsification without recourse to the MS. (of the Diary)." But Theiner does not profess to give the Diary complete, and as for this most devoted bishop of the Papal states, which, by the way, never included La Cava, Theiner's text in the minute of the General Congregation of 17th July 1546 (i. 190), records that he said, *Se non esse haereticum de quo ab aliquibus accusabatur, cum dixerit hominem sola fide justificari*, and that he proved this by citations from Fathers of the Church who taught the same doctrine. As the meeting broke up, a Greek bishop said, *Cavensis non potest se excusare vel de magna protervia vel de magna ignorantia*. The subject of this remark, who had partly overheard it, asked, "What do you say?" The other replies, "I say that your lordship cannot escape the charge either of great impudence or of great ignorance." Then the Neapolitan clutched the beard of the Greek with both hands, and, without a word, tore out part of the hair. They were immediately parted, and on the same day a General Congregation determined to confine the bishop of Cava in a monastic cell. After twelve days he was released, on the intercession of the injured party, upon condition that he should at once leave Trent to seek absolution from the Pope. Raynald, too, and Pallavicini, mention this scene. Surely this is not prudent silence about matters of a compromising character.

Theiner gives the first three sessions, and all that belongs to them, "almost uncondensed," that they may serve as a specimen of the original form. It nowhere appears as if the later discussions, especially in cases where opinions differed, presented

a less clear picture to the reader. Even as they are now printed, the *vota* contain abundance of repetition and unimportant matter. All that we read of a vote of a Spanish bishop, in the last General Congregation is, *Vicensis quædam dixit* (ii. 500).

It is a want of precision on the part of Theiner, that he has not stated whether the eight volumes of the Vatican archives, which contain Massarelli's records, are the official papers as written by his own hand. I have myself (after the deposition of the Prefect) seen only the copy such as he was accustomed to have made for him by the scribes of the archives. The Vatican possesses the authentic signatures of all the voters in the last session, which Theiner has had engraved in copperplate along with the letter of St Charles Borromeo, exhorting that the council be brought to a close on account of the illness of his uncle, the Pope; it is therefore probable that the papal archives possess also the official *acta*. In the editing I can detect no trace of changes or omissions for an object, and there was no temptation to any such course in the situation and disposition of the editor in the last years of his life.

The acts during the time when the Pope transferred the council to Bologna are not published, since this interlude, however interesting politically, issued in no recognised decree. On the other hand, the work includes the history of the Synod under Pius IV., by Paleotto, who was much used as Protototarius in the secret discussions with the prelates, and was afterwards Bishop of Bologna and Cardinal. This is the oldest history of the council, and full of individual traits. It had been already edited, it is true, by the Anglican Mendham in 1842, but from a MS. so incorrect that the new edition from a good Vatican codex is a valuable addition. With the MS. thus completed, Theiner crossed the Alps in June 1874, and first visited some clerical friends in Croatia. Here, in Agram, he was induced to entrust printing and publication to the recently founded *Societas Bibliophila*. It is characteristic of the power of Catholic forms, even over liberally-minded and high-souled men, that when Theiner was unable to make up his mind to give up his former agreement in the matter, Bishop Strossmayer advised him to read a mass, and therewith to pray the Lord to advise him aright. The printing was already begun in Agram, when the old German-hearted scholar was impelled

by Italian home-sickness to return in the heat of summer, and, on the 9th of August, died, after a brief illness, where the mother of St Augustin lies buried.

The edition of the Bibliophilic Society is excellent, as regards paper and type. The correction of proof-sheets seems to be not so well understood in Croatia; but the errors of the press are seldom of a kind to obscure the sense to the students of such literature. Some of the chronological errata might prove misleading; but they are mostly too naive to be dangerous, as when (ii. 662) the preparations for the twenty-fourth session are dated 19th July 1863. I do not find that the publication of these minutes will modify in any essential feature the current judgment as to the course of the Tridentine Council, which Protestants derive mainly from Sarpi's history. They give, however, documentary insight into the laborious shaping of the new Catholic doctrine and the reformed constitution of the Church. Especially in the doctrine of justification, where it was necessary, on the one hand, to throw a veil over the Pelagian tendencies in Catholic theology, and, on the other hand, to exclude the Protestant solution, based on Paul and Augustin, of salvation by faith alone, a month of vain essays towards union ended in such a state of things, that, in the General Congregation of 30th July 1546, the presiding legate confessed (i. 212): *Quod ipsa vota sunt adeo confusa et dubia ut non appareat in quam sententiam major pars declinet.* The dogma continued to be discussed and fought over for eight months. The president warned them that longer delay would be a stumbling-block to all Christian people, for men were saying (i. 346), *Tum quia discordes simus, cum quod non audeamus Lutheranos condemnare.* At length, after almost daily meetings of all kinds, the smooth and pointless formulæ were produced, which were accepted by a great majority on 13th January 1547.

In the last act of the council, under the title, *De Sacramento ordinis*, a still longer discussion arose on the decrees of reformation, designed to heal the disorders that had crept into the various grades of the hierarchy. It was a repetition of the experience already familiar to the later middle ages. "Every one calls for reformation, but those who are touched will not hear of it. The Curia will not endure to lose anything, nor the bishops, nor any one else." The legates who as-

serted the exclusive right of initiating proposals were careful, in accordance with the mind of Pius IV., to avoid any separate discussion of the prerogative of the Papacy. But in the canon about bishops, they wished to insert, in opposition to the heretical doctrine that the Pope is Antichrist, an indirect recognition of this kind (ii. 155), *Docet S. Synodus episcopos in ecclesia catholica sub uno Christi in terris Vicario, Romano Pontifice, per quem sunt in partem sollicitudinis, non autem in plenitudinem potestatis vocati, præcipuum locum obtinere, etc.* This vocation only to share the cares of his office, of which Leo the Great once admonished his substitute in Eastern Illyria, had been extended to all bishops in the canon law of the middle ages. But the prelates present were little content with this vocation and division of power; and the Spanish bishops in particular demanded rather a decree for the institution of bishops *jure divino*, immediately by Christ, and not by the Pope. The French ambassadors declared, in unison with their bishops, that their king would never recognise a canon by which the Pope was set up as *rector ecclesiae universalis*, and that they were commissioned (ii. 615) *ut nullo pacto hanc fieri injuriam gallicanae ecclesiae patiantur, quae non admittit papam esse supra concilium*; they were even afraid of being stoned if they returned to France after such an admission.

The papal party took refuge in a medical jest (ii. 660): *Synodum ex hispanica scabie in morbum gallicum incidisse*. The abuses of the Roman curia in the giving and selling of ecclesiastical offices were strongly reprehended. It was said (ii. 656), *In curia fit magna incuria*. It was thought mild language to say that the Holy Father had to be humbly supplicated to keep the laws. As a French prelate declaimed in this fashion against Roman misrule, an Italian said, contemptuously, *Gallus iste cantat*, with the old *double entendre*, the cock crows, and the Frenchman screams. He was answered (ii. 660), *Utinam ad cantum hujus galli excitaretur Petrus et fleret amare!*

The president reminded the council (ii. 159) that it was called to condemn heretical views, but not to decide questions disputed among the Catholics themselves—*cum concilium non possit omnes veritates decidere neque id expediat*. And so at length, in the two last sessions of 1563, it was agreed that the

hierarchy constituted by divine ordinance consists of bishops, priests, and deacons ; and that bishops are appointed of the Holy Ghost to rule the Church as successors of the apostles. Only three things are said of the Pope,—he is to inquire, in a manner which is somewhat precisely laid down, into the worthiness of bishops elect ; he has jurisdiction over bishops in criminal matters, and the position is repudiated that bishops named by him are not legitimate and true bishops, but a human figment. This position, though expressed in Lutheran terms, is meant to apply directly to the right of naming titular bishops, or bishops *in partibus*, which was disputed in the council.

Papal infallibility was only incidentally mentioned. For example, on the question, whether the Pope has power to dispense a bishop from the duty of residence in his diocese, which was again to be insisted on, an Italian bishop expressed himself thus (ii. 226): *Sola voluntas divina est regula aliorum ex eo quod non potest errare. Voluntas autem Papae subjacet errori, et ideo non est conveniens causa absentiae a residentia, quae est de jure divino.* At an earlier date, too, the Cardinal Bishop of Trent appealed to the apostle Paul against a Spanish prohibition of the Bible in the vulgar tongue, which Paul II. had confirmed (i. 66): *Paulus ille Pontifex et alii omnes Pontifices quandoque possunt et potuerunt errare, licet non dicam eos errasse: Paulus autem errare non potuit qui voluit evangelium Christi nunquam ab ore nostro amoveri.* I do not observe that either speaker met with contradiction.

The same German cardinal bishop of Trent gave assurance, as lord of the land around (i. 213), that he had not done, and would never do, anything inconsistent with the freedom of the council, even at the command of the Pope, or of the Emperor himself. Paul III. expressed the wish (i. 452), that every one should be free to state his opinion, even if manifestly heretical, provided always that he submit to the council. This, of course, did not exclude secret threats, and especially secret allurements, held out to individual prelates, as we know from letters bearing hereupon ; still freedom of discussion, as against the Pope, was better secured than at the Vatican Council, by the distance from Rome, by the plurality of presiding legates who were variously implicated in the divisions of theological

schools, by the powerful influence of the Emperors Charles V. and Ferdinand I., and of the king of France ; but, above all, by the feeling, on the part of the prelates themselves, that only a union of all Catholic forces, and earnest reform of abuses, could save the Church from the approaching storm. Freedom of speech was, however, chiefly endangered by the members themselves, when a speech that gave displeasure was interrupted by the concert of episcopal feet, or a word that went too far was met with the cry of Anathema ! Away with the heretic, to the fire with him ! In the Vatican Council we only once heard this lawless cry, when Strossmayer, in his good Latin, recommended to his colleagues acquaintance with the writings of some learned and pious Protestant. At Trent, when the episcopal mob stormed thus against some word that sounded like Lutheranism, it was the legates who preserved order and freedom of speech. When the Italians were still predominant, a wild tumult arose over a strong expression of the Bishop of Fiesole in favour of the independence of the Episcopate, and when order was re-established, the Legate Marcellus, who was afterwards the much lamented Pope, admonished the loudest voices (i. 543) : *Si nos haec audimus et toleramus, qui legati sumus, et nihil minus nos quam vos sedem apostolicam diligimus, vos etiam tolerare potestis Fesulanum.*

In addition to Sichel's important supplementary contributions to the history of the Council of Trent from the Austrian archives, already published, we have the prospect of an edition—we hope by Druffel—of Massarelli's Diary, though only from a copy in the rich collection of matter relating to the Tridentinum which was afterwards formed in Trent. From Theiner's posthumous papers we look for a *Codex Epistolaris Concilii Trid.* collected by him, letters of Popes, legates, and princes, not so much from the Vatican, which is not rich in Tridentine documents, as from collections in Florence and Naples—the latter Farnesian inheritance. If the two last named works are published, or if, at least, the MSS. are made accessible, there will be no further obstacle to the composition of a thorough history of the council which completed the construction of modern Catholicism, as the council three centuries later proclaims the doctrinal completion of this Catholicism, and the approach of its end.

C. HASE.

AMERICAN QUARTERLIES.

1. *Bibliotheca Sacra*. January 1876. Andover : W. F. Draper. London : Trübner & Co.

This Review begins the new year with a very substantial bill of fare, and each of its eight articles is evidently the result of much careful study, justifying the claim of its new prospectus, "to stimulate thought, as well as supply the results of thinking." The opening article on "Modern Thought," by Rev. Professor Welch of Schenectady College, is a very able, well-written, and, we think, successful criticism of the most "advanced" school of philosophy represented especially by Comte, Mill, and Spencer. The writer shews, by numerous quotations from the works of these and other teachers of the same type, that theirs is really a philosophy of nescience, and that their vaunted talk of laws of nature amounts to nothing more than that certain phenomena are antecedent, or consequent, to certain others. They are thus, by their own confession, unable to say anything of what may exist beyond the sequence of phenomena ; and Dr Welch has no difficulty in convicting them of numerous self-contradictions, and of very unphilosophical pretension in what they do say. He shews that if unintelligent force be accepted, as Spencer would have it, as the ultimate factor in the universe, then matter is superior to mind, and its evolution is subject either to blind fate, or capricious chance. In the former case, there can be no moral freedom or moral government ; in the latter, no possibility of science. In opposition to this system, or no system, Dr Welch forcibly maintains the supremacy of reason, with our own Scotch philosophers, and the dependence on it of both the senses and the understanding or reasoning faculty. Reason is essential to responsibility, and to satisfying the longings of faith. The best thinkers have often been the most Christian, and it is mere effrontery for modern Positivists to talk of their revival of pagan scepticism as "the new philosophy," and to claim a monopoly of the spirit of progress, when many of the greatest scientific discoverers and best friends of progress have been devout believers. Reason and natural religion are close friends in their intuitions of the unseen, and anticipate the testimony of Revelation to the existence of an eternal, infinite, holy God. This is a seasonable and valuable paper.

There follows a careful study on the Biblical conception of "cherubim," by Rev. G. T. Ladd of Milwaukee. He recognises the difficulty of the whole subject, and insists on the "living creatures" called cherubim in Ezekiel's vision being sharply distinguished from those of Eden and of the Mosaic Tabernacle. He follows Bähr in considering it impossible to fix on any derivation of the name. The *form* of the Mosaic cherubim was, he maintains, fixed, but that of those seen in Ezekiel's vision changeful and complex. The *significance* of the earlier cherubim was originally that of simple guardianship, but they acquired additional importance in later Scripture, from being associated with the presence of Jehovah above the mercy-seat. The *origin* of the Mosaic cherubim was Egyptian, at least in part, as the form of those seen by Ezekiel was suggested to him by his

Assyrian experience. The third article is a sequel by Professor Potwin, of Hudson, to his paper in the previous number, and examines the words in New Testament Greek borrowed from the Hebrew and Aramæan. His results are as follows: Besides *seven* such words quoted as foreign, with an accompanying translation, and *ten* more which had been previously adopted into classical Greek, he finds *twenty-six* Semitic words introduced by the New Testament writers (along with a number of proper names). Twelve of these are already found in the LXX. Few of them touch important doctrine; and, in fact, the Hebraistic character of New Testament Greek does not come largely from its Hebrew words, but from its constructions and phraseology.

Professor Boardman, of Chicago, follows, on "The True Basis of Fellowship in the Congregational Churches," a paper prepared and published at the request of the General Congregational Association of Illinois. The basis of *Christian* fellowship is, he says, simply adoption into God's family. The chief questions discussed in the paper are more special. (1.) What are the evidences on which we recognise our own Christian fellowship and that of others? He answers, By knowledge of the truth, obedience to it, separation from erroneous teachers, &c. (2.) What is the true basis of fellowship in *Congregational* Churches? He answers, Agreement in polity, fundamental doctrines and practical duties, and perhaps in the moderate powers of councils or associations over the ministry.

Rev. James M'Curdy of Princeton contributes a learned paper on the "Relations of the Aryan and Semitic languages," confining himself, meanwhile, to the history and the present state of the inquiry. He promises to follow this up by a discussion of the true view of the problem, and of the conditions of its investigation. His able historical sketch will be welcomed by many students, and the following are the chief points in his statement of the present condition of the question: A small but eminently respectable party of scholars decline to admit any radical affinity between the two groups of languages, regarding the philological evidence at least as indecisive, and the verbal analogies doubtful. But the majority of philologists favour the doctrine of some organic relationship, most of them professing to find the affinities rather in the vocabularies than in the grammatical forms. All agree that the parent language has passed away somewhere in Central Asia, while some consider Sanskrit, and others Egyptian, the oldest sister, while others hesitate to admit any known tongue to that position.

There follows another elaborate historical article, the sixth and last of a series, on "The question of the Divine Institution of Sacrifice," by Rev. C. E. Park. In the previous articles of the series, the first of which appeared as early as 1859, and the last in 1875, the theories of Outram, Bähr, J. Spencer, Sykes, Portall, and Maurice, had been passed in review, and now the learned author carefully states the opinions of Warburton and Davison *against* the doctrine, that sacrifices were expressly ordained of God, and that of Faber in favour of that position. He ably supports Faber's side of the question, maintaining that in the primitive patriarchal ages the rites of sacrifice and the idea of atonement were revealed, though in a vague manner, and without many formal commands. He endeavours to answer various objections to this view, and his calm, fair treatment of

all who differ from him, and conscientious statement of their positions, give the article additional value.

The seventh paper is a review, by Rev. Dr Laurie of Providence, of Professor Paine's "Identification of Pisgah." The critic speaks generously of the work of our British "Palestine Exploration Fund," and urges American Christians to co-operate heartily in that valuable work, while he demurs to many of Professor Paine's severe strictures on Dr Tristram and his "Land of Moab."

The last article is a careful memoir and life of Tischendorf, by one with good opportunities of accurate information, Mr C. R. Gregory of Leipzig. It is full of interest, and at the close there is a very complete list of Tischendorf's works, with the dates of their publication. It occupies eleven large pages, and is a noble record of a successful life of labour. At the end of the number there are an appreciative critique of the late Professor Ewald of Gottingen, and the usual notices of recent publications.

2. *The New Englander*. January, 1876. Newhaven: W. L. Kingsley.
London: Trübner & Co.

The first article is a pleasant sketch of a famous New Englander of former days, Count Rumford, born Benjamin Thompson, son of a small Massachusetts farmer, who, from a clerk, speedily became a colonel in the British service, and then a count of the holy Roman Empire, and the most influential man in Bavaria. Two apologetical and philosophical papers follow; the first of them by Professor Goodwin of Michigan, being entitled "Mind in Nature." After affirming the insufficiency of the ordinary methods of proving the existence of a personal Creator, by inductions from the phenomena either of the material or the moral world, and also disparaging the argument from design (we need not stay to criticise the wisdom of this surrender), he proceeds to search in Nature, not so much for *design* as for Mind, i.e. rational and personal *intelligence* in the things that are made. He thinks he can find such intelligence, "first in the manifold and endless *forms* of the material creation, and in the very existence of form." Form and beauty, he argues, are ideal, and the fact that we can recognize these qualities in outward things, that they appeal to an æsthetic sense within us, proves that they originate in and proceed from Intelligence. But secondly, intelligence is seen in the *forces* of the material world; and "as form is the product and expression of thought, so is force the issue or execution of will." Force is God working, "upholding all things by the word of his power." Natural science is the reading of God's thoughts in nature, and manifestly has affinity with religion, which is the highest kind of knowledge, and must never be divorced from reason. Such is a meagre outline of the writer's process of argument.

The other philosophical article is less constructive, but equally valuable, and will probably provoke less difference of opinion. It is by Mr Lyell Adams, U. S. Consul at Malta, a name already familiar to readers of this Review, and consists of a criticism of Mr G. H. Lewes' "Problems of Life and Mind," under the title, "An Empirical Dissent from Mr Spencer's Philosophy." Mr Adams in a racy and sarcastic, but thoroughly competent style, sets the one empirical philosopher against the other, and shews that they not only

contradict each other flatly, but set forth, the one in his "Theory of Evolution," and the other in his "Infinite Plenum," mere unverified hypotheses, which the next writer of the same school will very likely contemptuously reject.

The fourth article, by Professor Lounsbury of Yale, on "The Terminology of the Periods of the English Language," is also enlivened by touches of satire, and consists chiefly of a learned defence of older and foreign scholars against Mr Freeman and his disciples, for calling the earlier stage of our language "Anglo-Saxon," instead of "Old English." Perhaps Mr Freeman may profit from this strenuous defence of many able writers whom he had presumed to call "unscientific philologists."

Next comes a short and severe critique of an American school edition of Eusebius' "Ecclesiastical History," by Professor Packard of Yale, who expresses a strong, and we think proper, preference for the classics of Greece and Rome over the early Christian Fathers, as text-books for youth.

Rev. E. James follows with a popular statement on the present position of the question of Inspiration, under the title, "What is the Bible?" He thinks that the clergy generally hold a vaguer doctrine than they teach on this subject, and that verbal inspiration is generally rejected among them. But he fails to see, apparently, that it is possible to hold no mechanical theory, and even to agree with Mr Matthew Arnold, "that the language of the Bible is fluid, passing and literary, not rigid, fixed and scientific," and still to recognise in Holy Scripture a perfect authority in religious truth. We turn with more satisfaction to the next paper, by Rev. Dr Patton of Chicago, on "Lay-Preaching." Written from a Congregationalist standpoint, it will yet command the approval of most Presbyterians and many Episcopalians, as well as, of course, all Methodists, though these last may think its positions too guarded. He first lays down the position, that lay-preaching is at once a right and a duty. Men must consecrate their speech, like everything else, to Christ. The degree of publicity suitable depends on a man's gifts and circumstances, but there is a wide door of usefulness open to lay-preachers in evangelistic work among the masses. Turning to Scripture, he shews how preaching, in the literal sense at least of proclaiming the gospel, was a Christian rather than a ministerial function, and exercised, we are expressly told, by all those who were scattered abroad in the great persecution recorded in Acts xi. Apollos was probably a lay-preacher, and the Corinthians were permitted "all to prophesy." Glancing over Church history, Dr Patton maintains that lay-preaching was more and more restrained, just as the Romish hierarchy grew in strength, while with the dawn of the Reformation it was resumed. Among Protestants, opinion has varied, but Milton, Owen, Hooker, all the Puritans and Methodists, and most modern evangelical Christians, have vindicated the practice. Dr Patton closes this part of his paper with a few hearty sentences about the climax of interest at present directed to lay-preaching, through the successful labours of Messrs Moody and Sankey. In a *second* part of his paper he discusses the dangers of lay-preaching, in sometimes leading to an under-estimate of the regular ministry, or to defective doctrinal teaching, or to pride in the lay-preachers. Its proper sphere is to supplement the work of the pastor, by reaching many whom he cannot reach, and especially by publishing the simple gospel.

The last article, on "The German Gymnasium," gives a very full and, to Educationists, welcome account of the course of study pursued at most of these famous institutions, and a very vivid picture, from personal inspection, of the style of teaching. It will be read with profit by many friends of Secondary Education.

The notices of New Books are well worth reading.

3. *The Southern Presbyterian Review*. January 1876. Columbia S. C. Presbyterian Publishing House.

The most valuable of the five original articles in this periodical, which has reached us later than the others, is a careful exposition of Heb. ix. 16, 17, maintaining the view that διαθήκη should be rendered covenant, for which there is more to be said than many modern commentators are willing to admit. Under the title, "Prelacy a Blunder," there is an able refutation of the Romish and Ritualist theory of apostolic succession, shewing it to rest on a misapplication to ordination of the passages that refer to the bestowal of miraculous gifts in the early Church. Another article is in opposition to the proposed Presbyterian Council, maintaining that it is inconsistent with the principles and position of the Southern Presbyterian Church to take part in it; while the last article defends Calvin's doctrine on the Lord's Supper against certain statements of Cunningham and Hodge. The criticism of the latter seems to us correct; but all the real difference between Cunningham and this critic appears to be simply as to the strength of certain expressions. While Hodge ascribes to Calvin a view different from that of the Reformed Confessions, all that we ever understood Cunningham to say is, that Calvin, for the sake of harmony with the Lutherans, sometimes used exaggerated and not very intelligible expressions as to the believer's partaking of the real body and blood of Christ.

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie. 1875, IV. 1876, I.

Dr C. Siegfried, the learned student of Philo, opens the fourth number of this journal for 1875 with a paper on *Jewish Hellenism*, in which he gives a retrospect of its historical development with reference to the newest investigations in this department. Besides his own Philonic studies, Dr Siegfried makes special use of Tyler's *Ecclesiastes*, which he recognises as having clearly established the influence of Stoic and Epicurean teaching on the author of Kohelet, and of the valuable studies of Freudenthal on the Fourth Book of Maccabees (Breslau, 1869), and on Alexander Polyhistor (Breslau, 1875). The main point which the essayist seeks to place in a prominent light is, that it is quite erroneous to think of Jewish Hellenism as peculiarly an Alexandrian product. The key to Hellenistic movements in Judaism is to be found in features of the national character which are far older than the Greek

period. The early history of Israel shews us a people singularly sensitive to foreign influences, Babylonian, Egyptian, or Canaanite. The national self-consciousness of the Hebrews rests essentially on the religion of Jehovah, on the knowledge that Israel alone has a true and living God. It was this faith, and not the general character of the nation, which led prophets and righteous men to oppose with vehemence all foreign influences which so often led to religious apostasy; and wherever such faith was absent, or where it felt no jarring contrast in foreign ideas, the Hebrews were unusually ready to submit themselves to the teaching of other races.¹ The antithesis and constant struggle between a character extremely susceptible to influences from without, and a powerful sense of the unique value of the religion which was the special possession of Israel, is, according to Dr Siegfried, the key to the whole course of Jewish Hellenism. The Macedonian empire, which established the first cosmopolitan civilization which history records, brought the Jews face to face with a new and attractive culture, to whose influence even the Palestinian scribes could not remain insensible. The Book of Ecclesiastes, viewed in the light of Tyler's investigations, is taken as a proof of the extent to which Greek speculations were adopted, even by thinkers who still held fast to the distinctive faith of Israel. That the irreligious in Judea went much further, and were ready to be altogether Hellenised, is, of course, well known from the history of the events preceding the Maccabean revival.

That the Jews beyond Palestine who had forgotten their own language were still more deeply influenced by the culture of the race in whose tongue they thought and spoke, was no more than natural. Greek literature exercised an extraordinary influence on their minds; and the union of the Jewish and Hellenic genius gave rise, from the middle of the third century before Christ till near the close of the second century of our era, to a very rich literature which, with the exception of the great works of Josephus and Philo, is known to us only by fragmentary remains. Alexandria was the centre, but by no means the only seat of this literary activity. Even the work of translating the Bible was not, in our essayist's judgment, confined to Alexandria. The series of Hellenistic historians to whom Freudenthal has devoted so much study includes Samaritans and Judeans, as well as Egyptians. Besides history, the Hellenistic Jews attempted poetry, in various forms, and not seldom with the same apologetic purpose of glorifying their nation and commending their religion, which is prominent in many of their historical works. In this field, too, we find Samaritans active as well as Alexandrian Jews. Peculiar interest attaches to the influence exerted on Jewish thought by Greek philosophy. But even this influence, though mainly associated with the name of Philo, appears also in Josephus, and elsewhere on Palestinian soil. In a word, we must be careful not to imagine that Alexandria and Jerusalem stood in any sharp antagonism. The Egyptian Jews stood always in friendly relation to Palestine, and continued to be influenced by Palestinian thought. On

¹ Professor Siegfried seems here to follow a hint of Lagarde, in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 164.

the other hand, the Palestinian literature could not escape Grecian influence. New Hebrew is full of Greek words, and Palestinian theology was not unsusceptible to Hellenistic notions, among which our essayist enumerates the ideas of the pre-existence of souls and of the ideal man, and the designation of God as *מקום*, *place*.

From Stoicism the Hellenistic Jews acquired the most remarkable of all their novelties, the allegorical method of interpreting the Scripture. This method was used in the synagogue, and Frankel and Freudenthal have shewn that Philo's allegorising ethical treatises were originally homilies delivered in the synagogues. Of all the fruits of Grecian culture, the philosophical allegory was that which had most charms even for Palestinian teachers. But in Palestine, and especially since the rise of Christianity, the persuasion gradually gained ground that even this was dangerous to the faith. The Pharisees were, from the first, exclusive in their views, and though our essayist, attaching more weight than most scholars to certain statements of Josephus, thinks it certain that Pharisaism was itself coloured by Stoical speculation, this tinge of foreign thought did not go so deep as to close the eyes of the party to the advantages which Christianity drew from a style of exegesis which was handled in a way subversive of Jewish particularism. Thus, after Sadduceeism had perished in the fall of the holy city and the temple, there arose a terrible battle between Pharisaic orthodoxy and the supporters of philosophical allegory—for these, according to Dr Siegfried, are the *Minim* spoken of in the Rabbinical books, whom other inquirers regard as Jewish Christians.¹ Judaism could retain its religion only by the sacrifice of the Hellenistic aim of cosmopolitan culture, and when the question was reduced to this issue, the decision was not long delayed, which R. Ishmael expresses when he says, "Since it is written that the book of the law shall not depart from thy mouth, and that thou shalt meditate therein day and night, there is no hour fit for Greek study save one which is neither day nor night." Of many queries which this instructive paper suggests, we will put only one. Is it historically justifiable to see in the struggle between Post-Christian Judaism and Hellenic thought, just the same religious motive as in the struggles of the prophets against foreign corruption? Must we not rather say that the stubborn particularism of the Rabbins points to an element of narrow conservatism which was natural to the Hebrew character, quite independently of religious motives, and which appears as a power for evil as well as for good even in Old Testament times? With all their readiness to accept superficial changes from foreign impress, the Hebrews surely shew throughout their history a tenacious individuality which they share with heathen Semitic peoples, and which, much more than religious faith in any true sense of the word, is the main-spring of Judaism after the rejection of Christ.

A. Thoma, who in a previous number considered the relation of Justin to Paul, follows Siegfried's essay with a very elaborate discussion of the relation of the martyr to the Fourth Gospel. He concludes that

¹ Professor Siegfried's arguments for this view of the *Minim* are to be found in his book, *Philo von Alexandria* (Jena, 1875), p. 285 sqq.

Justin certainly knew the book, and that he largely employs its ideas. But this, he says, is not the really important question, since other lines of evidence converge to prove that the Gospel of John is older than A.D. 140. Thoma seeks, therefore, to determine *how* the book is used, and endeavours to shew that Justin does not regard it as a part of the apostolic tradition as to the life of Christ, and that he cannot have known it as the work of John, but only as a valuable source of Christian doctrine of an unauthoritative kind. The arguments for this conclusion are ingenious, but not altogether palpable. Hilgenfeld's answer to Hoekstra was noticed in last number of this *Review*, so it only remains to add that Rönisch endeavours, without much success, to connect the expression, "Father of lights" (James i. 17), with the name *phōr*, applied by the Jews to the feast of the dedication of the temple.

The current year of Hilgenfeld's journal opens with an essay by Holtzmann, on the "Development of the *Æsthetic* Conception of Religion." This paper was occasioned by a recent remark of Pfleiderer's, that in place of the raw empiricism which deduced religion from fear, or from an uninformed search after a cause of things, inquirers were coming round again more and more decidedly to the old theory, which traced it to a disinterested *æsthetic* feeling. He thought he found immediate corroboration of the remark in the almost simultaneous appearance of a work by Dr Schramm, of Bremen, in which that view was maintained, and the old standpoint of Fries and De Wette again occupied. This led Holtzmann back to these writers, and he accordingly gives us now an account of the development of the theory they represented, from its origin till the present day. What he gives us is a simple narrative, couched, as far as possible, in the words of the several authors themselves, and refraining entirely both from any attempt to estimate the *æsthetic* hypothesis itself, and from all criticism, even of individual points. His narrative is fair and reasonably clear; but he fails to keep sufficiently before himself the distinction between the standpoint of those who make the very essence of religion to consist in a feeling for the sublime and beautiful, and that of those who only assign to such a feeling a high function in the development and realization, as well as the expression, of religious emotions and convictions. The latter standpoint is one which has much truth and value, and we believe it is in reality the standpoint of Fries, whose speculations were in effect much rather an attempt to ascribe a religious origin to our ideas of natural beauty, than an *æsthetic* origin to those of religion.

Then follows a discussion of the threadbare question, whether Peter was ever in Rome, in the form of a letter from Zeller to Hilgenfeld, with the reply of the latter. Both critics of course argue the point from the standpoint of the Tübingen school, and, for example, view 1 Peter as a spurious book. Zeller finds no testimony to the presence of Peter in Rome before the first or second decade of the second century, and even then only such indirect testimony as may be supposed to rest, not on historical knowledge, but on the legend of Simon Magus. That Clement of Rome is a witness on the opposite side, he regards as certain; and he thinks that the epistles written from Paul's captivity (whether genuine or not), and the book of Acts, are evidence in the same direction, since they say

nothing of Peter's presence in Rome. Hilgenfeld, on the other hand, places the first epistle of Peter earlier than Zeller does, and so gains an argument from its Babylon. He also thinks that Papias must have regarded Rome as the place where Mark took notes of Peter's lectures, and he denies that the origin of the belief that Peter visited Rome can have anything to do with the *earlier* legends about Simon Magus. Finally, he holds that Peter was in Rome during Paul's imprisonment, but thinks that the apostles were hardly on such terms that Paul's epistles would necessarily convey greetings from Peter. There is nothing very novel or important in the whole discussion. It may be added that Zeller would see no difficulty in taking the Babylon of 1 Peter literally, if on other grounds he could accept that epistle.

Much more interesting are Dr Harnack's "Contributions to the History of the Marcionite Churches." Marcion really aimed at forming a church, and in this point stands distinctly apart from other Gnostics who addressed themselves expressly to an esoteric circle. Valentinianism and cognate sects perished when they gave up their esoteric character; the Marcionites held their ground much longer, but gradually narrowed into a school of sectarian thought, and finally perished when they became touched with Manicheism. Yet Marcionites were found in the West in the fourth century, in Greece and Asia Minor even a century later, and in the further east until the seventh century. The history of Gnosticism from the third century downwards is, as the essayist observes, a quite neglected field, and he takes up the subject partly in the hope of calling the attention of other scholars to an unworked department of Church History. What Harnack offers is, in the first place, a corrected account of Armenian Marcionitism in the fifth century. This he is enabled to do by using a better translation of the statements of the Armenian Eznig than that published in 1834 by C. F. Neumann. It appears that these later Marcionites had devised new speculations to cover weak points in their master's system, and in particular to meet the objection that the *Good God* of Marcion plays the part of a thief. This accusation they transferred to the *God of the Law* by a singular mythical account of a contest between him and Matter for the possession of man, which is made the key to human history before Christ. Another interesting point is the way in which these later Marcionites elevated the conversion of Paul into a principal crisis in the history of salvation. The essayist next calls attention to an inscription recorded by Waddington, which belonged to a Marcionite Church near Damascus, with date 630 aer : Sel : = 319 A.D. It is very singular that the inscription calls the Church a "Synagogue," an expression not elsewhere applied to a Christian building, unless by the Ebionites, and doubly strange in the Church of a sect which stood at the opposite pole from Ebionitism. Dr Harnack is not able to solve the mystery, but gives an elaborate and valuable note on the Christian usage of the word *συναγωγή*. Next comes a proof from an Arabic source, that the Marcionites used a Psalm-book of their own in public worship—a fact which clears up a difficulty in the Muratorian fragment; and finally the essayist remarks on the Roman Marcionites of the fourth century and the *Carmina Pseudo Tertulliani* against Marcion, which he refers with

Hückstädt to this date. The last essay of the number is an account by Grimm of the newest discussions by Ritschl, Mendelssohn, and Mommsen, of the "Consul Lucius" of 1 Macc. 15, 16, and the decree of the Roman Senate in Josephus, Ant. xiv. 8, 5.

Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie. 1875. IV.

To most readers the most interesting article in this Journal will be Weizsäcker's account of the circumstances under which D. F. Strauss left the service of the Church of Württemberg. For this essay the writer has used the documentary materials in the hands of the government, and he is thus enabled to trace the gradual steps by which Strauss' connection with the Church was broken off.

The appearance of the first volume of *The Life of Jesus* at once raised the question whether its author could be allowed to retain the position of Repetent at Tübingen. The *Studienrath*, or Central Board of Education, took up the subject, and received from Strauss a very remarkable declaration of his own opinion as to the possibility of a man who held his views doing good work in the Church. He maintained that his book only represented in a clear form the outcome of tendencies already current in the theology of the time, and which had a right to find expression in a theological seminary. They were views which must come before the seminarists, and which, if erroneous, were not more dangerous because they were personally represented, instead of being wholly gathered from books. Moreover, Strauss expresses the full persuasion that he is not untrue to Christian faith in endeavouring to translate it into ideal or notional form. He denies that his views unfit him for pastoral work. The older rationalists reduced the gospel to a *caput mortuum* of history without ideas. Is it not far safer to find in some parts of the gospel the embodiment of ideas in the form of history? Moreover, those parts of the three first gospels which are most used in teaching a congregation are practically unaffected by his criticism—the parables, the character, the sacrifice of Christ, remain untouched. It is true that the mythical theory cannot be laid before a congregation. But this is no dishonesty, if it is the same ideas which are represented to the people in historical form, and believed by the minister in their notional form. Is not the same thing constantly seen in the pulpit use of the record of creation, which hardly any theologian understands literally. In his own small experience of pastoral work, Strauss had not, he remarks, found it impossible to satisfy his hearers; for he did not attempt to change the articles of their creed, but only to find something for himself in each article, by translating it into his own mode of thought. This, he admits, is a difficult task, but it is not a wrong undertaking; and after much earnest thought as to whether it were not a duty to leave the theological career, he has come to the conclusion that the call of duty is in the opposite direction, for if all critical and sceptical elements of the age were banished from the clergy, and confined to the educated laity, the Church would fall into two irreconcilable sections.

The whole of Strauss's memorandum is printed by Weizsäcker. It was not satisfactory to the *Studienrath*, who finally reported to the Ministry

of the Interior that it would be well to remove Strauss, if public confidence in the Tübingen Seminary was to be maintained, and that a good plan would be to offer him a classical mastership at Ludwigsburg, on favourable terms. This plan was carried out ; but Strauss disliked his new position, and in September 1836 sent in to the king a memorial, asking what hope he might entertain of promotion to service in the Church. In this memorial he no longer expresses himself as really anxious for church work, and indeed says that, for some time back, he had seriously thought of going into private life, supported by literary labours. But he was anxious to act on the principle of "following, as far as possible, the direction given to him by his superiors," and was unwilling to take any decisive step, without knowing distinctly what prospects were open to him. Dr Weizsäcker has no doubt that this memorial was written in perfect sincerity, for he observes that in practical matters Strauss consistently stuck to the old-fashioned principles which come out in the resolution, always, if possible, to be guided by his superiors. The final answer of the ministry after consultation with the ecclesiastical and educational authorities was, that he could not, without recantation, look for a place in the Church, but might find promotion as a teacher in a higher school. It was resolved, at the same time, that it would not be wise to give to Strauss even a professorship of theology ; and this decision, which was kept private, and was not according to the advice of the Studienrath, seems to have expressed the personal opinion of the king.

Of the other papers, the most important is one by Professor Wellhausen, on the Chronology of the Kings of Israel and Judah, which may be usefully compared with Mr G. Smith's recent book on the Assyrian Eponym canon.¹ The essay has that clearness and somewhat rude force which mark all Wellhausen's work. The first part which analyses the chronological method and data of Second Kings is especially instructive. It is shewn that the original sources from which the Book of Kings was compiled did not give those cross references between the chronology of Judah and Ephraim which we find at the accession of each king. The original data are simply the number of years which each king reigned, and it is to be assumed, on various grounds, that the first year of a king means the first calendar year which began while he was on the throne. Now, when the two series of dates for the Northern and Southern Kingdoms are summed up on this principle, they do not, as is well known, give the same result. The chronology requires correction, and can be corrected only by synchronisms with the chronology of other nations. Accordingly, Professor Wellhausen, in the second part of his paper, compares the Assyrian dates, as given by Schrader, from which most recent writers on the subject take their start. The first of these is 854 B.C., when Shalmaneser II. defeated Ben-hadad of Syria, and his allies, among whom is named Ahab of Sirhala (Israel ?). Wellhausen shews very conclusively that this cannot be the Biblical Ahab, thus agreeing with G. Smith (l.c., p. 189).

¹ The Assyrian Eponym Canon, containing translations of the documents, and an account of the evidence on the comparative chronology of the Assyrian and Jewish kingdoms. . . . London, Bagster (1875).

Another important point of agreement between the Englishman and the German is, that both hold, in opposition to Schrader and others, that there is nothing unlikely in the assumption that the Assyrians made mistakes as to the names of hostile or tributary kings, retaining for example the name of the father after his son was on the throne. G. Smith, indeed, has given conclusive proof of this, and is disposed to apply the principle much more extensively than Wellhausen does. The reason of this appears to be that Mr Smith has not such a clear view of the inner confusion of the Biblical chronology. He has not cut himself free from the synchronisms between Judah and Ephraim, which Wellhausen, following Ewald, proves to be quite valueless. Accordingly, he tries to patch up the chronology by their aid, assuming that, in several places, an error of as much as ten years has come in from a mistake in the text. The chronology thus restored is, he thinks, on the whole, satisfactory; and he tries to shew that the Assyrian records, when contradictory, are wrong. Wellhausen, on the contrary, is quite clear that the chronology of Kings cannot be cured except by help from without, but he wishes to use this help more cautiously than is done by Schrader and others. The first point on which a difference arises is the date of Jehu, who, according to Assyrian statements, paid tribute in 842. Smith rejects this datum because, on his reading of Kings, it would bring down Jehu's accession some forty years too late. On Wellhausen's reckoning—that is by simple summation of years reigned—the Bible date for Jehu is no more than twenty years earlier than that suggested by the monuments. But it is strongly in favour of the identification of the Assyrian with the Biblical Jehu that each is contemporary of a Syrian Hazael. Smith is, in fact, unable to maintain his view without introducing an additional Ben-hadad and a second Hazael—a very improbable hypothesis, which seems decisive against his view. The difference of twenty years which has to be got over on Wellhausen's theory, must be cured by changes of the dates between Jehu, who came to the throne not long before 842 (say in 845 at the earliest), and the fall of Samaria in 722. Wellhausen assumes that the latter date is absolutely certain, but Smith gives some reasons for supposing that 722 is really the date of the commencement of the siege, and that Samaria was not taken till 720 or 719. This is a point, as we shall see, which is important for the subsequent chronology. Now, from 1 Jehu to 10 Menahem, the Bible gives 112 years, which would put Menahem's death about 734 B.C. According to the monuments, Menahem paid tribute to Tiglath Pileser (Pul?) in 738, and Pekah was on the throne during the war of 734–732. This is so close a correspondence, as to give remarkable corroboration to the assumption that the Assyrian and Biblical Jehu is one man. Smith, on the contrary, is compelled here again to assume that Menahem of the monuments is a mistake for Pekah, and to seek another identification for Pul (p. 176). But now arises the difficulty, that no room is left for the two years of Pekahiah and the twenty of Pekah. The nine years of Hosea are correct, for it is to be supposed that the conspiracy against Pekah was due to his ill-luck in the war of 734–32, and Hosea's accession is mentioned in the annals of

Tiglath Pileser, which end with 729.¹ Wellhausen's final conclusion therefore is, that practically the whole error of the Samaritan chronology lies in the long reign assigned to Pekah. And he observes that to shorten by twenty years the period from the death of Jeroboam II., not only does not disturb the history, but appears to be favoured by the picture of the time given in the prophecies of Hosea.

Now for the Jewish chronology. A reference to Azariah, as head of a combination of Syrian chiefs, is found in the monuments for B.C. 740. This does not suit the old chronology, and accordingly Mr Smith supposes, on the strength of 2 Chron. xxii. 6, that Azariah is only another form of Ahaziah, or Ahaz. This is extremely improbable; but it is worth while to observe with Wellhausen, that a king of Judah could hardly have led against Assyria a confederacy of tribes of the region of Hamath, and that the connection of *this* Azariah with Judah is due to doubtful combinations on the part of Assyriologists. At present, therefore, the supposed reference to Azariah on the monuments cannot be safely used to elucidate the chronology, and our first Assyrian datum for Judah's history is the expedition of Tiglath Pileser (734-732), early in the reign of Ahaz. Now the Bible gives 143 years from 1 Athaliah to 16 Jotham, and the monuments hardly more than 110. Wellhausen is disposed to shorten Jotham's reign by the usual assumption that, for a time, he reigned along with his leprous father—an assumption which also facilitates the chronology of the book of Isaiah. The rest of the necessary shortening he takes from the reign of Amaziah, and gains a probability for this course by arguing that we can then understand the popular outburst which cost him his life as due to indignation at his reckless war with Samaria. Making these corrections, Wellhausen places the first year of Ahaz in 734. And now we come to the most critical point in his calculations. According to the book of Kings, Samaria fell in the sixth year of Hezekiah, and Sennacherib's expedition was in his fourteenth year. Both data cannot be right, if Sennacherib's expedition is that described on the monuments for the year 701. Now it is generally assumed that the fall of Samaria must really have been in Hezekiah's sixth year, because this agrees with the result we obtain by counting back the number of years of the kings of Judah from the fall of Jerusalem in 586 [or 587]. Wellhausen declares that this is not so, and he is doubtless right in saying that the sixth year of Hezekiah, counted backwards, falls in 719 [or 720], not in 722. But this may be only a confirmation of Mr Smith's conjecture that the fall of Samaria is mentioned in 722 by anticipation, and that the town was not taken till two years later. So, on the whole, there is a certain confirmation of the synchronism of the fall of Samaria with the sixth year of Hezekiah. But then 701 will not be the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, but the twenty-fifth, or even, according to those who place the fall of Samaria in 722, the twenty-seventh. Now Wellhausen argues very forcibly that the prophetic party of Isaiah gained supremacy in Judah only through the marvellous confirmation of the prophet's word in the fall of Sennacherib. But a considerable time must

¹ Wellhausen thinks that 1 Kings xvii. 4, 5, make Hosea's nine years end with the commencement of the siege of Samaria. But this is not important.

have lain between this victory of prophetic principles and the reaction under Manasseh—a reaction so intense as to shew that the less spiritual religion of the unenlightened in Judah felt that it was on the point of extinction, unless it defended itself by destroying the prophetic power. So fierce a struggle necessarily implies that the prophetic party had been able for some time to take open measures for the suppression of lower types of religion. It is thus quite incredible that Sennacherib's defeat was as late as Hezekiah's twenty-seventh year, which would give Isaiah but one clear year of power; and it may even be doubted whether the two years to be gained by adopting Mr Smith's chronology are enough to explain the permanent advance made by the prophetic party in Hezekiah's reign. This difficulty is removed, and the datum of 2 Kings xviii. 13 may be vindicated if, with E. Bunsen and Sayce, we suppose that Sennacherib's expedition fell in 711, when Sargon was still living, but had perhaps raised his son to a share of the throne (Smith, p. 173). Wellhausen does not seem to know this theory. And, at all events, he has other reasons for adhering to 701 = 14 Hezekiah. For on his scheme, Ahaz came to the throne in 734. Now, if Hezekiah was in the twenty-seventh, or even the twenty-fifth, year of his reign in 701, only seven, or at most nine, years are left for Ahaz. But Ahaz was only twenty years old when he came to the throne, and Hezekiah was twenty-seven at his accession. It is clear that, instead of shortening Ahaz's reign, we must rather emend the chronology in such a way as to lengthen it, for even as the dates in Kings stand, Ahaz would have been a father at the age of nine. But if 701 = 14 Hezekiah we get for Ahaz a reign of some twenty years (734–715). We must in this case also shorten the long reign of Manasseh by some ten years. Such are Wellhausen's main results; and however problematic many of them must appear, it must be acknowledged that his treatment of the subject is of a kind calculated to do good service in doing away with the bad habit of curing all chronological confusions by mere arbitrary changes of individual numbers in the text. The chronology of kings seems to be defective at bottom, and not merely by errors of transcription. Of the earlier chronology Wellhausen seems altogether to despair, and in particular he thinks that the marriage of Rehoboam to Absalom's daughter proves that the forty years of Solomon's reign are, as Nöldeke holds, "systematic," not actual. There are, of course, many instances not only in the Bible, but, for example, on the stone of Mesha, to shew that the number *forty* was used loosely as a sort of round number.

Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie. 1876. I.

The greater part of this number is occupied by unfinished articles. Trümpelmann begins an examination of Darwinism; and Holsten continues, but does not complete, a discussion of the Epistle to the Philippians in a sense hostile to the Pauline authorship. Hase contributes an elegant lecture on "The First French Revolution and the Church," which it would not be fair merely to summarise; and Lipsius defends the view which interprets Gal. vi. 6–10 of fellowship in spiritual blessings. Finally,

Schürer has an interesting discussion of the idea of the Kingdom of Heaven. He first shews that *heaven* is strictly a metonymy for God, not only in the Mishna, but in Dan. iv. 23 [E. V. 26], the Apocrypha, and New Testament (Luke xv. 18). Next, the kingdom of God is shewn to mean, in accordance with the book of Daniel, an empire conducted, not by earthly potentates, but by God in heaven. Thus the kingdom of heaven does not mean a kingdom in heaven, or of a heavenly character, but the kingdom over which God in heaven rules, or, taking מלכות abstractly, the sovereignty which God exercises. Jesus does not spiritualise the idea by transferring the sphere of his sovereignty from earth, on which the current opinion expected to see it realised, to a future and heavenly world. He only gives a deeper ethical and religious sense to the kingdom in which God's will is done *on earth*, and conceives it as gradually growing up from a small germ already present on earth to a glorious consummation at his second coming. The notion does not rest on Dan. vii. 13, 14 so much as on Dan. iv. 23. The essayist does not think that even Paul translates the kingdom of God on earth into a heavenly kingdom, except in so far as up to the time of the Parusia the *παλιγγενεσία* of Christians is (temporarily) in heaven. In this sense, too, and not as inconsistent with the doctrine of the return of believers to earth in the Parusia, he proposes to understand the βασιλεία *ἰσχυραίνουσα* of 2 Tim. iv. 18. It may be added, that in the course of the paper, Schürer discusses the name מְלִיכָא, *réss*, as applied to God, and comes apparently with justice to an opposite conclusion from that of Siegfried mentioned above, p. 376. He holds with Geiger that the expression was originally not philosophical, but a metonymy from the sanctuary, to which the Jews directed their minds in prayer.

W. R. S. and J. R.

Theologische Studien und Kritiken. Jahrgang 1876. Zweiter Heft.

This number begins with a paper by Professor Wilibald Grimm of Jena, on "The Nationality of the Galatians of Asia Minor," in which he defends the commonly accepted opinion that they were Celts, against the hypothesis of their Teutonic blood, which has found much support from German scholars, who, though otherwise of the most opposite school, have taken a common pride in establishing their descent from an apostolic church. This pride is, of course, misplaced, for even though the Galatians were Teutonic, not a drop of their blood runs in the veins of the present Germans; and as Grimm shews, with much clearness and minuteness, the balance of evidence goes decidedly to prove that they were not Teutonic at all. The truth is, that the data we have for deciding the question are very scanty, and, in some cases, may bear equally well alternative interpretations. Jerome says the Galatians spoke a language resembling that of the Treviri; and the Treviri, Cæsar tells us, were Belgæ; but who is to tell us authoritatively whether the Belgæ spoke a Celtic or a Teutonic dialect? Then, as to their impressionableness and instability, Celts are not the only people who receive the lion of the day warmly, and forget him when he is gone. Grimm has dealt very effectively with the philological evidence afforded by names of Galatian kings, and heroes preserved in history, but it is surprising that he takes no notice whatever of the much more im-

portant and decisive evidence which is afforded by the existing names of places in Galatia. It is well known that names once current are very tenacious, and live down many changes; and Isaac Taylor has shewn, in his work on "Words and Places," that there is fair ground for concluding, from the prevalence of certain Celtic forms in the names of towns and rivers and hills in Galatia, that that country must have been inhabited at one period by Celts, and, as he believes, by Celts of the Cimbriæ type.

An interesting paper follows, in which Pastor Ohl of Schusdorf discusses the origin and propriety of the three questions addressed to the recipient of baptism in the Lutheran service—(1) Do you renounce the devil and all his works; (2) Do you believe in God the Father, &c., &c.; (3) Do you wish to be baptised? These questions originally arose at a period when the common and normal baptism was that of proselytes, and once adopted into the liturgy were mechanically transferred to the entirely different case of the baptism of infants. During the middle ages, this course was generally defended by the theory of Augustine, that children, though incapable of personal faith, were baptised on the strength of the faith of the Church; and at the Reformation, when so many old forms and old doctrines were put to the proof, these questions were transferred by Luther from the Romish service-book to his own, because, while rejecting the mediæval theory of vicarious faith as savouring too much of the *ex opere operato* working of the sacraments, he entertained the peculiar opinion that the child could, or did, exercise, previous to being baptised, such a personal faith as was the condition of receiving gracious benefit from the administration of the sacraments. Faith comes from the preaching of the Word, says Luther, and the Word is preached to the child, and heard by it, in the baptismal formula, especially that of exorcism, since it comes first in order of time. The child believes in the strength of the Word by which it is exorcised, and in the strength of the faith of the Church, whose prayers have been answered in that exorcism. All this occurs, of course, without the assent of reason; but then, says Luther, old men receive the Word with the ear and reason, without faith; and children receive it with the ear and faith, without reason. Nay, it is because children are simple, and are as yet without reason, that they are so well fitted to believe, much better fitted than the old, whose reason proves too often a decided obstacle to their faith. This theory of Luther's was entirely abandoned by his successors, because they perceived at once that the critical intelligence which is so frequently a vexatious yoke-fellow to faith is quite a different thing from the simple consciousness, the simple understanding of the transaction that is taking place, which is a necessary element of true faith. Other theories were set up, however. Melancthon, Chemnitz, and Gerhard, held that the child did not exercise faith, but experienced certain motions of mind which resembled faith, and experienced these not *before*, but *in* the enjoyment of the sacrament. That is to say, that the sacrament itself works the faith which is the indispensable condition of its working anything at all. This hypothesis, though it first begs the question by assuming the possibility, nay, the existence, of a real faith, which is yet utterly unconscious of its own object, and then reasons in a circle by making this faith to be caused by its own effect, has

been the most prevalent opinion on the point in the Lutheran Church, and has found zealous defenders at the present day in the Confessional or high Lutheran party. Pastor Ohl, however, thinks it as unsatisfactory as its predecessor, and suggests the entire abandonment of the three questions in the baptismal service, and the adoption of a view of infant baptism more accordant with the facts of the case.

Pastor Mönckelberg discusses the authenticity of Luther's famous saying at Worms, "Here I stand; I can do nothing else; God help me. Amen." Burkhardt conjectured that Luther probably said, "God help me," but nothing more; and Körtlin, after a searching examination of authorities, came to the conclusion that, while Luther's saying was more than simply, "God help me," yet it was impossible to decide now how it actually ran. The author of this paper produces evidence from various sources, manuscript and printed, which were unknown to these earlier inquirers, to prove the authenticity of the saying in its commonly received form.

Dr Alois Müller gives an account of a MS. of Melanchthon's *Loci Communes*, in German, which lies in the Imperial library at Olmutz, and which has a high interest, because it has been pronounced by Dr Bindseil of Halle, who is a leading authority on that kind of questions, to be, without doubt, written entirely by Melanchthon's own hand.

Among other papers is one on "The Literary Plan of the Third Gospel," by Nösger; and a review of Ritschl's book on "Justification and Reconciliation," by Schmidt.

ITALIAN PERIODICAL.

La Rivista Cristiana : Periodico Mensile. Firenze Dec. 1875.

We are very glad to introduce to our readers the above periodical, the existence of which is one of the most hopeful signs of the times. It is the first and only attempt that has been made in Italy to reach the educated classes by a Christian magazine, discussing in a thorough learned and evangelical manner subjects connected with religion, theology, and Church history; as also those scientific and literary topics that have a bearing on Christianity. It has now been in existence for three years, published in Florence, and edited by Professor Comba, of the Waldensian Theological College there; and we think it is a favourable augury for the Waldensian Church that they have such a periodical in connection with them, and a man qualified to conduct it as he has done. The following words of Dr Stewart, of Leghorn, testify to the character and value of this magazine:

"Though the circulation be still small, it is making its way, and secular writers in other magazines, or in their own works, have quoted from its pages, both to oppose and to commend. But another very important claim for support and encouragement is founded on the most valuable contributions to the still little known history of the Reformation in Italy in the sixteenth century, which are furnished by the editor's own pen. Professor

Comba has a passion for historic archæology; and first in archives and libraries of Venice, and afterwards in those of Florence, he has found records of martyrs, hitherto unknown, who were tried and put to death for their firm adherence to the principles of the Great Reformation. In giving his researches the light in the pages of the *Rivista Cristiana*, he is rendering a great public service, at once to his country and to the Church of Christ."

We have only seen as yet one number, that for December 1875, but that fully bears out Dr Stewart's statement as to its general character; and we hope to be able to notice it more particularly from time to time in our pages. Meanwhile we cordially wish success to this interesting and hopeful effort, and recommend the magazine to those of our readers who may know Italian, and desire to aid the cause of truth and godliness by becoming subscribers to it.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

Die Christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung dargestellt von Albrecht Ritschl. Dritter Band. Die positive Entwicklung der Lehre. Bonn. 1874.

In the positive exhibition of the doctrine of justification and reconciliation which occupies the third and concluding volume of his work, Ritschl takes a very wide sweep, and brings into view a number of other doctrines that are connected with it. Thus, although his aim is to unfold the meaning of one great doctrine only, and that is steadily kept in view, he brings under our notice nearly all the leading truths of theology,—the doctrine of God, of Sin, and of the Person and Work of Christ, as well as that of Justification and Reconciliation. The general plan of the dogmatic investigation may be said to be,—first, to settle the notion of justification as closely and precisely as possible; next, to indicate the other doctrines that must be taken as presuppositions of the one in question; then, thirdly, to prove on these grounds the necessity of justification in general, and of its being founded on the work and suffering of Christ; and, lastly, to draw some conclusions.

The first of these tasks is, on the whole, very satisfactorily and successfully performed. Justification is taken as equivalent to the forgiveness of sins, and that idea is examined in its various aspects—as, remission of punishment, removal of guilt, of the separation from God caused by the feeling of guilt, of opposition to God, and the like; the logical consequences and connections of each of these views being traced, with great ingenuity, in the theological systems where each has been prominent; the general result being, that that view is most in accordance with the ideas of the men of the New Testament, and the Reformers, which

regards it as the removal of guilt, and of the consciousness of guilt, in so far as the latter separates the sinner from God by producing in him mistrust ; while it has also a more positive element, that of reconciliation or the turning of the sinner's will towards God. Few will doubt that in this Ritschl has hit upon what is religiously the most important aspect of the great blessing he is investigating ; though most will probably think his mode of representing it somewhat too exclusively subjective. A more definite departure from the orthodox theology appears in this, that he denies that the act of God in forgiving sins can be conceived as a judicial one. In place of the relation of a judge, he ascribes to him in this matter that of a father, not, however, exactly in the way in which that is done by the school of Coleridge and Maurice in this country ; for he does not hold, like them, that that is the original and essential relation of God to man. He has far more worthy ideas of fatherhood than to believe that it can be constituted by the mere production of a creature, even in the image of God. As among men the moral relation of fatherhood depends, not upon the mere begetting a child, but on the resolution to treat him as such, and bring him up in a moral way, so sonship to God is constituted by his receiving his creatures into a relation in which they have his gracious love and training. Thus he coincides with Turretine, Schleiermacher, and others, who regard adoption as the positive part of justification.

One of the most important and suggestive sections of the work is that on the doctrine of God, in which he examines with great acuteness the Socinian and the orthodox views of the relation of God to man, and finds both open to objection. The view that he would substitute is not quite so distinctly formulated ; but it is, that the true Christian conception of God is love, having for its ultimate end the kingdom of God, or moral fellowship of intelligent creatures with himself. His criticism of the evangelical view of God's relation to man, as moral governor and judge, seems to us unfair, as making too much of small points, and insisting on a more exact analogy to human government than can reasonably be demanded ; and we pointed out in last number that his attempts to explain otherwise the Biblical passages on which that view is founded are, in our opinion, forced and unsuccessful. But his discussion of the subject seems fairly to raise the question, whether the evangelical doctrine is thoroughly safe against such criticism, unless it be completed and guarded, by the full working out of that view of adoption, which makes it appear that the whole scheme of probation and moral government is but a subordinate and provisional part of that greater plan by which the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is bringing many sons unto glory. The question, too, whether all the moral attributes of God can, consistently with evangelical doctrine, be traced up to love, is one that deserves more careful consideration from divines than it has received, at least in this country. Ritschl holds that they can and must ; and one of his chief objections against the judicial form of conceiving God's relation to men is, that it assumes a duality in the divine character, which is inconsistent with its perfect unity. He has, however, a very high conception of the love which he holds to be the entire moral nature of God,

as being not mere benevolence, but that will and purpose which has for its end the kingdom of God, or the moral fellowship of intelligent creatures with their Creator. When viewed in this light, which is a thoroughly scriptural and evangelical one, the divine love is seen to be at least in very close alliance and perfect harmony with righteousness and holiness; but whether these can be legitimately deduced from it, is a point on which Ritschl's exposition does not satisfy us, since his views of God's righteousness and holiness seem not adequately to express the teaching of Scripture.

In his conception of the work of Christ, Ritschl is very anxious to substitute a truly religious view for what he considers the merely moral and judicial one, of the orthodox doctrine; while still he is most earnest in seeking to maintain him to have been a priest as well as a prophet and king. He regards his priestly work as consisting in his drawing near to God, in the exercise of the most perfect religious faith and devotion. This is an idea which is true, so far as it goes, and has perhaps been too much lost sight of in doctrinal statements of the satisfaction of Christ. It may with advantage be added to that doctrine, but it is hard to see how justice can be done to the Biblical representations of the death of Christ, if it be substituted for it. Ritschl holds very strongly the necessity of a real justification, or righting of our state in relation to God by restoration to his favour and fellowship, as the only thing that can give us freedom from sin and the power of the world; and also the necessity of that being founded on the person and work of Christ, as the founder of the church or communion of the people of God, in which alone these blessings can be enjoyed. But his statements on these points seem to give too great and almost exclusive prominence to the subjective side of the transaction, and thus to be one-sided and defective.

While, however, we must thus express dissatisfaction with the view here developed of the main doctrine in question, it is only fair to say, that on many of the points touched upon in the course of the discussion, there are in this volume very fine and valuable disquisitions. The treatment of the ideas of the kingdom of God, and of Christian liberty, and the various applications made of them, are peculiarly striking and suggestive. As a whole, too, the book should be of much service to Dogmatic Theology, from the directness with which it grapples with great principles, and the extreme acuteness with which it handles them. Carlyle somewhere complains, that the great questions of man's life and destiny have got so overlaid with *formulae* and verbiage, that no man has seen the real face of a theological or philosophical doctrine for some centuries. Of something like this one is painfully conscious in reading many books on theology. But Ritschl's treatise has the rare merit of making us see the real face of the doctrine, and feel that we are dealing, not with mere opinions and *formulae*, but with actual realities. It is such writings alone that really advance our knowledge of divine truth; and this work of Ritschl's, seriously defective as its conclusions are, may, if wisely and judiciously used, be of more help in bringing Christian theology to a more perfect form than many an unexceptionable repertory of sound doctrine.

NEW TESTAMENT EXEGESIS.

Expositions of the Book of Revelation. By WILLIAM ROBINSON, of Cambridge. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1875.

We do not marvel that the congregation to which these discourses were addressed "on Sunday evenings, in the year 1867 and 1868," should have desired their publication. The death of the preacher, when away from home in America, gives a sad interest to the book, and leaves it not exactly what it would have been had it received his revision. Yet the style is so chaste, clear, and vigorous, that no great pruning would have been necessary. Considering the historical mode of interpretation adopted, which accords on the whole with Elliott, it is marvellous how rich and spiritual the expositions have been made. Never were quotations from Gibbon and similar sources more popularly introduced; and, amidst all, the grand aim in preaching seems never to have been forgotten. The hearer and his heart are not neglected in the swift-flowing periods which suggest many eventful epochs in European history. If anything could reconcile us to the belief that "these prophecies are but outlines of universal history written beforehand," it would be the free, manly, reverent treatment of the Apocalypse by this gifted author. Perhaps, however, he attracts, when others who may be reckoned of the same school repel, just in proportion as his sound common sense leads him to deal with the symbols of the Revelation as very different from the prosaic record of mere literalities. We are saved, in this way, from contemplating the New Jerusalem as an actual city of gold, whose dimensions are only geographical; but we are staggered all the more when, at the mention of the Euphrates, it is presumed we must think exclusively of the Saracens and Bagdad. Surely the Euphrates and Babylon were so intimately bound up from of old, that the mention of the one might be considered rather as suggestive of the other, and both be treated as the antitheses of the city of God and the river of life. Our author holds by a literal resurrection of the martyrs, or at least certain of the martyrs, before the millennium; but on the other hand he treats as "marvellous credulity" the assumption that our Lord Himself will, during the thousand years, make this world His dwelling-place; that His throne will be on Mount Zion, and that He will take the presidency in all human affairs. It ought not therefore, one would think, have been difficult for Mr Robinson to have fallen in with the simple Augustinian view, that the period of the Christian centuries is the reign of the saints. This however would imply a different treatment of the recurrent numbers (in the way of months and years) found in the Apocalypse, from the year-day system, which is here allowed to dominate with the usual results. To laugh at the idea of the two witnesses being two actual men, to hesitate even about accepting the Paulicians and Waldensians as a sufficiently general interpretation, and yet to bind us down, because of the mention of three days and a half, to the belief "that just before the full triumph of truth and righteousness, there will be a fierce struggle lasting three years and a half," seems hardly consistent. But, indeed,

we here touch upon that which makes further criticism impossible. The lectures being purely popular, discuss in a most imperfect way principles of interpretation, and, according to pulpit fashion, suggest many more questions than those which are presumed to be solved.

The Apocalypse: The Voice of Jesus Christ from the Throne of Glory; with an Exegetical and Practical Commentary. By the Rev. JOSEPH BAYLEE, D.D., Vicar of Sheepscombe, Gloucestershire, and late Principal of St Aidan's Theological College. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1876.

The first glance over this book reveals such a number of printer's errors in the accentuation and spelling of Greek words, as to create the wish that the appearance of exact scholarship had been withheld. Truth to tell, this would have been no great disadvantage; for we have failed to mark many instances in which the effort to get at the roots of the words discussed might be fairly deemed indispensable. In one case of real importance we must differ from our author. He would continue to denominate the cherubim *beasts*, maintaining that "it is the same name which Ezekiel gives to them, and which Daniel gave to the symbols of the four empires," and drawing the inference therefrom, that "these four beasts are Daniel's four beasts converted to God, and worshipping Christ." Granting freely that the Chaldee word used by Daniel, and the Hebrew one used by Ezekiel, are virtually the same, being a term of the most general order signifying "living creature," it yet does not follow that the "Chaldee word used by Daniel, the Hebrew one used by Ezekiel, and the Greek word used by John, are identical in signification." Seeing there are two well-known Greek words, the one of which is used by John when he writes in a parallel strain with Ezekiel regarding the cherubim, and the other of which is employed by him when he speaks of the beast which combines the attributes of the four beasts of Daniel, and seeing it is equally well known that the LXX observe the same distinction, one can only wonder at the mistake which has been made, and that all the more when it is succeeded by an arbitrary definition like the following, "John applied *θηρία* (wild beasts) to the earthly sovereignty in its present condition." "*He employs the word ζῷον (a living creature) without any significancy of self will.*" We might direct less attention to such particulars if the rest of the book shewed a width of scope redeeming it from the charge which is apt to be suggested; but with every desire to speak well of the labour of a man earnestly evangelical, and by no means worthy of being classed among the host of minor writers who do their best to render the Revelation a sealed book, yet we cannot regard Dr Baylee's effort in the light of a real contribution to the settlement of any of the questions affecting the Apocalypse. The date fixed upon by him for the close of the time of the Gentiles is 1896, and he announces 1971 as the commencement of the millennial glory. These are so far safe dates, being in the future; but, strangely enough, 1896 is given as harmonizing the preceding dates, 1848, 1792, 1847, 1866, on which students of prophecy have stumbled, and it is held to

be a remarkable and encouraging fact that, although commentators have differed so much in fixing the period of the time of the end, they have all fixed on dates which have proved to be most eventful. We have been at pains to gather together the scraps of proof afforded here and there throughout the work in favour of 1896 and 1971. They are such as the following:—

Alexander's victory over the Persians was in B.C. 329. Daniel speaks of 2300 days as the time of the little horn; putting these two numbers together, and reckoning the days of Daniel as years, we reach A.D. 1971.

Again, Daniel gives three remarkable dates—1260, 1290, and 1335 days. Now, Jerusalem was taken by the Saracens A.D. 636; “1335 years from that time brings us to the same date as the 2300, viz., A.D. 1971.” Of course, also adding 1260 to 636, we get 1896; but how this date consorts with the calculations of Fleming or others, is never once shewn.

Once more: “Nebuchadnezzar's madness lasted for seven times, and as he was a typical person, the 2520 years of the madness of the nations, dating from the era of Nebuchadnezzar, will reach to A.D. 1930. After that they will, as converted nations, assist in the restoration of the Jews, and the rebuilding of Jerusalem.”

Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians: Expounded in a Series of Discourses. By the late ROBERT S. CANDLISH, D.D., Minister of Free St George's, and Principal of the New College, Edinburgh. Crown 8vo. Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black. 1875.

Commanding power in the pulpit is a rare gift, though scarcely, we are inclined to think, so rare as in other analogous spheres of influence, where the themes are of a more tangible nature, and perpetually varying. But of those who possess this rare gift, few excel notably in any other, and fewer still in more. Tried by this standard, the late Dr Candlish stands out as the man of an age. In the pulpit of St George's Established Church, and afterwards in that of Free St George's, he gathered around him, and for a lifetime held together, the most influential congregation in Scotland—one whose annual contributions to every Christian object were unequalled in amount perhaps by any Christian congregation in the world—though this pulpit pre-eminence was only one of his gifts.

With respect to his pulpit power, it may reasonably be asked, Wherein did it lie? The volume before us may partially answer that question, though there were elements in it deeper than appear there. Some men's sermons seem written for the press rather than the pulpit, and are fitter for reading than for hearing. Such men, as a friend of ours once expressed it, “preach literature.” Other men there are—Dr Chalmers, for example—who, though their sermons are wholly of this character, both in form and phraseology, can throw into the delivery of them such a glow of enthusiasm that they can be heard from the pulpit with as much interest and delight as read through the press. Dr Candlish prepared his sermons with no view to the press. He had his own congregation exclusively before his mind's eye. This moulded the form of them and their style of address. His was strictly a spoken style. But what, it may be asked,

were the characteristics of his preaching? One very marked feature of the matter of it was its eminently *teaching* character, and that teaching eminently *biblical*. Hardly ever did he deal with any topic, whether of doctrine or duty, apart from its setting in the text which he had selected. That setting it was his delight first to bring out and open up; and then, keeping hold of it throughout, he would set himself to illustrate and enforce it with that subtle and piercing power which he so remarkably possessed. And it was precisely the deepest and richest evangelical truths which he thus delighted to spread out as a spiritual feast to his people. From this, however, they could derive little profit, if they listened with shut Bible. They behaved themselves to "search the Scriptures" while he was "opening to them the Scriptures." What we mean here will be best understood by referring to the very first sermon in the present volume. For the text of this sermon he selects five places in this one Epistle to the Ephesians, where there occurs the same phrase, found nowhere else—"in the heavenly places"—all expressive, not so much of a *place*, as of a *sphere* of being, but each in some aspect of its own: the first three depicting varied conditions of the life of believers "risen with Christ;" the fourth, that life as an object of admiration and education to the principalities and powers in the heavenly places; and the fifth, the same as an object of deadly hostility to the principalities and powers of darkness, mysteriously permitted to penetrate into that sphere. The ingenuity and, at the same time, biblical sobriety with which this is opened out in successive heads of the discourse, and the sense of completeness and satisfaction with which one would come away from listening to such an opening of a great subject—stimulating as it would to further thought in the same direction—is a fine illustration of that subtle, analytic, and withal, constructive faculty which Dr Candlish possessed. But we should convey but a poor idea of what such discourses were, and of the impression they left, were this all that was in them. There came in under every aspect of his subject such spiritual views and such searching, personal applications of the truth dealt with, as made what might seem speculative to be intensely practical. In fact, the whole treatment of the last head—the conflict with the principalities and powers of evil—is so pointed in its practical character, that no Christian could have listened to it, as none can now read it, without feeling that his own case has been very closely dealt with.

Though we have spoken thus highly of Dr Candlish's qualities as a preacher, even as partially exemplified in this posthumous volume, it need not be supposed that we go along with everything it contains. Some of the passages he comments on—though not many—we should interpret differently; but this is a matter of small moment. In some cases he shews a tendency to over-refinement, and the texture of his sermons is so rigidly expository, that they may not suit the taste of some. But those who have any relish for the skilful, loving, and faithful opening of Scripture, and a close, personal application of its truths, cannot fail to value this repository of biblical exposition, while those who care less for this, but knew and admired the man as one of God's best gifts to the Church of Scotland, and above all, to the congregation which so long enjoyed his ministry, will regard it as a memorial of him not easily estimated.

D. B.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Dawn of Life; being the History of the oldest known Fossil Remains, and their Relations to Geological Time and to the Development of the Animal Kingdom. By J. W. DAWSON, LL.D., &c., Principal of M'Gill University, Montreal. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1875.

The late Sir Roderick Murchison, describing in his *Siluria* the little radiated zoophyte named *Oldhamia*, belonging to the Cambrian system of geology, quaintly remarks that "the reader may look with reverence on this zoophyte, for notwithstanding the most assiduous researches, it is the only animal relic yet known in this very low stage of unequivocal sedimentary matter." In the year 1859 a discovery was made in Canada which has given the geologist cause to transfer his veneration from *Oldhamia* to an organism which carries him back to an antiquity so remote as to render the age of the Cambrian and Silurian fossils comparatively recent. The rocks which yielded this remarkable fossil are the oldest stratified deposits of the American continent, and having been extensively developed and first geologically explored in the neighbourhood of the river St Lawrence, are now generally known as the Laurentian series. They form beds of gneiss and other crystalline rocks, consisting of the metamorphosed sandstones, clays, and limestones of a still earlier period of oceanic deposits. The series is distinguished as the Lower and Upper Laurentian, the former attaining in Canada to a thickness of 20,000 feet; while the latter and newer, which is believed to be separated from the lower and older by a long interval of time, presents a thickness of 10,000 feet. The upper division is associated with somewhat later deposits known as the Huronian, reaching a thickness of 18,000 feet. The united thickness of these three associated series was considered by the late Sir William Logan, the head of the geological survey of Canada, as possibly far surpassing "that of all succeeding rocks, from the base of the Palæozoic to the present time." The Laurentian formation stretches over more than 200,000 square miles in Canada, and much of it remains unexplored. Rocks of the same geological age have been identified in the older gneisses of Norway and Sweden, of Bavaria and Bohemia; and one of the latest labours of Sir R. Murchison was to establish a Lower Laurentian equivalent in the Scottish Hebrides. It is doubtful whether the Upper Laurentian, or, as it is sometimes called, Labrador series, is represented amongst the gneisses of our western islands; but it was the opinion of Sir W. Logan, that the Labrador series occurs in the Isle of Skye. "The Labradorite and Hypersthene rocks from that island," he wrote, "are identical with those of the Labrador series in Canada and New York, and unlike those of any formation at any other known horizon." The discovery of an organism in these truly ancient rocks was recognised as opening "a new era in geological science." But, in the first instance, the discovery was received in some quarters with considerable suspicion, not

to say hostility. It did not quadrate with the views of certain geologists, who had decided on theoretic grounds that rocks older than the Primordial, Silurian, or Cambrian period must necessarily be "azoic," or destitute of any vestige of life, or "hypozoic," subordinate in their position to the fossiliferous strata. There was something, also, in the aspect of the newly discovered substance itself which lent a degree of plausibility to doubts as to its organic character. The subject has been discussed more or less for the last fifteen years; and Dr Dawson's history of the discovery, and its geological and biological bearings, appears at a time when it may be affirmed that all reasonable doubts as to the organic nature of the substance have been conclusively set at rest. *Eozoon Canadense* is the name which was given to the organism by the author, who shares largely in the merit of having determined its true character, a task in which he has been ably supported by Dr Carpenter. In bestowing upon it the name of Eozoon, or Dawn Animal, he disclaims any intention of presenting it as "the long-sought prototype of animal existence." It is simply the oldest known fossil for the time being, as was the *Oldhamia* a few years ago; and the interest attaching to it in that respect is pithily expressed in the author's remark, that "it is for us at present the last organic foothold on which we can poise ourselves, that we may look back into the abyss of the infinite past, and forward to the long and varied progress of life in geological time." There is no lack of evidence that the Eozoon existed along with many contemporaries, animal and vegetable. The Laurentian rocks contain immense beds of limestone, presumably of the same organic origin as the limestones of later periods, accumulated by coral, zoophytes, foraminifera, and mollusca. The presence also of great quantities of carbon in the form of plumbago, or graphite, is assigned to the agency of an abundant vegetation in the sea or on the land during the Laurentian age. Beds of oxide of iron, sometimes seventy feet in thickness, testify in a similar manner to organic action in that remote era; for "it is the deoxidising power of vegetable matter which has in all the later formations been the efficient cause in producing bedded deposits of iron." The Eozoon ranks amongst the most primitive forms of animal life. It belongs to the Rhizopoda, a class which has played a more important part in modifying the crust of the earth than even the coral zoophytes. The gelatinous or albuminoid substance (sarcode) of the body in this class of animals is destitute of any quality indicating organisation of the simplest description. "A little particle of apparently homogeneous jelly (to use the words of Dr Carpenter in his work on the "Foraminifera") changes itself into a greater variety of forms than the fabled Proteus; lays hold of its food without members; swallows it without a mouth; digests it without a stomach; appropriates its nutritious material without absorbent vessels or a circulating system; moves from place to place without muscles; feels (if it has any power to do so) without nerves; and not only this, but in many instances forms shelly coverings of a symmetry and complexity not surpassed by those of any testaceous animal." The first part of this description applies literally to the *Amœba* or *Proteus animalcule*, the type of an order of Rhizopoda destitute of any testaceous

covering ; the latter part to the extensive order of the Foraminifera, in which the animal is, if possible, less structureless than the other, yet is endowed with the power of investing itself with a shelly covering, of which we have a remarkable example in the Nummulite constituting the principal masses of the limestone of which the Pyramids are constructed, whilst another species of foraminifer has furnished the Miliolite limestone of which the city of Paris is built. The present deep-sea dredgings shew that foraminifera are still carrying on the process of depositing calcareous matter in the ocean depths. The Eozoon grew to gigantic dimensions, which were rivalled by some succeeding animals of the same lowly type in the Silurian age ; but Dr Dawson points out that, as a whole, "foraminiferal animals have been diminishing in size in the lapse of geological time ;" and certainly the contrast is sufficiently striking betwixt the minute but exquisitely beautiful species studied by the modern zoologist, and the huge reef-like masses of the Eozoon which covered the floor of ocean in the era of the Laurentian. In indicating the bearings of this discovery upon recent speculations on the dawn of life on our planet, the author is careful to assure the reader that "our dawn animal has positively no story to tell as to his own introduction, or his transmutation into other forms of existence ; he leaves the mystery of creation where it was."

The scientific lessons which the author derives from the discovery are simply these,—first, that the plan of creation has been progressive from few, low, and generalized types of the primeval ocean, to the more numerous, higher, and specialised types of later times ; and, secondly, that every type, low or high, was introduced at first in its best and highest form, but, as a type, was subject to degeneracy, and to displacement, partially or wholly, by higher types subsequently introduced. In his present work, as well as in his instructive and pleasant volume on "The Earth and Man," Dr Dawson deprecates the attempts which have been made to press the Laurentian foraminifer into the support of the evolution theory. We have only space to add that, while the author has been at pains to adapt the history of the fossil to general readers, the scientific inquirer will find in the supplementary notes ample details on the geology of the subject, together with a review of the controversy as to the organic character of the Eozoon. The work is altogether worthy of the high reputation of its author.

The Recent Origin of Man, as illustrated by Geology and the Modern Science of Prehistoric Archaeology. By JAMES C. SOUTHALL. Philadelphia : Lippincott & Co. 1875.

Along a number of converging lines of evidence the present school of anthropologists have for some years believed themselves to be advancing towards this result—that the existence of man on the globe has continued for a vastly longer period than either historians or theologians have hitherto supposed. Indefinite ages running back into geological eras which we used to associate only with extinct *fauna*, are claimed for the gradual rise of the human family out of pristine barbarism into the height

of civilization and history. The six thousand years (more or less) allowed by our traditional chronology shrinks into a mere trifle before these claims of prehistoric archæology. It is plain that Bible faith has a vital interest in such results. The dates given by the early chapters of Genesis are well known to be uncertain, it is true ; and we should not care to pin our Christianity to any deductions from them which have hitherto found favour. Still, it will be a serious matter if the biblical chronology has to be given up as affording no clue whatever to the primitive history of man. It is very hard to see how, under any conceivable system of interpretation, room is to be found within the book of Genesis for the "vast antiquity," the "hundreds of thousands" of years of which archæologists speak so freely. The ponderous volume of 600 pages before us has therefore an important value to the student of Scripture ; for it certainly succeeds in throwing ample doubt upon the conclusions on this subject at which scientific men have been too ready to arrive. Mr Southall himself thinks he has established the very recent origin of the human race. To us it appears that what he has done is to shew that its vast antiquity is *not* yet proved. But on such a question as this a verdict of "not proven" is quite enough to set aside any new and hasty hypothesis which upsets Scripture, history, and the accepted beliefs of scholars.

Mr Southall has spared no pains in searching out and marshalling at length a very large body of such facts as bear upon his subject. His volume, indeed, is a perfect magazine of facts, culled from the leading French, English, and American authorities, as well as from the transactions of archæological societies. For the skill with which his facts are used, we cannot say so much. With all his diligence, the writer fails to make his argument lucid or his statements interesting. He lacks the literary power to handle effectively such a pile of materials ; and the reader finds himself wading through dry pages of details with small help from the author. The book is a storehouse out of which some more deft hand may draw a condensed and telling case against the archæologists, and it would be a service worth doing by any one who possessed the qualifications for it. For the present, it needs some ardour and patience to plod through these pages.

A few sentences, however, will indicate the character of Mr Southall's argument to readers interested in the question. After some half dozen chapters, which might have been condensed or omitted without loss, our author sets himself to demolish the well-known theory of successive prehistoric ages, distinguished by the exclusive use of stone, bronze, or iron implements. To sustain the inference of enormous time-periods, it would require to be shewn, first, that the use of these various materials by the same tribe did not overlap ; in other words, that the so-called "ages" of tribal development were mutually exclusive : and, second, that different races or tribes did not employ at the same date these various materials ; in other words, that the "ages" of stone, bronze, and iron, were really successive all over the world. This last position no one pretends to maintain ; the former is contradicted by abundant evidence.

Very full materials on this important point will be found in our author's discussion of the megaliths, the lake dwellings of Switzerland, Italy, &c., and the shell mounds of Denmark, as well as in his chapter expressly devoted to it (ch. xxiii.). The truth is, that these periods appear to have always co-existed in some part of the world or another, as they co-exist to this day. Therefore, chronologically speaking, they "cross each other at every point," and as a basis for the classification or calculation of time-periods, prove utterly confusing. For the determination of prehistoric progress within one limited area, they afford serviceable evidence, when used with due regard to the usages of different races; as a clue to the absolute antiquity of any given remains, they are quite misleading.

Another important class of facts depends for its value as a test of man's antiquity, on the date at which the extinct *fauna* associated with human remains became extinct. Here the facts collected by Mr Southall point to a comparatively recent survival of most of them. The reindeer is found in the Scotch "burghs," along with bronze near London, and in the British peat. It was known in Germany, like the Urus, in Cæsar's day. It was hunted in Scotland in the twelfth century. The aurochs is named in the *Nibelungen Lied*, and existed in Prussia in 1775. The Irish elk is found along with iron and jet objects. In fact, wild beasts have lingered longer in Western Europe and disappeared faster than the archæologists were willing to believe.

The geological evidence is more obscure, and worse to decipher. But a large part of this volume is devoted to an elaborate examination of the phenomena of the Somme valley, between Amiens and Abbeville, and of the theories framed to account for them. This is the crucial instance of human remains that appear to be thrown into the remote past by subsequent geological changes. Mr Southall contends that the Somme valley has not been scooped out by the present river within the human period, but that (as Mr Taylor holds) immense floods succeeded the glacial period and the first occupation of the bone caves by man, while there is evidence that even since the Christian era, a wide sheet of water or arm of the sea filled the whole valley as far as Abbeville. For all this, and for a prodigious deal more bearing on the date at which primitive man existed in Western Europe, we can only refer our readers curious in the question to Mr Southall's ample and exhaustive accumulation of facts. Readers who lack leisure or opportunity for the inquiry, may at least rest in the conviction that science has by no means reached its last word on this whole region of anthropological investigation. New discoveries are perpetually shifting the aspect of the case and making new deductions necessary, while the scanty and precarious character of the evidence imposes on the sober inquirer an unusual degree of caution and of patient waiting. So far as this American author can help to teach this warning, his voluminous and industrious book merits grateful welcome.

Memoir of Norman Macleod, D.D. By his Brother, the Rev. DONALD MACLEOD, B.A. 2 Vols. Pp. 362, 432. London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co. 1876.

The Church of Christ and the reading public generally will agree in pronouncing these volumes a happy combination of the useful with the agreeable. And the intelligent Christian, of whatever school, will scarcely finish them without acknowledging that he has learned much from the history of a good and able man, however he may differ from him in some matters of importance. The biographer has had the well known advantages and disadvantages of being a near relative; but he has done his work well. No doubt this work has been the less difficult, because Dr Macleod's life presented much more of incident than the lives of ministers or other professional men often do, and also because there was so large a correspondence of which to make use, and a diary to be its thread, around which the narrative might take shape naturally and gracefully.

We hear so frequently of the pulpit having lost its power, that it is pleasant to read yet another memoir which strikingly proves the contrary. We see here how the pulpit has a power which the press can never have, because its utterances are not dissociated from the person who utters them, but borrow strength from all his personal qualities, whether natural or gracious, whether as they appear at the time he preaches, or as his hearers bring them in from their knowledge of his life among them, and the affection or reverence which this inspires. Macleod had certainly many advantages from the first. There was his father's house, one of those manse to which Scotland is deeply indebted for its ministers; his mother's training and prayers, whose influence he was never weary of acknowledging; and the impressions connected with the early death of a saintly and beloved brother. Then there was everything he could wish in the way of training at the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, followed by a tutorship in a good English family, and residence with his pupil at Weimar, where he moved in the very best society of that intellectual capital. Besides thorough training, such as our best ministers desire to have, he had accomplishments in his love of music, poetry, and drawing. He had a magnificent physical frame, fitting him for much work, and attracting the favourable regard of all who met him; and he had a noble mind, richly endowed with many intellectual powers, a true heart, and a most genial disposition and love for society. And he was early set to work in a quiet Ayrshire parish, where he had opportunities of experimenting on all classes—a rural and a village population—of all ranks, from the peerage downwards; to be followed, five years later, by labour in the country town of Dalkeith, a few miles out of Edinburgh; from which he was translated, after eight more years, while yet in the prime of life, to the great Barony parish of Glasgow, where he wrought on till he died.

The impression comes strongly home to the reader that he was a man of true instincts, and of real consecration to his Master's service. From his father and others he had had opportunities of learning what was good steady parochial work; and in every case his aim was to bring his parish

into sound working order, a desire which would be all the stronger and all the more likely to be gratified, because he had spent two of his divinity sessions at the feet of Chalmers, and had come under the influence of that wonderful man. From Chalmers he had learned to look upon the condition of our home heathen, and to appreciate the need for missionary labour among them ; and to the last he took an increasing interest in their case, and with much success. Few things seem to have touched his own heart more than his long-continued Sunday evening services to his Barony parishioners, who were admitted only in their working clothes. But he knew that the field was the world. He saw one important part of the Colonial field in his journey as a deputy through British North America ; and had unfavourable circumstances not prevented, he would have been equally ready to go as a deputy to visit the Jewish missions of his Church. But, above all, he was interested in missions to the heathen ; he laboured long and most abundantly for India, and he shortened his days by his remarkable visit to that country in the capacity of Convener of the India Mission.

He was an admirable worker, and his sympathetic nature enabled him to engage others to work along with him. He was not a great thinker, and he did not pretend to be. Indeed, the whole bent of his mind, so practical and so apt to condemn theorising, exposed him to the errors into which, we believe, he fell. Hence his views on the Sabbath, in which he strangely confounded its permanent unchanging obligation with the question of the degree of strictness that might be required by the law ; and his yielding to the shallow scheme of divinity which refuses to acknowledge the decalogue as the adequate expression of the moral law. And hence his much more serious error in respect of the nature of the atonement, and his belief that the confused volume by John Macleod Campbell expressed the glorious truth upon this central subject, and led him to the living Christ as the old theology did not.

He was a loyal and devoted minister of the Scottish Established Church and certainly did more than any other individual to restore it from the weak state in which it was left by the Disruption in 1843. Indeed, he was in a sense bound to do so, for it was he himself, as Moderator of the Presbytery of Irvine, who actually began the Disruption, by breaking up that Presbytery when he refused to acknowledge that the *quoad sacra* ministers were members of it—a sufficiently curious position for him to take up, considering that his father sat as a *quoad sacra* minister in the Assembly of which he was Moderator. His action is not without interest at the present day, when it is supposed by many that the abolition of patronage has removed all essential difference between the Established and the Free Churches. From time to time his letters and his diary make it clear that he understood the real difference to lie in the spiritual independence claimed by the Free Church : though it is not quite certain that he understood any better than his biographer what that claim is, namely, that the Church is to determine for itself upon spiritual questions in its own courts, as the State in its own courts is to determine on civil questions, and that neither is to decide for the other what the limits are of their respective provinces.

Bible Lands : Their Modern Customs and Manners illustrative of Scripture.

By HENRY J. VAN-LENNEP, D.D. With maps and woodcuts. London : John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1875.

The name of Dr Van-Lennep was, we confess, new to us. We were not long, however, of coming to a conclusion regarding our author's nationality. Certain peculiarities of spelling which find favour on the other side of the Atlantic, led to the conjecture that Dr Van-Lennep might be an American *traveler*, and this ripened into certainty when we found the writer beginning a sentence thus—"We say, General Sherman, President Grant, Queen Victoria." No person but one whose horoscope was cast in the sign of the Stars and the Stripes would have thought of such an arrangement as that. With cordial pleasure do we welcome our American cousin bringing this contribution to a better and wider acquaintance with Biblical antiquities, customs, and manners. His contribution, being that of one who has "spent almost a lifetime in the East, and enjoyed *unrivalled* opportunities of intercourse with all classes of the people," is most interesting and valuable ; it is given with the utmost modesty, and at the same time with nothing of the dryness that make Robinson's "Researches" unreadable except by students, and with nothing of the forced liveliness which renders "The Land and the Book" of Thomson, another countryman of our author, very heavy reading. The work is divided into two parts, under the first of which are treated, "Customs which have their origin in the Physical Features of Bible Lands," and under the second, "Customs which have an Historical Origin." For neither part does the writer claim the merit of completeness, or the value of scientific treatment. He is "not writing a treatise on the geography, botany, or natural history of the lands of the Bible," and he frankly avows his intention to "omit much interesting matter of a scientific character." It is the necessary result of this eclectic character of the contents of the two volumes that readers will be disappointed now and again, when turning to them for light upon Scripture statements or allusions. Thus one Bible reader may be puzzled what to make of the "mandrakes" mentioned in Genesis and Canticles ; another may wish information regarding the "Shittim" wood used in the construction of the Tabernacle ; while a third may reasonably look for some explanation of the "wedding garment" mentioned in the parable of the great Supper. But not one of these seekers for light will be any the wiser by referring to the pages of Dr Van-Lennep. If, however, the reader has beside him for reference on these and similar matters such works as Smith's Biblical Dictionary, Stanley's Sinai and Palestine, and Trench on the Parables, he will find Dr Van-Lennep a most agreeable and instructive companion to these elucidators of the written Word, one who can furnish him with illustrative information such as could only be gathered from personal observation in Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Persia, and Arabia.

The department in which we are inclined to regard the American divine as weakest, is that of Biblical criticism. Thus, in the course of the chapter devoted to "Religious Practices," our author refers to the vow of Jephthah as evidence of the existence of human sacrifices, "recognised in the

Pentateuch by the provision made for 'singular vows' which required the commission of murder." No other explanation of the transaction in question is stated, the only hint that another is possible being contained in the foot-note, with which the matter is summarily dismissed. "All the earlier interpreters, Josephus and Jonathan the Targumist among them, adopt the literal interpretation of the sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter." There is a good deal more than that to be said on the subject, as all Bible students know. Dr Van-Lennep should either have passed it over entirely, or have given it a fuller and more satisfactory treatment. Again, at the commencement of the chapter upon Fruit, &c., we have a most interesting statement regarding the fig-tree of Western Asia. Unfortunately, however, our author feels called upon to furnish his contribution to the explanation of our Lord's blighting of the fig-tree. That he has only added one to the "hypotheses almost innumerable," and complicated the difficulty, our readers will probably concur with us in thinking, when informed that Dr Van-Lennep's theory is, that between the time of our Lord's going to and returning from Jerusalem, the owner of the tree, annoyed at seeing strangers "climbling into his trees [?] and picking the old figs, to the danger of injuring the young shoots and blossoms of the present crop, shook off and threw away the remaining figs." The blighting of the tree is then regarded as the punishing of "the churlish owner, in faithfulness to his soul," although the apostles were told nothing of the matter. This is not, we submit, sober interpretation; it is fanciful interpolation of a kind which, if permitted to pass unchallenged, is fitted to work mischief. Had the critical faculty been somewhat stronger and the receptive a little weaker in our author, he might have omitted those wonderful stories about wild beasts—bears in particular—the inserting of which has brought down upon him the scorn of some of his critics.

On one point, however, we are prepared to uphold both writer and publisher against the arbitrary criticism of a journal which shews no favour for Biblical works lacking the flavouring of German neology. "The illustrations," says the *Athenæum*, in its supercilious notice, "are by no means what they should be." In our judgment they are far above the average of book engravings and cuts, alike in taste of design and finish of execution. Scattered with liberal profusion over the entire work, numbering upwards of eight hundred, the illustrations cannot fail to enhance the value of the volumes for all readers, but more especially in the case of youthful readers, with whom, we venture to predict, Dr Van-Lennep, when better known, will speedily become a favourite.

M-K.

The Doctrine of Retribution. Bampton Lectures for 1875. By WILLIAM JACKSON, M.A., F.S.A., Author of "The Philosophy of Natural Theology," "Positivism," "Right and Wrong," &c. London: Hodder & Stoughton, Paternoster Row. 1875.

In his essay on "The Philosophy of Natural Theology," published little more than a year ago, Mr Jackson gave promise of good service in a wise handling of the problems that lie on the border-land of Nature

and the Supernatural. He was fairly entitled to the honour which the heads of colleges at Oxford conferred upon him, when they appointed the author of that work Bampton Lecturer for 1875. The topic selected by the lecturer was that of Retribution, or Retributive Justice, and by all who give the eight lectures a careful and repeated perusal, it will be admitted that he has produced a work which, if not destined to become a standard, is certainly full of suggestive matter, pertinent criticism, and ripe scholarship. We have been struck with the familiarity which our author evinces with the discoveries in physics and the speculations in metaphysics; he seems equally at home in the Pure Reason of Kant and the Natural Forces and Wave-thrills of Helmholtz, equally competent to estimate the "Easy Philosophy" of Hume, and to criticise the Belfast address of Professor Tyndall. It need not be said how valuable such versatility is when found in one who essays to be a guide in the wide field of Nature and the Supernatural.

There is another combination observable in these lectures which we fear will detract from the value of Mr Jackson's contribution to the Philosophy of Natural Religion. We refer to the endeavour to combine philosophic accuracy of expression with rhetorical effectiveness. However much this may have added to the interest of the lectures when listened to in St Mary's, it certainly interferes with their usefulness now that they must be studied by each reader away from the voice of the preacher and the presence of the congregation. Throughout the volume the reader comes in sight of such weighty truths as these: Natural Theology and Natural Religion are two distinct provinces of the science of Human Nature; there are Axioms, first grounds or first truths, in the spheres of Mathematical, Logical, Physical, and Moral Fact and Truth; Moral Distinctions are as axiomatic, as sure and unerring, as the firmest principles and most absolute laws of Nature; Retributive Justice is one of the doctrines of Natural Religion, and the conclusions of Natural Religion rest upon the truths of pure morality; a statute of Retribution is to be found in the Scriptures of Truth, and it is a biological law in our nineteenth century, called Heredity. Such are the leading propositions in this work; and when informed that they are treated in combination with appreciative criticisms of the objections of Sceptics, Materialists, and Utilitarians, by one of such wide range of sympathy and information as Mr Jackson, the reader may expect to be put in the way of solid acquisitions by a study of the most recent series of Bampton Lectures. Judging, however, from our own experience, he is likely to be disappointed, for the lectures are sadly lacking in condensation, in continuity, and in simplicity. Before he has gone very far, the reader is visited with a painful feeling that there is a want of progress, that, while he is reading page upon page of discerning criticism or sonorous eloquence, he is not advancing in any definite knowledge of the doctrine of Retribution; and he closes the volume without being able to say in Mr Jackson's own words, "this is the full meaning and measure of the doctrine—its breadth and length, and depth and height." The feeling, that the lecturer has sacrificed rigour of method and orderly treatment to discursive prelection and oratorical diffuseness, is strengthened by finding a lack of what we

have come to regard as the proper accompaniments of a series of Bampton Lectures. There is no analysis of the lectures prefixed ; there are no headings of the pages other than the titles of the successive lectures, not always happily chosen ; there are no notes at the close ; and, worst of all, there is no index. What a contrast in all these particulars to some Bampton Lectures we know and treasure—notably to those of 1866 ! But then Dr Liddon nowhere states what we found with some alarm Mr Jackson confessing, when giving an outline of his series, that after the fourth, the lectures did not “as yet exist, even in outline.”

There is nothing in the rhetoric of the volume which can be taken as compensating for what we have desiderated. There are some fine sentences to be gathered here and there—sentences such as these—“Sad is the soul of any human being whose inward eye sees farther than his fellows.” “If you can but crown your lives here with true Amaranth, there will be no sorrow in the long remembrance.” “The man who says distinctly, ‘Nothing can be known,’ often feels (as Hume did) a recoil from the *nothingness* of his own language. He feels, too, that he has said a something, the hollow echoes of which may not die away for ever !” Sometimes Mr Jackson is felicitous in expressions, as, for example, when he calls Retribution “the horizon point, where Earth and Heaven meet together,” and describes Socialism and Communism as “fraternal modes of robbery and wrong.” Generally speaking, however, the rhetoric is too florid for our taste. In the second lecture there is an extract from Dickens which the lecturer quotes with pleasure, but which we read with pain ; and the third lecture closes with a peroration, *apres* Dickens, to which we point attention as illustrating the vices of Mr Jackson’s style—vices which spoil an otherwise valuable contribution to the right stating and solution of some present-day problems. In his sixth lecture Mr Jackson speaks of systematizers writing and discoursing “in one groove, till speech dominates over thought ;” but is there not a danger of facile writers and preachers so dispensing with all grooves as to bring about the same result ?

M-K.

The Prose Works of William Wordsworth. Edited by the Rev. ALEXANDER B. GROSART. In Three Volumes. London : Edward Moxon, Son, & Co. 1876.

Much that is in these volumes lies outside the province of this *Review*. At the same time, Wordsworth has exerted such an influence upon Christian thinkers and writers, that this collection of his prose writings may well receive a passing notice at our hands. The editor thinks it “probable that the *amount* of the prose of Wordsworth will come as a surprise on even his admirers and students.” It should not do so in the case of those who have traced the “unique course that was run in these sequestered vales.” For the memoirs by the poet’s nephew, the present Bishop of Lincoln, though unsatisfactory in many respects, make it very clear that all through his long life Wordsworth took the deepest interest in politics, home and foreign ; while the prefaces, notes, appendix, and essays, given with successive editions of his poems, afford abundant evidence that the poet found pleasure in criticising the productions of

others, and in annotating his own. And it is of political and literary matter that the bulk of these three volumes consists. A good deal of what finds a place in this collection ought to be found elsewhere. Did we possess what we sorely lack (we cannot say with Mr Grosart that "*the world wants*" it), a life of Wordsworth, then about two hundred pages of vol. iii. would fitly be transferred to such a work; and whenever we are favoured with a scholarly library edition of the poems, the remaining portions of vol. iii. and a large part of vol. ii. must disappear from this collection of the prose works in order to find their proper place in that of the poetical. So long, however, as we have neither life nor poetry in complete form, we gladly receive all that is given us in these volumes, that we may with their help deepen our acquaintance with one whose poetry can never wisely be dissevered from his life, and whose life was itself a great poem.

To Mr Grosart our thanks are due for his painstaking endeavour to place Wordsworthian students in possession of all the prose written by the greatest poet of this century. The arrangement of the contents of the several volumes under the headings of "Political and Ethical," "Æsthetical and Literary," "Critical and Ethical," may be clumsy; the substituting a title of the editor's composing for that given "in the author's own handwriting" to the first tractate in vol. i. may be objectionable; and captious critics may be disposed to place in the category of the unpriced "Small Sins" of the editor his occupying the two closing pages of this *magnum opus* with a priced list of "Works by the Editor of Wordsworth's Prose," which winds up with his address in full for the guidance of "persons wishing information on any of these books." But these are surely venial errors committed by one who has proved himself a most zealous worker in the editing of British worthies, Puritan and otherwise.

The Anchor of the Soul and other Sermons. By the late Rev. WILLIAM ARNOT. T. Nelson & Sons. 1876.

In Mr Arnot the Scottish pulpit has lost one of the few who, after other recent and great losses, exercised a commanding power and attraction; and this volume has the melancholy interest of a posthumous publication of some of the discourses with which he was wont to charm and instruct his hearers. They all contain, in greater or less degree, the elements and qualities that gave him his power as a preacher. In their matter thoroughly evangelical, presenting the old unchanging gospel message with unmistakable clearness and earnest urgency, they have at the same time a freshness and character of their own, and are no mere monotonous repetitions of old ideas. Nor are they limited in their range, for this volume exhibits a considerable number of the topics of Christian preaching, not only doctrine and evangelistic appeal, but practical teaching on matters of Christian experience and duty. Perhaps, however, the most striking feature of the sermons, and of Mr Arnot's preaching in general, is the analogical power of seeing illustrations in nature of spiritual truth, and applying those not merely in general, but in a great many minute particulars in a most felicitous way. The sermons abound in figures from nature and common life, and these are often extended to a considerable length; but they are never thus expanded for the mere purpose of orna-

ment or effect, but because each point that is touched upon in succession is made to yield a spiritual lesson. Thus all his illustrations really explain the point for the sake of which they are introduced; and in most cases this is done in a very natural and beautiful way. The first sermon in this collection, from which the title of the volume is taken, "The Anchor of the Soul," is one of the best examples of this. It is only what might have been expected in such a publication, that the sermons are somewhat unequal in excellence. While all contain in some measure the fine qualities we have indicated, some of them have a certain want of balance of parts, and completeness of working out, that seem to shew that they would have been filled up orally in delivery, or made more symmetrical had their author revised them for publication. But taking them as they are in the circumstances, we are sure the Christian public will welcome and appreciate this volume of earnest and wise utterances from the gifted lips, now silent, of William Arnot.

THE SPIRITS IN PRISON.

To the Editor of "The British and Foreign Evangelical Review."

SIR,—In an article on this subject which appeared in your number for January last, containing some important views, the writer at the commencement sets its down as "a serious error" on the part of our authorized English Version of the Bible, that it renders in 1 Pet. iii 18, "quickened by the Spirit," evidently understanding the Holy Spirit to be meant. The writer will have it that "there is no reference to the Holy Spirit, the third person of the Trinity." Even if this were an error (which I do not believe, for reasons that will appear in the sequel), yet I cannot see why any one should regard it as a serious error. But what is to be thought of the following, on page 60 of the article? "There is a difficulty as to the word *ζωογονηθῆς*. Its proper meaning is certainly 'quickened;' but as the *πνεῦμα* of Christ was never in a state of death, a difficulty has arisen in the minds of some critics. To get over that difficulty, several have maintained that the word must be used here in the sense of 'kept alive.' This, however, is unnecessary. It is the *conscious personality* of Christ which is referred to. The word may therefore well be taken in its proper signification. Death had passed upon Christ, *as a person*. It was by the power of His *pneuma* that He was *quickened to another life in the intermediate state*." To my mind there is serious error here, and I have marked by italics the phrases I consider objectionable.

The recognised orthodox formula respecting the Saviour is, that since the Advent, He has two distinct natures in one person. The person is *one*, and it is *divine*. In the moment the human nature was formed, in that same moment was it assumed into ineffable union with the eternally pre-existent person of the Son of God—so that it never even for a moment had a distinct subsistence, never was a distinct *personality*. To speak of the *human personality* of the Saviour, as some do, and as seems implied in the preceding extract, is serious error indeed, for it cuts at the root of the received evangelical doctrine of vicarious atonement. Death never passed upon Christ, *as a person*. Plainly impossible. True, we are accustomed to say Christ died; but surely every well-instructed indi-

vidual knows what is meant by that. It means that death passed upon His human nature, for that only was capable of suffering and death. And this is precisely the manner in which the apostle limits expressly the application of his own language. "Christ hath once suffered for sins." How? "Being put to death in the flesh," that is, in the human nature. *θάψ* here must be understood to embrace the whole human nature, including a true body and a rational soul; for what is death in itself, and apart from its consequents, but the separation of these two? Death, then, is not predicable of the body exclusively, and still less of the soul. Christ's body saw no corruption, so that His dying could be in itself no more than the temporary separation of His human soul from the body. The being quickened, moreover, or made alive must correspond to the being put to death. If the death consisted in the separation of soul and body, the quickening can only mean the re-union of these two at the resurrection. In view of these very plain considerations, I can see no meaning in the last phrase of the extract I have given from the article—"quickened to another life in the intermediate state." The intermediate state another life! A novel idea truly. Why, what *was* the intermediate state, but the state of *death*, under the power of which the Saviour's human nature was for the time? And what was the quickening but the rescue from that intermediate state of death? What else indeed could it be?

The writer of the article seems to labour under the impression that it is necessary to understand a strict and rigid antithesis in the passage, and that this antithesis lies between the words *θάψ* and *πνεῦμα*. It is not always necessary to understand an antithesis to be of the cast iron kind. And yet there is an exact antithesis in the passage. Not, however, between the words *θάψ* and *πνεῦμα*, but between *θανάτου* and *ζωογονίας*. Death and life form a complete contrast. But if it be insisted that the antithesis lies between the former two words, it is impossible to carry it out exactly. Christ was put to death in the flesh, that is, *in*, or *with respect to*, His human nature. But it cannot be said that He was quickened *in*, or *with respect to* His divine nature, which the writer evidently regards as the meaning of *πνεῦμα* in the passage. All that can be alleged with truth is, what the writer has himself stated, that "it was *by the power of His pneuma*, He was quickened," though not, as he strangely puts it, to a new life *in the state of death*, but at His resurrection.

Does, then, the *pneuma* here mean the divine nature of Christ? If we had only the eighteenth verse, this might pass for the interpretation. The resurrection of Christ we find sometimes ascribed by the inspired writers to the Father, sometimes to Himself, and sometimes to the Holy Spirit—in what precise and distinctive sense we need not digress to inquire. But when we come to what immediately follows in the next verse, this interpretation appears to me wholly inadmissible. "In (or by) which also He went and preached, &c." Now, if one say, "Christ went and preached to men (at any time, whether in the body or out of the body) *in or by His divine nature*," I can attach no meaning to that—it is simply unintelligible. But if it be said, "Christ went and preached by the Holy Spirit," I can understand that. The whole working out to its consummation of the eternal plan of man's salvation was committed, in the counsels of eternity, to the Mediator; and, in the economy of redemption, the Holy Spirit proceedeth from the Son. "I will send you another Comforter." I conclude, therefore, that the *Πνεῦμα* of this passage can be properly understood only of the Holy Spirit. The absence of the article in the original need present no difficulty. It is found in two ancient MSS. But proper names do not absolutely re-

quire the article, and *Πνεῦμα* when applied to the third person of the Trinity, is of the nature of a proper name. I could present a pretty long list of passages in the New Testament where the word is used without the article, and in which the application is, in my mind, plainly to the Holy Spirit. But it is unnecessary. Any one, even with the aid of an English Concordance, can easily turn them up for himself. The conclusion is corroborated by the expression in Gen. vi. 3, "My Spirit shall not always strive with man." The expression there has respect to the very time in which, as I believe with Mr Wright, the preaching spoken of by Peter took place.

Mr Wright seems to have allowed his judgment to be warped and confused by the dogmatic utterances of Alford on the subject, who in this instance, as in too many others, has written absurdity with some semblance of learned and acute discrimination. He says, "What is asserted is not that the *flesh died*, and the Spirit was *made alive*; but that 'quoad' the flesh the Lord died, 'quoad' the Spirit He was made alive." A distinction without a particle of difference, if ever such was made by man. The apostle's meaning plainly is, as I have already shewn, precisely what Alford says it is not, namely, that it was the flesh, *i.e.* the human nature, not the body only, that died. And just as plainly the making alive is not predicable of the human soul of the Redeemer, for it distinctively never died; much less is it predicable of the divine nature. Alford here got himself into a fog, by talking of Christ as though in the moment of dying He entered upon a new spiritual state of existence, in some transcendental sense to me inconceivable. Some who have entered this fog with him appear to be unable to find a way of egress. For my part, I refuse to enter it.

I agree cordially with Mr Wright in his conclusions with regard to the time of the preaching and the parties preached to; but I cannot help thinking that, in his method of conducting the discussion, he has conceded a large amount of vantage ground—what would have been such, had he occupied it. If the statements I have made are correct—and I believe they are simply incontrovertible—when the question is raised respecting the preaching, time, place, or parties, "the intermediate state" must be left out of the reckoning. It has absolutely no place. But it is important to shew this; for, if it was not the human soul of the Redeemer that went, when separate from His body, and preached, the ground is largely cut away from those who imagine a preaching to disembodied and condemned souls. Any little plausibility there may be in the fancy, as derived from this passage, is thereby swept away. If the preaching was not at that time, it may have been at any other time before or since. Nay, it must have been at some other time. If so, when? In the days of Noah, as the passage itself teaches. And if the *pneuma* of the passage be the Holy Spirit, this also tends to a like conclusion—it is another point of vantage. These views might be expanded largely. I can only thus hint at them. But by taking them into account, the argument, I am persuaded, might be rendered much more effective.

I had imagined that all the thoughts I have presented were among the commonplaces of our evangelical theology, but I am afraid that many are losing sight of ancient landmarks and drifting out to sea. Familiarity with the writings of modern German critics and theologians of whatever school, however profitable it may be in some respects, has its drawbacks. I find even a Delitzsch using the phrase, "human personality," in application to the Saviour.¹—I am, &c.

R. NEVIN.

LONDONDERRY, 9th February 1876.

¹ Delitzsch on Hebrews, Clark's Series, vol. i. p. 240.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

J U L Y 1 8 7 6.

ART. I.—*The Basis of Religious Belief.*

A PRINCIPAL source of the errors, both of those who affirm and those who deny the reality of a Divine Revelation, is the confused and contradictory meaning often assigned to the term, Reason. By the former class, it is generally regarded as synonymous with the logical faculty; but they quietly assume, not only the supremacy of this faculty, but that it is the only criterion of truth, and that there are in reality no intellectual or spiritual truths beyond its grasp, and yet recognisable by the human mind. Many Christian apologists also, first limiting reason to this same logical faculty, and then assuming that while it is an insufficient and improper criterion of religious truth, it is the only faculty by which truth can be appreciated and realised, rest the Christian religion wholly on external evidence. There are, besides, some who would make their "Christian consciousness," or "religious intuitions," or their "moral reason," a criterion of religious truth; but these terms are, on closer examination, often found to be only other names for the logical faculty, for it is it which is employed to inform their "Christian consciousness," or which gives shape to their "intuitions," or guides their "moral reason," and religion is regarded less as something which will enlighten their intellectual vision, purify their conscience, and quicken their higher nature, than as something which shall corrobora-

rate certain preconceived notions, which may be the mingled result of intellectual blindness and moral perversion. In the succeeding discussion, reason will be regarded as synonymous with the human mind in the totality of its powers. Taking the word in this wide sense, the possibility of a perfectly harmonious connection between reason and revelation may, we think, be demonstrated. But taking the word now in a narrow and now in a wide sense, as merely the logical faculty, and yet at the same time the only means that can be employed, whether rightly or wrongly, in directly judging of religious truth, we are inevitably led to the conclusion either that no revelation is possible, or that any given revelation is self-contradictory. It is impossible to establish a religion by demonstrating a theology directly, that is, by abstract conceptions furnished us by philosophy; but it is equally so by demonstrating a theology indirectly, that is, by appealing to outward testimony. Even if we could establish a theology before we established a religion, there is a wide gulph between a theology and a religion. On the other hand, it is impossible to refute a religion merely by a seeming refutation of a theology, whether that refutation be attempted directly or indirectly. Religion, while it must have a theological hold over men's minds, has also a deeper hold; and it is quite possible, by looking merely at certain of what we think the theological aspects of a religion, to miss the proper meaning even of these, and to discover contradictions which are solely due to our own imperfect apprehension. Religion does not come to man in the definite and distinct form of certain abstract propositions which he believes upon authority, or because they are capable of logical demonstration; but as a direct influence from above, which is addressed to his whole nature, and to each part of his nature, in a form appropriate to it. Christianity has necessarily its theological side; but as a religion it is Christ and not any abstract system of theological truth that is its foundation. Christ in his teaching, life, death, and resurrection, manifested certain truths to men; but the religious influence of these upon them is not felt if they be received merely blindly and upon authority, or with merely intellectual assent, but only if they be "spiritually discerned," if their truth and beauty and fitness be recognised by the inmost nature.

The late Dean Mansel occupied a position somewhat different from any preceding Christian apologist, although it was the legitimate development of the views of other Christian writers on the evidences, a position at one point reaching to the utter extremity of rationalism, and at another to the utter extremity of superstition. Denying the possibility of any knowledge, even religious knowledge, except that attainable through the logical faculties, he yet admitted that all such knowledge amounted in reality to nothing, and believed in what he acknowledged to be a direct contradiction as an image of something of which he confessed himself to be utterly ignorant. He says:—

“The position of human reason, with regard to the ideas of the Absolute and the Infinite, is such as equally to exclude the Dogmatism which would demonstrate Christian doctrine from philosophical premises, and the Rationalism which rejects it on the ground of philosophical difficulties, as well as that monstrous combination of both, which distorts it in pretending to systematise it.”

This is not a mere protest against the excessive or exclusive application of reason (that is, reasoning) to religion, but a virtual debarring of religious ideas from human knowledge. One half of his argument is indeed inconsistent with this, and even seems to necessitate what is denominated by him a “monstrous combination” of “dogmatism” and “rationalism;” for if it be the case that all our religious ideas are finite—that though they may suggest, they never in the faintest way touch on the Absolute—it is impossible to discover anything which forbids the freest application to them of reasoning, or to see why a most thorough and complete logical system of those finite religious ideas should not only be possible, but most appropriate and natural. But that the other half of his argument implies this debarring of religious ideas from human knowledge is evident from the sentences which follow the one already quoted:—

“The Infinite is known to human reason merely as the negation of the Finite; we know what it is not, and that is all. The conviction *that* an Infinite Being exists seems forced upon us by the manifest incompleteness of our finite knowledge; but we have no rational means whatever of determining *what* is the nature of that Being. The mind is thus perfectly blank with regard to any speculative representation of the Divine Essence; and for that very reason philosophy is not entitled, on internal evidence, to accept any, or to reject any. The only question

which we are reasonably at liberty to ask in this matter relates to the evidences of the Revelation as a fact. If there is sufficient evidence on other grounds to shew that the Scripture in which this doctrine is contained is a Revelation from God, the doctrine itself must be unconditionally received, not as reasonable, nor as unreasonable, but as scriptural. If there is not such evidence, the doctrine itself will lack its proper support; but the Reason which rejects it is utterly incompetent to substitute any other representation in its place."¹

If we interpret these words with rigid literality—and it is necessary to do so in order to attach to them any meaning at all—it would follow necessarily from them that Revelation has no connection with man's intellectual nature; that the mind, being utterly blank with regard to any speculative representation of the Divine Essence, is prepared to receive anything that may be told it. We have no right even to assume that though Revelation may seem at first sight, or viewed from one particular standpoint, to contradict conclusions of our reason, it will ultimately be found to be a guide to the discernment of higher truth, which we will be able to receive intelligently, for *ex hypothesi* the human mind is utterly blank in regard to the whole matter—has no prejudice or bias or tendency, at least has no right to have them, and has no intellectual needs which require to be met and satisfied.

But if he excludes religion from any immediate connection with the human intelligence, he equally excludes it from any connection with the moral sense, and thus virtually denies to man the possession of a spiritual nature, a nature in virtue of which he can stand in any spiritual relation to God. This is a necessary part of his argument, although here his statements are more variable, and more loosely expressed. He says:—

"That there is an Absolute Morality based upon, or rather identical with, the Eternal Nature of God, is indeed a conviction forced upon us by the same evidence as that on which we believe that God exists at all. But *what* that Absolute Morality is we are as unable to fix in any human conception as we are to define the other attributes of the same Divine Nature."²

This would seem to mean that human conceptions of morality can neither be in harmony nor discord with Absolute Morality, and that man is not "made in the image of God." But

¹ *Limits of Religious Thought*, p. 180.

² *Ibid.*, p. 206.

immediately after a statement is made on the same subject which is more guarded, that "human morality in its highest elevation is not identical with, nor adequate to measure, the Absolute Morality of God"—a statement which certainly may be assigned a meaning which very few would contradict. But although there is some ground, on account of this guarded language, and of other admissions scattered through the lectures, for concluding that he recognises a certain similarity between human conceptions of morality and Absolute Morality, there are much stronger reasons for arriving at an opposite conclusion.

In his last lecture he assigns a certain importance to the "evidence derived from the internal character of a religion," but yet one "purely negative." He says: "It may prove in certain cases (though even here the argument requires much caution in its employment) that a religion *has not* come from God; but it is in no case sufficient to prove that it *has* come from him."¹ Now, every argument requires to be used with caution, for even the strongest argument may be overstated; but the words of Dean Mansel mean more than this, they mean that the argument is scarcely capable of being used at all, that it is a very dangerous argument indeed. And it is evident why he must have thought it so; for if it be the case that the truths of revelation contradict our moral nature, or if our moral nature can in no sense judge positively as to the principles made known to it in Revelation—be impressed with the moral beauty of the truths it reveals so as to feel that they must be true—it is difficult to see how our moral nature can be able in any case even to judge negatively as to a religion, or how any religion can exercise either a good or a bad influence upon it.

But on what grounds, then, are we to receive the truths of Revelation? In what proportion of conclusiveness do the internal evidences for Christianity stand to the external? On this point Dean Mansel has given us a summary of his views, which in order to understand precisely his position it is necessary to quote in full.

"Here, then, is the issue which the wavering disciple is bound seriously to consider. Taking into account the various questions whose answers on

¹ *Limits of Religious Thought*, p. 238.

the one side or the other form the sum total of evidences for or against the claims of the Christian faith; the genuineness and authenticity of the documents; the judgment and good faith of the writers; the testimony to the actual occurrence of prophecies and miracles, and their relation to the religious teaching with which they are connected; the character of the Teacher Himself, that one portrait which, in its perfect purity and holiness and beauty, stands alone and unapproached in human history or human fiction; those rites and ceremonies of the elder Law, so significant as typical of Christ, so strange and meaningless without Him; those predictions of the promised Messiah, whose obvious meaning is rendered still more manifest by the futile ingenuity which strives to pervert them; the history of the rise and progress of Christianity, and its comparison with that of other religions; the ability or inability of human means to bring about the results which it actually accomplished; its antagonism to the current ideas of the age and country of its origin; its effects as a system on the moral and social condition of subsequent generations of mankind; its fitness to satisfy the wants and console the sufferings of human nature; the character of those by whom it was first promulgated and received; the sufferings which attested the sincerity of their convictions; the comparative trustworthiness of ancient testimony and modern conjecture; the mutual contradictions of conflicting theories of unbelief, and the inadequacy of all of them to explain the facts for which they are bound to account—taking all these and similar questions into full consideration, are you prepared to affirm, as the result of the whole inquiry, that Jesus of Nazareth was an impostor, or an enthusiast, or a mythical figment; and his disciples crafty and designing, or well-meaning but deluded men? For be assured that nothing short of this is the conclusion which you must maintain if you reject one jot or one tittle of the whole doctrine of Christ. Either he was what he proclaimed himself to be, the Incarnate Son of God, the Divine Saviour of a fallen world—and if so, we may not divide God's Revelation, and dare to put asunder what He has joined together—or the civilised world for eighteen centuries has been deluded by a cunningly devised fable; and He from whom that fable came has turned that world from darkness to light, from Satan to God, with a lie in His right hand."¹

This may be admitted to be a very powerful summing up of the *external* evidences for Christianity; but it is avowedly the resting of its whole claims on *external* evidences, any reference to internal evidences being indirect, and these not being regarded as of any value till they manifest themselves, so to speak, in an external form. Surely, however, it is impossible that this revelation, so strongly attested by outward evidence, should manifest in itself no distinct marks of its heavenly origin; that with all this miraculous agency preceding and accompanying it, *what is revealed* should have

¹ *Limits of Religious Thought*, p. 249.

nothing to distinguish it utterly from the statements of mere human wisdom; that with its "fitness to satisfy the wants and console the sufferings of human nature," and its power to "turn the world from darkness to light, from Satan to God," it should yet make known nothing bearing the internal marks of truth, and which the human spirit could feel to be greater than man himself could discover. In such a case mere external evidence would be of no value whatever, and would have no influence except that which could be accounted for by mere superstition. Legitimately it could prove nothing; it could produce only bewilderment, and uncertainty, and doubt. External evidences for Christianity must accompany and corroborate the internal ones, but their importance is secondary. Unless it be its own witness, its divinity can never be established satisfactorily.

Again, it is evident that the line of inquiry suggested by Dean Mansel is rather complicated, and implies a large amount of study and reflection in order to be fully carried out. His reasoning may be unanswerable, but many of his premises have been called in question by men of learning and ability, and his conclusion wholly repudiated. Not that this proves that the external evidences for Christianity are not as sufficient and strong as they ought to be, but only that there is the same objection to laying stress on *external* evidence as there is, according to Dean Mansel, to laying stress on *internal*. We are told, in an earlier part of the lecture just quoted, "that the lesson to be learnt from an examination of the 'Limits of Religious Thought' is not that man's judgments are worthless, but that they are fallible." This is made a reason for laying little stress on internal evidences; but surely human reason is equally liable to error as regards external evidences. At any rate, as many object to the one kind of evidence as do to the other, and very often they are the same persons. Men differ and fall into error about almost everything; but that is no reason why they should suspend all belief, and live in absolute uncertainty either as to whether they have attained to the possession of any truth, or whether there be such a thing as truth at all. It may be the case that the truths of revelation harmonise with reason, and that their divinity can be manifested to it, although many have denied this, or have been able to see

nothing in them which would warrant the assigning to them of a divine origin.

But granted that Dean Mansel's premises are unassailable axioms, and that his conclusion follows from them as inevitably as a mathematical demonstration, he has after all (and very likely he would have admitted this, for his argument is addressed professedly to "wavering disciples," to those, that is, who possess other reasons than those adduced by him—personal and individual reasons—for believing in Christianity) only established a theology, not a religion. He has not touched necessarily the heart and conscience, for he has been contemplating Christianity only externally. He has prepared the way, it may be, for a religious belief, or removed doubts and difficulties at which faith is liable to stumble; but so far he has achieved nothing more than an intellectual demonstration. But what follows from this? What but that a religion of any real moral value must rest chiefly on internal evidence, and that a revelation must possess internal proofs of its divine origin if it is to exercise an enlightening and elevating influence greater than could be exercised otherwise than by a divine revelation. Dean Mansel was unable by external evidence to rise from theology to religion; and this proves that external evidence is not sufficient even for a theology. He leaves a wide impassable gulf between the two, and thus is unable to supply adequate support for either.

The whole question, of course, depends upon the meaning we assign to the word religion. If it mean a blind faith resting only on authority, then it can have no relation to our moral and intellectual nature. But if its chief appeal be to our moral and intellectual nature, it cannot be a *blind* faith, it cannot rest chiefly on outward authority, it cannot appeal primarily to external evidence, it cannot invite us to worship an "Unknown God." But, it may be said, Are the truths of Revelation not to be received implicitly, humbly, reverentially, as authoritative precepts which we have no right to question, and as statements in regard to things which are beyond the full comprehension of the human reason? Assuredly; but why? Is their authority external or internal? If their authority be only or chiefly external, then we are not under "grace," but under law; and "God hath" not

“sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, ‘Abba, Father.’” That they have chiefly an internal authority does not prevent their having an external authority; but the more their internal authority is realised, the less will their external authority be felt, although it will always be possible to appeal to it when necessary. There must of course be a letter as well as a spirit of Scripture. To obey the spirit is to be delivered from bondage to the letter; but this does not deliver us from recognising that there is a letter which has an authority if the spirit be resisted. It is through the letter that the spirit is manifested. What we ought to obey, however, is not the letter, but the spirit—the letter is able in itself only to condemn, not to enlighten and save. “The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.”

Many parts of Dean Mansel’s argument are unanswerable as a reply to objections brought against certain aspects of the truths of Revelation; but these parts of his argument are not consistent with the great leading principle on which they are made to rest. The importance of a distinction resembling that between what he calls “speculative and regulative truths” is primary to any right understanding of Revelation; only it is impossible to see how *he* should have known of the evidence of any truths but the “regulative.” It is, we admit, absurd to imagine that Revelation can tell us what are “absolute and immutable principles of right as existing in the eternal nature of God,”—that is, should enable us to comprehend these; but unless it can tell us something regarding them, how can we believe that any such exist? how can we think of or imagine their existence? how can we use such words as “relative and temporary manifestations” of them? If Revelation tell us nothing regarding them, how can it be called a revelation? or how can a doctrine be revealed to the natural reason which the natural reason cannot know? or what need of miracle, what need of inspiration, to make known only the temporary? or, how can an externally superhuman manifestation harmonise with truth which bears no internal marks of a superhuman origin? With the doctrine that it is our duty to believe truths which are above our comprehension, or which our logical faculties are unable accurately to define, or, if defining, to harmonise,

it is impossible not to agree ; but we cannot prove that any truths are above our comprehension, we cannot demonstrate the duty of believing in any such truths without appealing to other faculties than the logical, without implying a knowledge of things which baffle all definition. The argument from analogy is utterly useless alone, or even with the aid of external evidence, to establish a revelation. To prove that the same objections which are brought against the truths of Revelation may be brought against all possible human conceptions of God's character and providence is not very difficult ; but if the truths of Revelation cannot also be recognised as, in other respects, immeasurably superior to all human systems of truth, it is impossible to shew that they ought to be received as divine. What need of a Divine Revelation to make known truths, regarding which all that we can say is, that the ideas they convey to us as to the character and providence of God are not more open to objection than those we possess, without the aid of any super-human revelation ? Then there are those who deny not only Revelation, but the existence, or the wisdom and goodness, or the almightiness, of God ; and it is impossible to meet their statements if we cannot appeal to the verdict of reason ; for even the faith in God's existence, which Hamilton and Mansel fall back upon, is one to which reason compels them to have resort.

But Dean Mansel pushed the argument from analogy even further than has yet been mentioned. He made use of it to prove that "this vaunted moral reason is a 'Lesbian Rule'"; that "as it may be applied with equal facility to the criticism of every possible scheme of Divine Providence, we may be permitted to suspect that it is not entitled to implicit confidence against any."¹ If we interpret this literally, it would imply that man does not possess anything that can be properly called a moral reason, or, at least, that the principles of Revelation have no direct connection with it. If it can be shewn that all possible conceptions of God's character and providence contradict the moral reason, then we must reject them all as equally false, or if we believe in some one scheme as divinely revealed, our faith can rest ultimately on no better foundation than blind superstition.

¹ *Limits of Religious Thought*, p. 216.

While the important and valuable parts of Dean Mansel's argument are a restatement of Butler's principles, it is in itself, and as a whole founded on premises which Butler would have utterly repudiated. Butler certainly laid too much stress on external evidence—a fault which he shared with all the Christian Apologists of his time; but all his argument implies that man's natural reason, his intellectual and moral powers, can judge as to the character of a religion. Indeed it is his aim to shew that natural and revealed religion have principles in common, that the latter supplements and completes the former. While therefore enforcing the "obligation of searching the Scriptures in order to see what the scheme of revelation really is, instead of determining beforehand from reason what the scheme of it must be," he adds—"If in revelation there be found any passages, the seeming meaning of which is contrary to natural religion, we may most certainly conclude such seeming meaning not to be the real one." Again, when he says that "objections against Christianity itself are in a great measure frivolous," it is evident that he means only that as an actual fact no objections have been, and that he believes no objections can be, brought against Christianity which are not frivolous; for he says:—

"I express myself with caution, lest I should be mistaken to villify reason, which is indeed the only faculty we have wherewith to judge concerning anything, even revelation itself; or be misunderstood to assert that a supposed revelation cannot be proved false from internal characters. For it may contain clear immoralities or contradictions, and either of these would prove it false. Nor will I take upon me to affirm that nothing else can possibly render any supposed revelation incredible. Yet still the observation is, I think, true beyond doubt, that objections against Christianity, as distinguished from objections against its evidence, are frivolous."¹

The objections against its evidence would be strong and valid if they could be proved, and in this sense they are not frivolous; but the objections against itself, though they may be founded on actual facts, are yet utterly frivolous and invalid as objections against it. And indeed he employs his reason to make out their frivolity.

The legitimate consequence of Dean Mansel's reasoning is ultimately to make Christianity rest wholly on external

¹ *Analogy*, part ii., chapter 3.

miraculous testimony. The doctrines it reveals cannot, according to him, bear any internal marks of truth. It is from the very nature of the case impossible for them to do so. He says :—

“The doctrines revealed must either be such as are within the power of man’s natural reason to verify, or such as are beyond it. In the former case, the reason which is competent to verify may also be competent to discover ; the doctrine is tested by its conformity to the conclusions of human philosophy ; and the wisdom which sits in judgment on the truth of a doctrine must itself be presumed to have an equal power of discerning the truth. In the latter case, where the doctrine is beyond the power of human reason to discover, it can be accepted only as resting on the authority of the teacher who proclaims it ; and that authority itself must then be guaranteed by the external evidence of a superhuman mission.”¹

Here, however, he is met by the dilemma stated by the author of “*Supernatural Religion*” :—

“Even if the reality of miracles could be substantiated, their value as evidence for the Divine Revelation is destroyed by the necessary admission that miracles are not limited to one source, but that there are miracles Satanic, which are to be disbelieved, as well as Divine and evidential. As the doctrines supposed to be revealed are beyond Reason, and cannot in any sense, therefore, be intelligently approved by the human intellect, no evidence which is of so double and inconclusive a nature could sufficiently attest them. This alone would disqualify the Christian miracles for the duty which miracles alone are considered capable of performing.”²

If outward miracles be the *sole* proof of the superhuman origin of Christianity, it is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to avoid this dilemma. But Christ himself did not lay stress chiefly on the supernatural character of the miracles he wrought. He rebuked the Jews for seeking after signs, that is, after mere outward miraculous testimony. The utter inadequacy of this testimony, *taken alone*, to support the divine claims of a religion, or to lead men to a belief in truth that will be morally beneficial to them, is surely asserted by him in the concluding words of the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus :—“And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead.” Miracles were part of the means employed by him to awaken attention and to manifest his divine power, but it was to the *moral character* of his miracles,

¹ *Limits of Religious Thought*, p. 239.

² *Supernatural Religion*, vol. ii., Conclusions.

and to the *moral bearing* of his teaching and doctrine, that he pointed as the great credentials of his divine mission.

But beyond the objection to Dean Mansel's principles involved in the statements now quoted from "Supernatural Religion," there is a further and more fatal objection to them. Mr W. R. Greg, from the same axiom as Dean Mansel, that reason cannot verify what it cannot discover, proceeds to draw this legitimate inference, that reason cannot receive, cannot believe what it cannot discover; and it does not seem possible to avoid such an inference except by denying the premiss, and shewing that reason *can* verify what it cannot discover. Mr Greg says:—

"But we now come upon another question, which, if answered in the negative, at once closes the inquiry to which this chapter is devoted. 'Is the revelation of an undiscoverable truth possible?' That is, 'Can a doctrine be taught by God to man, be supernaturally infused, that is, into his mind, which he might not by the employment of his own faculties have discerned or elicited?' In other words, 'Can the human mind receive an idea which it could not *originate*?' We think it plain that it cannot, though the subject is one which may be better illuminated by reflection than by discussion. At least it is difficult to conceive the nature and formation of that intellect which can comprehend and grasp a truth when presented to it, and perceive that it is a truth, and which yet could not, in the course of time and under favourable conditions, work out that truth by the ordinary operation of its own powers. It appears to us that by the very nature of the statement the faculties necessary for the one mental process must be competent to the other. If an idea (and a truth is only an idea, or a combination of ideas which approves itself to us) can find entrance into the mind and take up its abode there, does not this very fact *shew a fitness for the residence of that idea*?—a fitness, therefore, which would have insured admittance to the idea if suggested in any of those mental processes which we call thought, or by any of those combinations of occurrences which we call accident—a fitness, therefore, which, as the course of time and the occurrence of a thousand such possible suggesting accidents must almost necessarily have insured the *presentation* of the idea, would also have insured its *reception*? If on the other hand the idea, from its strangeness, its immensity, its want of harmony with the nature and existing furniture of the mind could never have presented itself naturally, would not the same strangeness, the same vastness, the same incompatibility of essence incapacitate the mind from receiving it if presented supernaturally?"¹

This argument is repeated more fully and elaborately by Mr Greg in the February number of the *Contemporary Review* for 1875, although in stating and illustrating his

¹ *Creed of Christendom*, third edition, vol. ii., p. 172.

position he professes rather to "propound a question than to maintain a thesis," to "feel as if it were rather a matter for reflection than for argument, one on which it is more possible to reach a sort of persuasion in one's own mind than to offer cogent pleas to satisfy the minds of others," and to "bring it forward therefore rather in the hopes that others may throw light upon it than with any expectation that he can do so himself." It is Mr Greg's forte to propound questions and suggest difficulties. He is not very ready with an answer to the questions he raises; and when he does answer them, the answer is often neither satisfactory to himself nor to any one else. His former faith has left on him its impress in a lofty moral tone and an anxious earnestness, which if they do not harmonise with his present *cui bono* belief, are rendered only the more apparent by their contrast with it. The truth, or semblance of truth, which "reflection or reasoning" compels him to abandon, he bids farewell to with reluctance, even with professions of a strong though foolish attachment, and he sets sail to a foreign shore with feelings in which there mingles more of regret than hope. He is even uncertain whether there be any new world of truth awaiting future generations; and at anyrate he himself has been compelled to occupy a somewhat bare and desolate region where he can only bewail his banishment from past and present faiths, and utter doleful warnings regarding the "Rocks Ahead" that threaten almost certain shipwreck to any more adventurous than himself. His peculiar mental attitude makes his writings of interest to persons of widely different beliefs; but they are more valuable for their tact and literary style, and for the intellectual and moral sympathy that pervade them, than for justness and persuasiveness of reasoning. He describes the ruins of Christianity so picturesquely, and in language so full of melancholy veneration, that one is almost tempted to believe that Christianity would be more beautiful in ruins than as it now exists. Admiration and condemnation, regret and dislike, doubt and belief, are so blended in his representations of Christian doctrine that the subtle fallacies pervading them, though they always vaguely haunt the mind, are somewhat difficult of detection, and cannot be exposed without considerable pains and circumlocution.

The subject with which we have now to deal is then, according to Mr Greg, one rather for "reflection" than for "argument." Such an estimate of it seems to be scarcely consistent either with the conclusion which he is led by reflection to arrive at, or with the illustrations by which he supports that conclusion. He arrives at a persuasion in his own mind, and yet he is unable to "verify" what he is persuaded of. The "proposition" is, to use words employed by him in that part of his argument where he distinguishes between different kinds of truth, "not of such a nature as to need no verification, as to convey and include its own credentials, as to be self-evident or self-proving as soon as made;" or one "whose truth can be confirmed by spiritual discernment." The truth it asserts is wholly intellectual, and ought, if any truth can, to be clearly cognisable by the understanding. If therefore it be a subject rather for reflection than for argument, it must be one regarding which it is, and always will be, impossible to arrive at any conclusion. If Mr Greg can state the question to be considered only in words, which are "a somewhat unscientific and unprecise expression of his meaning," it is difficult to conceive how they can "convey the essence of it;" it is impossible to admit that he clearly knows what he means; or, since he cannot tell what he is persuaded of, to admit that he has a right to reach a sort of persuasion regarding it in his own mind.

Mr Greg, however, scarcely does justice to himself, justice either to the clearness of his meaning, to the closeness of his reasoning, or to the firmness of his conviction. If he propounds a question, it is because he thinks it the most effective method of making an assertion. His "reflections" are a series of arguments definitely and distinctly stated, and tending inevitably to only one conclusion. To any imaginary suggestion hostile to that conclusion, he always finds an answer with which apparently he is perfectly satisfied; and if at last he says no more than that the conclusion *seems* to be made out, this is only the modest bearing of one who feels that he has no need to assert himself. The thesis he maintains is this (and if its subject be not definite, it is as little suited for reflection as for argument), "that a superhuman revelation is impossible;" and the argument by which he supports it is thus summed up by

himself: "If we can *ascertain* that a proposition came to us from a superhuman source, it must surely be by applying some *test* or *standard* which can *judge* the doctrine; judging it would seem to imply the means of verifying it, and the power of verifying it, as we have seen, implies the power of discovering it." In the form of a question, the argument is put by him thus: "Do not the discernment, recognition, absorption by the mind of a truth, when once announced, indicate and postulate precisely the same faculties as those needed to originate it—*i.e.*, to arrive at it by native mental operations?" To this question his first answer is, that "it would seem that in matters distinctly within human cognizance, whether information communicated by scientific inquirers, or truths established by the reasonings of the wise, the conclusion is certain, and the above questions may be answered confidently in the negative. What man has done man may do."

In this answer, though there is certainly distinctness enough of statement, there does seem nevertheless to lurk a considerable fallacy. If Mr Greg's question, as he has stated it, were answered directly in the negative, it would necessarily follow, not only that what man has done, man may do, but that what one man has done, any other man who can understand what he has done, could in the same circumstances have done; that he who can understand an invention or discovery could, if a favourable opportunity had been granted him, himself have thought out that invention, or made that discovery; or that he who can understand in some degree the thoughts of a great writer, could in that degree have originated and given expression to these thoughts; and that, in short, great men are so, not from native ability, but from good fortune. For the mind "to work out truth by the ordinary operations of its own powers" is, according to Mr Greg, identical with "giving admittance to it, if suggested in any of those mental processes which we call thought, or by any of those combination of occurrences which we call accident," which would necessarily in the course of time have "insured its presentation." He thus leaves wholly out of account, that thoughts are created, and that occurrences, which are only thoughts embodied in action, are brought about by the original thinkers of the past;

and that if one not gifted with a mind to discover original truth, discovers it simply because the course of time has insured its presentation, he is only receiving by a roundabout and dilatory process that which, because some one of original genius has discovered it, has already become the common possession of men of intelligence.

If Mr Greg means only that *human reason* must be able to ascertain and discover for itself that which *human reason* can comprehend so as to receive intelligently—or, in other words, if “we” in the former part of his sentence stands for different persons than those referred to in the latter part, and his assumption should be read thus:—“Whatever we (certain individuals of the human race) can receive and comprehend, we (certain *other* individuals of the human race) must for ourselves have ascertained and discovered,” it must be said that even the first step towards the proof of this has not been established by him, inasmuch as he has failed to prove even as regards the truths of positive science, not to speak of ethical or philosophic truths, far less of the truths of religion, that the faculties required to comprehend so as to receive intelligently, are the same as those required to discover.

Even in regard to “matters of positive knowledge, the facts of science, the operations of nature, and the laws or principles deducible from these operations,” the hypothesis of Mr Greg does not hold good. The observations and experiments are indeed “repeated, the results tested, and the informers cross-examined by the recipient;” but the faculties required for this are much inferior to the “scientific imagination” which Mr Greg makes to differ from them only with a perhaps; so inferior indeed that without the existence of a few persons exceptionally gifted with this faculty, the positive sciences would scarcely have had an existence, and without their continual help would make no progress. But Mr Greg’s argument is further vitiated by the fact, that he makes the truths of positive science the model by which every other kind of truth is to be judged, and looks both at philosophy and religion only through scientific spectacles. The truth with which positive science deals is the least complex of any; for though connected with it there are problems which in a manner are very intricate and difficult, yet no

great variety or peculiar combination of mental faculties is required to deal with them. Hence scientific progress is more uniform and stable, and its amount more easily ascertained than any other kind of progress; and hence in the case of its truths, there is a closer resemblance between the faculties of the receivers and the discoverers than in the case of any other kind of truths.

In the case of ethical and philosophic truths, which are next referred to by Mr Greg, the complexity is considerably increased. Human character and experience present a more difficult and intricate problem to our investigation than the operations of nature. To examine and re-think ethical or philosophic truths is quite a different thing from repeating scientific experiments. The same exactness of method and proof is, in regard to them, impossible. They may be accepted by different persons from reasons none of which is exactly the same, but all of which may be good, and each of which individually sufficient; they have very complicated and wide-reaching relations with other truths, and often a certain acquaintance with these relations is necessary in order to understand them; they cannot be separately bottled up for analysis, their various constituent elements cannot be exactly ascertained and tabulated; they cannot be lopped off from the great body of truth, and dissected into small fragments, so that we may minutely scrutinise their construction and number, and measure their bones and tissues; and if we endeavour to subject them to a mental process exactly resembling scientific experiments, they will vanish utterly away from us. They must, we admit, be subjected to a *similar* process in the minds of those to whom they are brought, to that which they had undergone in the minds of the bringers; but not such a process as implies the possession of powers by a disciple or scholar equal in any respect to those possessed by a master. The difference between the faculties of those who "receive" and those who "bring" truths increases in a ratio proportionate to the complexity and importance of the truths that are brought.

Mr Greg does not venture to apply his principles to poetry, music, or painting. Here the difference between the faculties of receiver and bringer is still more widely marked. In

Shakespeare, Homer, or Dante, and many less illustrious, we have a heritage of the highest and noblest influences which no number or succession or combination of secondary minds could ever have originated. Of Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Mendelssohn—to name only the greatest creators of music—it would surely be the climax of absurdity to imagine that, supposing they had never existed, any one of the multitude of commonplace musicians who can be thrilled by the beauty of their grand conceptions, and who possesses an adequate knowledge of the laws of musical composition, might, under favourable conditions, by happy suggestions or accident, have lighted even on one complete strain of music equal to the sublimest of theirs, and that in this piecemeal way works equal to theirs might gradually have come into existence, inasmuch as even without them the “combination of occurrences” would have inevitably insured the presentation of their great works, by however tedious a process. It is only necessary to add, that to imagine a similar possibility in the case of painting would be equally absurd.

But when we come to the highest truths of all, religious truths, the truths which govern man's nature, we find a still greater difference between the faculties of those who receive and those who discover. The religious is the eternal aspect of things. Religious truth is that which gives to all other truth its value, and therefore it is more comprehensive, has deeper meanings, wider relations, more complex bearings than all other truth. To discover it and make it known, so as to influence for good many generations, surely implies that it be discerned by the discoverer in a higher form, in fairer beauty and proportions, than any of the blind multitude, who are dimly attracted towards it, will ever in this world behold it, even by the help of its Revealer. And to discover it in so high a form, that even those who deny its supernatural origin add at the same time that “no supernatural halo can heighten its beauty, and no mysticism deepen its holiness”—in a form which “in its perfect simplicity is sublime, and in its profound wisdom eternal”—to see it as Christ did with an unerring and complete insight, and so as to be able to utter it in words which will continue for ever to be the aspiration of the whole human race towards its noblest thoughts and aims—does it not

necessarily imply glimpses of other truth beyond what is revealed,¹ not only such as no other man could behold, but such as a merely human mind could not discern without higher aid than is now vouchsafed to man, and such as could not be expressed in human language? We err especially in regard to the highest things, because what knowledge we do possess is partial and one-sided. To know anything unerringly and truly we must know all. At any rate, it is impossible to shew that such an unerring and complete insight as Christ possessed in regard to the truths which he did promulgate, did *not* imply a glimpse of other truths beyond them; and it is surely too apparent to require elaborate proof that to receive and appreciate the truths of Christianity does not imply the possession of faculties identical with those which originated these truths.

Mr Greg makes use of the principle which we have now criticised ("that the discernment, recognition, absorption by the mind of a truth, when once announced, implies precisely the same faculties as those needed to originate it") to shew that Revelation can be nothing more than Anticipation; and gives this illustration of his meaning from a supposed instance in the case of science; which only illustrates the fact that between religion and science no proper parallel can be drawn in regard to the point at issue; and that if it could, as an "anticipation" of *scientific* truth would necessarily be regarded as superhuman and miraculous, so necessarily an "anticipation" of *religious* truth should be regarded as superhuman and miraculous.

"Science," he says, "has already ascertained a vast amount of truth as to the constitution and laws of motion in the solar system, has almost discovered the mode and order of its evolution out of chaos, and of the development (though not the origination) of life upon this globe; and these discoveries, as our instruments of observation and analysis are gradually perfected, will probably arrive at the stage of positive knowledge. If they had been announced to our ancestors long centuries ago, as a statement from without or from above, they would have been called a "revelation," though in fact only an "anticipation" of future attainments. If announced to us on human authority by an exceptional sage, a fitter term perhaps would be "precocity," prophecy, foresight, *forestalment*; but, however named, is it not equally the case that they

¹ "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now" (John xvi. 12).

could only have been imbibed and apprehended because there was in the human faculty that which, in its gradual growth and maturity, would have elaborated them from its own inventiveness and accumulated materials of thought? Would they otherwise have been *conceivable* by it, or capable of assimilation and belief?"

The fact is, however, that such an *anticipation* of scientific discovery as is imagined by Mr Greg is, from the very nature of the case, impossible. To "imbibe and apprehend" these discoveries they must be tested and verified by a full repetition of the observations and experiments by which they were discovered. The "exceptional sage" would require to communicate these observations and experiments to the world before he could be acknowledged as an exceptional sage, or his discoveries could be recognised as true, or any benefit could result from them; and if his observations and experiments could be understood by other men of science, there would be nothing in his revelation that could be properly called "anticipation," as there would be no break between his knowledge and that of other men of science belonging to his time. Knowledge communicated by "anticipation" could not be communicated in a scientific form, would possess no proper scientific interest, and so far from tending to promote the advancement of scientific truth would, if it had any influence at all, tend to hinder it, inasmuch as it would lead to the despising of the usual scientific methods. The progress of scientific truth is continuous, uniform, and step by step. To anticipate two centuries' discoveries is impossible, because to appreciate or benefit from the discoveries that follow, we must know those that precede. The invention of the steam-engine, for example, would have been impossible without many previous inventions; and if at first one had been suddenly constructed by magic, or by an "exceptional sage," it would have been impossible for rude and savage nations either to have constructed another, or to have used the one constructed. No one, again, can be convinced of the truth of any mathematical demonstration by "anticipation." He cannot even properly understand what the truth is that is to be demonstrated without a knowledge of the axioms and definitions, or, it may be, the long series of demonstrations of which it is the consequence. But Mr Greg does not

venture to affirm, in reference to other truth, either that "anticipation" is impossible, or that no instances of it can be given; that there have not been, or that there cannot be "exceptional sages" who have discerned ethical, philosophic, or religious truth, which but for them would not only have been invisible for many centuries to common minds, but which it required many generations of men less gifted to interpret and fully understand. The hypotheses put forth by men of science cannot be regarded as properly "anticipations" analogous to those now referred to, for they are merely "guesses at truth;" they do not imply clear discernment, full and undoubting persuasion, but are only imperfect, often futile, sometimes misleading attempts to discover truth. If it be said that in Galileo and others we have as good examples of "anticipation" in regard to scientific truth as can be given in regard to any other kind of truth, it may be replied that Galileo had no scientific influence while he continued to "anticipate," or rather that he did not "anticipate" at all, that his discoveries could have been well enough understood, even by his persecutors, if they had not been prevented from doing so by religious bigotry. Science has, of course, its men of original genius; but their discoveries are mastered by others almost as soon as they are made known, and therefore the individual and immediate influence of these original minds is soon superseded by that of others equally illustrious. But this is not so much the case even in philosophy; it is yet less so in poetry, painting, and music; it is much less so in religion. When therefore Mr Greg says that revelation can be "nothing more than *anticipation*, the helping and hastening of the prompter, the giving us in complete form what, left to ourselves, we should have arrived at piecemeal and more tardily, or the announcement to us in infancy of matters which in our maturer intelligence we should have made out for ourselves," he makes a supposition which he has no right to make, viz., that there *could be progress in a knowledge of the highest truth without anticipation*; that the play could proceed without the help of the prompter; that we should have arrived at a knowledge of certain truths piecemeal and more tardily, if they had not been previously given to us in a complete form; or that our intelligence could have reached that maturity

which would have enabled us to make out certain matters for ourselves, if these matters had not been announced to us in infancy. We have no right to assume that progress is inevitable by any method, or that it is possible except by the methods by which it has actually been accomplished. For we see declension as well as progress among individuals and nations. How few nations have had a course of continuous and unbroken progress for any very long period of time. How many die, so to say, in infancy. How vainly in many cases does the dawning intelligence of a nation strive to pierce the morning clouds and mists of superstition. How many brilliant and promising careers suddenly suffer disastrous and total eclipse, and become finally enveloped in the darkness of returning ignorance and sin. Again, Mr Greg admits that Christ has exercised an influence in the world altogether unique, and seems to believe that his influence will never be superseded. When therefore he argues that if the "announcement of a truth" be such "as to convey and include its own credentials," this "implies such an adaptation, such a native fitness and preparation for its reception in the very framework of the spiritual intelligence, as could scarcely fail in time to reach the goal and discern the light," he goes quite in the teeth not only of facts, but of his own admission; for the goal has not been reached, the light has not been discerned by any unaided spiritual intelligence on earth except that of Christ, and it is actually through him that even, according to Mr Greg, men are being enabled gradually to reach the goal and discern the light.

Thus it appears that Mr Greg fails to prove that a superhuman revelation is impossible, inasmuch as he fails to shew that we cannot verify, cannot intelligently receive as true, what we could not have discovered ourselves. But there is the further question, "Supposing that a superhuman revelation cannot be proved to be impossible, can it be proved to have actually taken place, can it be recognised as superhuman?" To this we answer, that it may be so recognised if we can receive intelligently what we could not have discovered. To illustrate this we may take the concrete case given by Mr Greg. He says:—

"The doctrines of the Incarnation, the Trinity, the Atonement, it is conceded that the human mind could not have discovered for itself. It

is, I apprehend, conceded also that these doctrines do not approve themselves to the mind as soon as announced, in virtue of any intrinsic and obvious fitness or inherent probability; for, if they did, this would indicate in them some quality which would have rendered them discoverable, arrivable at, likely to suggest themselves, as well as promptly approvable."

But in his hostility to the doctrines, Mr Greg commits himself to further statements regarding them which do not harmonise with his avowed hostility. He seems to go so far as to agree with his opponents that these doctrines are not such as the human mind would be likely to discover, he only differs from them in saying that they cannot be believed. He says:—

"They rather lie on the surface of the mind than sink into it . . . are assented to rather than believed (without being in any sense comprehended), because assumed to have been told us by an authority it would have been sinful and monstrous, as well as dangerous, to doubt . . . are believed (where they are believed truly), or accepted, where accepted, because they are held to have been announced by some superior authority who, it is assumed, must know the truth, and intend to state it."

Surely Mr Greg ought to have met the defenders of these doctrines in a manner which would have rendered their overthrow more certain, and safer for himself. To compel them to concede, and to affirm that not only necessity but truth required them to concede, that these doctrines cannot be believed by any one from internal evidence, was to ask for more than he himself could dispose of; for if they are incredible without external authority, how came any so to believe in them as to imagine for them that external authority? Though they never sank into Mr Greg's mind, there must have been some minds into which they have sunk; there must have been some who have not only assented to them, but have believed them, and therefore, whether their superhuman origin be affirmed or denied, he would have been more likely to have arrived at a just estimate of their value, and a true idea of their significance, if he had started from a position more consistent with his own views. As it is, all that he is able legitimately to shew is, that they "may have come from below as well as from above, from a deceiving as well as from an enlightening spirit,"—a possibility which, if it be unpleasant to the defenders of these doctrines, cannot be altogether satisfactory to himself.

We cannot admit that what Mr Greg says is conceded regarding these doctrines is conceded by their defenders universally, or even generally. They may not approve themselves to the mind as soon as announced, for it is seldom that the highest truth does so approve itself; but they have approved themselves ultimately to many minds in virtue, not it may be of an obvious, but certainly of an intrinsic, fitness. Many doubtless have erroneous, perverted, mechanical, or gross conceptions of them; and indeed no human conception of them can either be an adequate or even, so far as it goes, a perfectly true conception; but if any real glimpse of their meaning pierce the thick clouds of ignorance and pre-existing notions, the truth revealed will be greater even than the error which mingles with the grossest conception of them. It cannot be admitted that it is necessarily impossible for us to behold in certain truths a greatness and beauty which we can only admire and wonder at, and never will be able to understand. Nor can it be received as an indisputable axiom that because we can discern an intrinsic fitness in certain truths, therefore they could have been discovered or originated by man. Why may it not be the case that the only possible way of discovering the highest religious truth is through the facts of Christianity, that it could be represented to man only through Christ, through what he was and did? Ideas of duty and God men did indeed possess apart from the immediate influence either of Judaism or Christianity; but to give these ideas their proper and full expression, to make them supreme and enduring, might they not require to be declared by a superhuman revelation which would, so to speak, elevate them above the sphere of human imperfection and error? Might they not require such a revelation to bind them together, and to breathe into them life?

Some affirm, for example, that the essence of Christianity is contained in the Sermon on the Mount. And so it is; but what is the Sermon on the Mount without the interpretation given to it by the facts of Christianity? Moral rules and maxims can be obeyed only blindly and mechanically unless they be connected with religion. It is the originality of the Sermon on the Mount that it changes moral axioms into divine and eternal principles. It is divisible into two parts—the first

containing the beatitudes or the eternal principles of morality, and the second the application of these principles. But what influence could the beatitudes have exercised on human conduct apart from the doctrines of Christianity? How can they be interpreted without these doctrines? Suppose we take two of the most important of them—"Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy;" "Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God." It will be observed that the unapproachable beauty and sublimity of these sayings is owing chiefly to the reason which is appended to the affirmation. To understand the reason is the key to the understanding of the saying. But is it not evident, that in the case of the one saying the great difficulty is to convince men that God is merciful, and to enable them to realise the blessedness of his mercy, not the selfish joy of deliverance from the dreadful possibilities of the future, but the blessedness of a Father's forgiveness and love; and that in the case of the other, the difficulty is to have proper ideas of what is meant by "seeing God," and to believe truly in its "blessedness"?

The merit of Christianity is thus not merely that it contains the most complete and the highest moral code, but that it is the religion which gives unity to the highest moral rules, and supplies to the spiritual nature a stimulus which can never be weakened by time or superseded by a higher influence. The question is therefore one not so much regarding individual doctrines, as a complete and perfect system. We deny indeed that there is any "strangeness" in "the doctrines of the Incarnation, the Trinity, or the Atonement;" that there is in them any "want of harmony with the existing furniture of the mind." Christ was the "desire of all nations;" he revealed truths fitted to satisfy a spiritual need felt by all, however vaguely and unconsciously—truths which the human mind required to know if the progress of the race was to advance beyond a certain point; but it is simply begging the question to assume that less than a superhuman revelation could have properly made known those truths, could have supplied the spiritual stimulus necessary to continue that progress. We have no right to reason that because in those spheres of knowledge which are concerned with visible and material things, no direct superhuman revelation is necessary, therefore in the sphere of

religious knowledge progress is possible without a superhuman revelation ; for it is only in connection with religion that man recognises the superhuman.

Would it not be a supposition, harmonising better with probability, that the only way by which religious truth of supreme and enduring worth can be discovered is through a superhuman revelation ? Indeed, from the proposition of Mr Greg, would it not be a legitimate corollary that we cannot verify the existence of anything superhuman ? If to argue that the “power of verifying” implies the “power of discovering” is to be of any service to him, must the word “discovering” not be understood in the absolute sense of *originating* ? If to verify means to *understand fully*, then we cannot know of the existence of anything superhuman, and it is impossible for us to prove that the universe itself is not the creation of our own minds, that it has not been discovered, *i.e.* originated by ourselves. But if we can verify what we cannot fully understand, then such a verification does not imply the power to discover ; for we may be able, even with our imperfect knowledge of a truth, to be convinced that he who has discovered it has had higher glimpses of it than we can ever behold. We cannot comprehend God, we cannot comprehend a future state ; but we may nevertheless be absolutely convinced that without these goodness would be but a dream, a beautiful delusion, but only a delusion.

Mr Greg indeed asserts, in regard to the “existence of a personal Creator, and a life renewed or continued beyond the grave,” that we “can never arrive at *certainty* of proof (as distinguished from internal conviction) regarding them ;” as if internal conviction could not be arrived at by a process as sufficient for this purpose as are scientific experiments for enabling us to arrive at the outward certainty which belongs to the truths of natural science. The truths of positive science are the only ones of which this mechanical certainty can be predicated ; and to seek for it in regard to other and higher truths is utterly to mistake their nature—is to desire not only what we cannot now obtain, but what, from the very nature of the case, will never be obtainable without the degradation of the highest truths, and the annihilation of the highest faculties of the soul. It is to these faculties that Christianity must make its chief appeal. It was its appeal

that first awoke the spirit of man to full consciousness of life and freedom ; and never will the life of any who aspire after the highest good be able to out-soar the altitude of its revelations, for its infinitude will always surround them, its undimmed glory will continue to shed down upon them rays of light and life and joy. In a sense, therefore, we admit that Mr Greg is right in saying that revelation is only anticipation, that the ultimate spiritual progress of the whole human race was anticipated by Christ, that the only possible line of progress lay in the direction of Christianity ; but then the very fact that things have happened as they have shews that such an anticipation was necessary, and it could be necessary only because it was impossible for the human race without Christ to discover that which by him they have been able to verify.

It seems, therefore, that the truth of Christianity must rest chiefly on internal evidence. Not that external evidences are unimportant, for nothing connected with a professed divine revelation can be unimportant. It is often of the very greatest importance to dispel preconceived notions, and refute objections that prevent an unbiassed and full consideration of internal evidence. It may be necessary, also, that the authority of the letter of Scripture should compel a preliminary attention to its precepts ; but none of its precepts can be truly obeyed unless they be felt to accord with the dictates of reason. They cannot be obeyed till they are "spiritually discerned." Is reason, then, it may be asked, competent to judge of the truths of Revelation? Undoubtedly it is ; only we must be careful as to what is meant by "judging," and remember that it is possible to judge wrongly, and so, in fact, as to belie our reason. Reason is not competent fully to understand the truths of Revelation, but it is competent to know that it cannot understand them ; it is competent to recognise that what it does know harmonises with the highest reason, and that what seems contradictory to reason, is so only because it is imperfectly understood. We may, as has already been stated, misuse or fail to use our reason in judging of Revelation. We may use it in a prejudiced manner, or may fail to bring the whole of our reason into connection with the truths we are considering—may forget that we have a moral and

religious, as well as an intellectual nature, or *vice versa*; but it is not probable that if men were agreeing not to examine the internal evidences for Christianity, and were to confine their whole attention to its external evidences, a greater number than at present would be convinced of its divine claims. And if it were probable, it is certainly not desirable; for to receive it merely on external authority would be to place ourselves under the thralldom of the very darkest superstition. There are, of course, aspects of Revelation which perplex and baffle our understanding; but these are necessary to the manifestation of other aspects, which are clear and luminous with truth, and whose light will guide us safely through the darkness which has made it visible.

T. F. HENDERSON.

ART. II.—*The "Unions-Conferenz" at Bonn.*

THIS conference was held in fulfilment of that object which the Old Catholics of Germany set before themselves immediately on their organization after the Vatican Council. The two Vatican dogmas, of the pope's infallibility and absolute supremacy over the Church, constituted, in their judgment, two heresies, which at one blow not only destroyed the primitive Catholic constitution of the Church, organising it as the servile instrument of one despotic ruler, who was invested with Divine prerogatives, but also threatened conflict and anarchy among the Catholic nations of Europe. The Old Catholics have been excommunicated by the pope, but previous to that excommunication, they had abjured the neo-Cesarism of the pope who excommunicated them, and condemned the heresies concerning himself which he had himself promulgated. In their first manifesto after their liberation from Rome, the Old Catholics expressed this hope—

"We aim at a reform in the Church in co-operation with the sciences of theology and canon law, which shall, in the spirit of the ancient Church, remove the present defects and abuses, and, in particular, shall fulfil the desires of the Catholic people for a constitutionally regulated participation in Church business, whereby without risk to doctrinal unity or doctrine, national considerations and needs may be taken account of. Whilst pursuing the desired reforms in the path of science

and a progressive Christian culture, in hope to bring about gradually a good understanding between the Protestant and Episcopal Churches."

In carrying out this aim, the Old Catholics were aided by the principle of catholicity which they had distinctly formulated as the basis of their organization. They had been *Roman Catholics*. They had submitted to a certain ascendancy of the Papal See in Rome. That ascendancy had become a tyranny, and was now discarded. They sought now that principle of Church unity and that method of maintaining and expressing Catholic unity which existed in the old Church before papal pretensions corrupted and divided it. They were now Old Catholics. They had set themselves the task of patiently studying and regaining that unity of the Church which existed in its primitive age. They thus at one bound abjured not only the Vatican Council, but the Council of Trent, as having no Œcumenical authority. They retraced their steps as Catholics—from the schismatic and heretical courses, as they deemed them, into which the papal usurpation had seduced them—back to that time when the Catholic Church of the west embraced the peoples who are now Protestants, and farther back still to the time when the Eastern and Western Churches were in full communion with each other. And they resolved to study anew the causes which had driven the Protestant Churches into revolt from the Roman See, and had separated the Churches of the east and the west. Their principle was catholicity, or the law of unity in the visible Church of Christ: and they believed that that was to be discovered in the history of the Church when it was in fact undivided. Old Catholicism, accordingly, at once linked itself on to the catholicism of the first seven or eight centuries; and professed to stand in immediate succession with those centuries; whilst claiming the right to penetrate farther back into the history of the Church, in order to purge it from the errors even of that early time which had developed all subsequent schism; and to regain the principle and law of the Church's unity, which were implanted in the Church by its Divine Founder.

Naturally in their praiseworthy task they sought first the sympathy and co-operation of those churches that stand at present in closest kinship with them, so far as their organization and doctrine are concerned. They have appealed to Protestants to join them in their historical labours, by which they hope to

recover the primitive and divine order or polity of the Christian Church ; and they trust that, by means of these common labours, Protestant Churches may ultimately be united in fellowship with each other and with them. For the present, however, their efforts have chiefly aimed at a closer alliance—a mutual good understanding between the Oriental Church, the Anglican Church, and themselves. These efforts have led to the two conferences at Bonn, of which the second was held last August. Non-Episcopal Protestants were invited to it: but naturally in any work of union they who stand the nearest to each other are likely first to cross their boundaries, and honour the larger truth which they severally hold, though in different form. As the spirit of toleration and love grows, and, above all, as these Churches which claim to stand in succession to the primitive Church penetrate backward, with a genuine desire to learn the living principle, and the law of unity in the Apostolic Church, they may, and it may be hoped they will, meet their Protestant brethren engaged in the same quest, and keep, with them, the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

Having received a special invitation to attend this conference from one of the Old Catholic professors at Bonn, a member of the acting preparatory committee, who knew that I was in Germany ; I accepted the invitation, on the condition I might attend as a spectator ; because, I said, though the subject of discussion in the conference was one of deepest interest to all theologians, and affected the faith of all Christians, I could not accept the standards of doctrinal authority laid down for the members of the conference. On this understanding, I regarded it as no small privilege to attend such a conference. The occasion and scene alike were, to one acquainted with ancient and modern ecclesiastical history, and engaged in theological studies, of unexampled interest and significance. Here for the first time for some eleven hundred years had authorised and distinguished representatives of the Eastern Churches met in a perfectly cordial and open manner, without the slightest misgiving or fear of treachery and violence, representatives of Western Churches, in order to discuss with them that one doctrinal and symbolic difference which for all these centuries had split an impassable gulf between them. The Greeks had in previous centuries met the Latins in conference ; but always under a

sense of threatening coercive power or of cunning and deceitful cajolery darkening around them, and suborning them to sacrifice at once the faith and independence of their churches to the papacy. Now they met the Westerns in Bonn as Christian brethren, who had urged this conference with them with no despotic and guileful intent, but in the hope of being reconciled with them in bonds of honourable amity and intercommunion. Never since the Council of Florence (1439) had so many Greek ecclesiastics been assembled together in any part of Western Christendom. Their mission now was the same as then, but the *venue*, as the French say, had changed. Then they came, cowed by the terrific onset of Turkish Mohammedanism, submitting to a union with the papacy if it did not outrage the orthodox faith of their church, that they might obtain succour from the Christian nations of the West. Then they met only representatives of the papacy, who urged them by threats or deceived them by forgeries, to acknowledge the primacy of the pope. Now they came with the strength of the Czardom at their back, and they came to meet representatives of so-called Catholic Churches in Europe; that equally with them repudiated the insolent pretensions of the pope, and desired union with the Eastern Churches, that they might together combat the more powerfully the flagitious claim he had just announced to universal dictatorship over all Christian men and Christian states.

It was of marvellous interest to see the meeting—the rencontre—of the ablest men of Eastern and Western Catholic Churches, after such an interval of separation, and inspired by such considerations. And the interest was none the less that the theme of their conference was that brief phrase of the creed, "Filioque;" which had for Greek orthodoxy such stupendous import; and which, though small enough, had been a battlefield of centuries, and had cut Christendom in twain. Now, in this nineteenth century, were to be renewed the subtle metaphysical disputations on the mysteries of the Trinity, which had resounded through the first seven councils. A veritable council of the ancient and alone genuine type, in which theology proper, the doctrine of the Godhead, was to be discussed, was to be opened on the banks of the Rhine. And it might be assumed that on such a question the erudition and speculative genius of the Greek Church would be seen to highest advantage; whilst

the learned "Old Catholic" theologians, with Döllinger at their head, men who were confessedly the first masters of patristic lore and Catholic theology in Western Europe, would be consummate expounders and defenders of the Western Creed. To attend this conference was therefore a lesson in ecclesiastical history, picturing before one's eyes an ancient council of the Church; and a lesson on the development of theology, shewing how creeds have grown, for the learning of which opportunities are now rare.

As I was at the conference, and followed carefully all its proceedings; and as I met in the intervals of the sessions many members of the several churches represented there, may I be permitted to lay some of my gleanings before the reader? I select those that have interest (1) as bearing on debated questions respecting the constitution of the Church, (2) as dealing with the modern claims of the Papacy, or (3) as affecting Christian doctrine.

Before, however, touching on those more important reminiscences, let me notice some things that struck an observer in the conference and out of the conference, with respect to the parties that were chiefly concerned in it. Of course, on entering the room the Greek ecclesiastics took the attention at once, with their black flowing robes, and especially their black immovable tall brimless hats—real chimney-pot structures. These varied slightly in form according to the dignity of the wearer, but all alike were stationed unchangeably on the head, at meals and at the public conference, in the open air and in private rooms, and might have seemed a natural "capital" to the Greek head. This black mitre, however, alone gave any distinction to the Greek ecclesiastics in the conference. There they spoke little; nor, with the exception of the Archbishop of Syra's whispers to the president (for he was too unwell to speak), was that little of consequence. They reserved themselves for the private conferences of their own party, which were held every evening. It was however greatly to their credit that all the Greek bishops and priests, as well as professors present, were perfectly conversant with the German language, so that the discussions could be carried on in German. For the benefit of the English present, the substance of the discussions was given by Döllinger in English. It was not needful that it should be given also in Russ or Greek for the benefit of the Orientals.

Nay, in this one respect the Russians and the Greeks held the superiority over the other nationalities represented: none even of the learned Germans present could have discussed difficult theological problems in Greek or Russian, as they did in German. It accordingly elevated one's notions of the orthodox Church of the east, usually conceived as slumbering in mediæval night, drugged into torpor by her inane superstitions, to find her leaders not only expert in theological science, but perfectly familiar with German thought and speech. It was also a pleasing surprise to learn that some of the bishops and doctors present had been students of theology in German universities, and had attended the lectures not only of Catholic, but also of eminent Protestant professors, such as Tholuck, Müller, Beck, &c. As the Greek ecclesiastics did not say much in the conference, it was left to the professors of theology present from St Petersburg and Athens, laymen like Döllinger, to maintain the cause of the Greek Church, and to exhibit from day to day the conclusions which the Greek representatives in their private sittings had reached at the several stages of the proceedings. And I but express the universal feeling of admiration entertained by all in the conference at the large and ready scholarship, the philosophical criticism, the argumentative force, and the eloquence of the two professors, Dr Ossinin from St Petersburg and Dr Damalas from Athens, who conducted, if I may use the expression, the case of the orthodox Church in the conference. It will certainly ill become any Anglican Englishman to disparage the Russo-Greek Church, till he can boast in his Church theological scholars who can cope with those Greek doctors. Assuredly the theological scholarship and acumen of the English representatives at Bonn were greatly at fault, and contrasted poorly with the masterful erudition and the historic judgment evinced by their Old Catholic and Russo-Greek *confrères* in the conference. It was humiliating to an Englishman to find so many distinguished Anglican scholars who were unable to take part in the general discussion in German, and who therefore had to receive at Döllinger's hands special interpretations of what transpired, rendered by that old Nestor in most accurate English. But still more humiliating, that on subjects and in a domain of historical theology which Anglican scholars pecu-

liarly affect, viz., the Fathers and Councils, the literature and doctrine, of the ancient undivided Church, the ablest of them sat as learners rather than assessors in the discussion, and failed often to comprehend the real points at issue, or the reasons which make the Western Churches hold firmly the doctrine of the double procession. It is true that English clergymen are for the most part practical rather than scholarly; but a Church which has sinecures for learned recluses, university professorships, and diocesan colleges, in far greater number than any other Church, ought to have scholars ranking with the first of the world. And the Anglican Church, boasting to mould itself after the Church of the Augustinian age, should have pre-eminent authority in the theology of that age. One result of the Bonn conference ought to be the formation of a *school of scientific theology* in the Anglican Church, for at present Anglican theology is at a discount at home and abroad. Lightfoot is indeed a scholar, but he is not an Anglican. He is an *older* catholic than any that were at Bonn. He belongs to the age and school of Paul, rather than of Augustine.

Of all the noticeable persons and things in the conference, none is to be compared with its president and his doings during those laborious days. He was an ever-growing marvel! An old man, yet not one gray line streaked the thin brown hair that shaded his thin furrowed face. At six every morning he took his header in the Rhine. At ten he entered with agile step and pleasant smile the conference hall. He opened each morning's conference with a luminous, well-arranged discourse, of nearly two hours' length, without having a note to aid him. He interspersed frequent speeches briefer or longer, correcting or confirming other speakers. He rarely sat during the conference. In the afternoon he spoke altogether in English with the English present, speaking again for upwards of an hour at a time in beautifully lucid, accurate sentences. His memory seemed never at fault, whether in making quotations from forgotten Greek Fathers, or in tracing in rapid lines the history of Greek and Latin doctrine and their inter-relations with each other. The modern world and the present time were as well known to him as the past. He corrected Anglicans speaking of their own doctrine; and when one Anglican clergyman suggested to him that they should celebrate the holy

communion together—"You forget," said he, with a quiet smile, "the Public Worship Regulation Bill." His vigour seemed never to abate, for in addition to the six hours of the conference, he had the long private consultations and the drafting of those documents containing numerous quotations from the Greek Fathers and doctors, which ultimately led to the good understanding which the conference aimed at and achieved. I had heard his friends, themselves eminent scholars, speak with eulogies that seemed fantastic of the marvellous range and accuracy of his knowledge—that he was a sort of embodied and ambulating Bodleian. I now credit and must echo these eulogies. He disported himself in that conference, where most learned Catholic theologians of the East and West were assembled, as a courteous gentleman, but also as a *doctor doctorum*—a hierophant of scholars.

1. *On Church Doctrine.*—All who met at Bonn called themselves, *par excellence*, *Churchmen*. The article in the Creed which they recite with special fervour is, "I believe in the holy catholic Apostolic Church." Now, I confess to no less ardent faith in the Church than any of them, and recite that article with as much fervour as they. As a Protestant, however, I feel that I now use these words of the Creed in their true and primitive sense, from which they have been more or less perverted by modern so-called Catholics of every school. I was, however, delighted to find how much of the earlier faith and usage of the Apostolic Church has been retained among the Greeks, and is being revived among the Old Catholics. For example, like, I daresay, most Englishmen, I had learnt most of what I knew of the Greek Church from Dean Stanley's picturesque history. That history, however, relates to the Russo-Greek Church, an Established Church in which the Czar exercises prerogatives of which the Queen knows nothing. In the Greek Church not under the authority of the Czar, there are traces of an earlier purer Church life which greatly interested me. Most of the bishoprics are exceedingly small; a small town with the scattered villages lying round about forming one diocese or church. Thus the primitive usage is maintained, when the absolute conditions determining the limit of a church or bishopric were two—(1), that all the members of the church should assemble in the central or mother church; and (2), that the bishop should himself

preach in the outlying stations. It is a striking corroborate evidence of this "original" constitution and limit of the local church, and also a certain testimony to the original and proper meaning of the word "Catholic," that the Eastern nestorians and Jacobites still call the central or metropolitan church of a diocese or parish "the Catholic" church, and that in large Greek churches everywhere the nave is still called the "catholicon," as being that part of the church in which all the members of the local or district church were wont to assemble for worship. The "Catholic" Church meant, and must mean, that church which is made up of all the faithful. Further, in the Greek Church the laity have retained the right, and often exercise it, of choosing their own bishop and priests, and also, in emergencies, of deposing them. But most interesting, as a relic of the ancient liberty of the Church, is the privilege which the laity retain of preaching in the churches. There is life stirring in the dry bones of the Eastern Church. One man was present at the Bonn conference of whom probably we shall hear more by-and-bye in England—Dr Marulis, who was educated in Germany, chiefly under Dr Fabri, at the Evangelical Mission House in Barmen, and who has established a seminary for the education of religious teachers at Serres, in Macedonia. He has now seventy pupils in this normal seminary, and the intention of Dr Marulis is, that these men being trained to conduct schools amid the Greek population in the East, should also, wherever they are settled, preach the gospel in the churches round about their school. Dr Marulis, I am informed, is himself a most powerful preacher, a true evangelist, a man of intense spiritual enthusiasm; and already his incessant preaching and his educational labours have led to a great spiritual awakening throughout Macedonia, Epirus, and Illyria. Everywhere, too, it is said, his services, and those of his teachers, are not only allowed, but are sought after by bishops, priests, and people alike. What, however, beyond any evidence of mere report, I can surely testify is this: that Dr Marulis was evidently greatly honoured by all the Greek dignitaries present at Bonn, and that his work in Macedonia is being sustained by a most influential committee in Germany, of which the well-known Von Bethmann-Hollweg is the president; and the equally well-known Drs Christlieb and Nasse of Bonn, and Fabri of Barmen, are members. Facts like these cannot fail

to give some hope concerning the Eastern Churches ; which may play an important part in the solution of the Eastern question. To me they afforded gratifying evidence of that primeval apostolic Church order which the Greeks, with their stereotyped "orthodoxy," have tenaciously preserved.

Now, wherein do these Greek churches and the Old Catholic Church in Germany agree ? In one cardinal point, in which they stand nearer to Protestant churches than to either Romanists or Anglicans, viz., that the Church consists not of the hierarchy, but of all "the faithful." They recognise and honour the rights of the laity in the Church. They insist that the Church to which Christ has given the power of the keys, has endowed with the plenitude of his grace, and uses as the instrument of his saving work in the world, is the *congregatio fidelium*, the organised fellowship of the faithful. They teach in common that the bishop and priest must be elected to his office by the voice of the people ; and that whatever grace he is able to administer in his office is simply because and in so far as he embodies and represents the truth and life which are treasured in the fellowship of all the members of the Church. They likewise enforce the primitive doctrine of "unity" in the Church, as meaning a living and visible fellowship in the one local Church, and not a subjection to one despotic ruler of the Church. These are great spiritual elemental truths in apostolic Church doctrine, and, so far, we may rejoice in their acceptance. They are, however, obscured, if not violated, by the "sacramental" theory of orders and apostolic succession which they both hold, and strangely enough deem to be a pillar of "Catholic faith and practice." For it contradicts and nullifies the truly Catholic and spiritual doctrine they hold so firmly, viz., that a bishop or priest only represents and dispenses what is the common faith and grace of the whole Church. These two doctrines cannot cohere in one church or system. Either the bishop receives his authority, and all the influence that attends his words and acts, from his representative and official character in the Church, or he receives it by direct succession and heritage from the apostles. He cannot receive it from both sources. This subject was one of constant discussion in private on the banks of the Rhine last August. The Roman Church indeed does not, and never did, insist on the "succession" with such

peremptoriness as the Anglicans. It affirms truly that the one permanent visible Church authenticates its own orders. Its orders are not, though valid and maintained by a supernatural certainty of succession, needful for its authentication. Both the Greeks and the Old Catholics in like manner treat this question more liberally than the Anglicans. With them, *miserabile dictu*, it is everything. The very fact, whether the English Church has any existence, and can be a vehicle of spiritual grace to men, must depend on the infallible accuracy with which a line of bishops through eighteen hundred years, have been canonically ordained by canonical bishops! Upon such an accident of accidents the living breath of Christ's Church and the salvation of men depends. I ventured on an affirmation and challenge to the most erudite and influential Anglican at the conference, which made his faith stagger. In the Roman See itself, the ruling See for centuries in Latin Christendom, the succession to its episcopate, the papacy, was not determined by the ordination of other bishops; "the power of the keys" in that Church lapsed on the death of the pope to the Church itself; and the cardinals, who were the officers and dignitaries of that church, elected the new pope. No pope can elect his successor; and there is, therefore, no proper succession in what is called Peter's See. Reminding the Anglican dignitary of this fact, I asked him for one example during the first three centuries in which the bishop of any one Church received his official authority and his high prerogatives in that Church from any act of other bishops who were representatives of other churches. No principle was deemed more momentous, or was more sacredly cherished, than the independence of each local church and of its bishop. That *he*, and therefore *it* through him, should receive all the plenitude of Christ's grace from the officers of other churches, was to deny its own true succession from the apostles, and to render its existence at once intermittent and dependent on contingencies extraneous to itself, a thought which is repugnant to the whole tenour of church-faith and conduct in the first centuries. The bishops of other churches were present at the election and ordination of every bishop in his church, in order to see that his election was rightly conducted, that he was a man who held the gifts that qualified him for his office; and then to certify by a public

and formal act that they were satisfied in these respects, and that both the church and its bishop were fully recognised as members of the universal Church. But the bishop received his office, his authority, and whatever grace clothed his acts and speech, by direct commission from his church, which commission was certified and recognised by the leading officers of other churches.¹

The views held by Protestants on the development of doctrine in the Church, were confirmed by remarkable testimony at this conference. 1st. As to the way in which Arian heresy died out in the Church. Dr Döllinger, in shewing how he looked forward to a ripening intelligence and faith in the Western Church gradually to undermine the monstrous assumptions of the Vatican Council, remarked that the Arian heresy in the west, where it lingered for centuries, was not extinguished by learned discussions or by tyrannous persecutions, but by the growing consciousness among Christians of the incompatibility of the great doctrines of redemption with any faith that denied the divinity of the Redeemer. Work, merits, gifts, honours, so great as His, could only be attributed to God. In this most splendid, even prerogative, instance of the triumph of the faith over heresy, it was the living Christian sense of believing people, and not theological discussions or tyrannical enactments, that infallibly saved and secured the true faith of the Church. It will be remembered, too, how during the first three centuries the Church, having alone this organon of Christian truth, namely, a living faith in Jesus Christ, escaped the most perilous and seductive heresies which threatened the fundamental principles of the gospel.² 2d. Döllinger shewed how Augustine, the great Latin Father, failed to understand the doctrine of the Greek Fathers upon the essential relations

¹ This is of course a statement of the Congregationalist view on this point, from which that of Presbyterians differs somewhat.—*Ed.*

² Mr Palmer, in his book "On the Church," vol. ii. p. 134, counts more than ninety heresies which were suppressed before the Council of Nice. St Augustine himself says of the Pelagian heresy, "What need was there of gathering a Synod to condemn a manifest mischief? As though no heresy had ever been condemned, except by the gathering of a Synod! Whereas, contrariwise, there were very few heresies to condemn where there was any such need; and incomparably many more heresies have been rejected and condemned when they arose; and thence they could be made known through the rest of the world as things to be avoided."—*Epp. cont. Pelag. finis.*

of the Holy Ghost to the Father and Son, because of his very imperfect acquaintance with Greek. He thus failed to transmit faithfully the current of traditional doctrine, as it flowed in the Greek Church ; and instead of repeating the ancient primitive doctrine (or, as Döllinger would say, the revealed doctrine) transmitted by tradition in the Church which the Greeks faithfully preserved, he indulged in personal speculations on this transcendent theme. His writings accordingly on this subject (and if on this subject, why not on others ?), instead of being authoritative witnesses of the primitive tradition, are merely philosophical dissertations setting forth his individual opinion. They, however, are the storehouse from which the schoolmen of the west drew out their dogmatic definitions and formulæ on all points of Christian doctrine, imposing these as the true primitive tradition on Western Christendom. By Döllinger's testimony, therefore, Augustine mistook the primitive tradition in respect to one of the most important doctrines, because he could not read Greek ; and handed down his erroneous speculative view to the future ages of the Church, who relied on him as the most faithful and authoritative witness of the "faith" revealed to the Church apart from Scripture, and preserved by tradition. His philosophy, and not God's revelation, for fourteen hundred years has been the *fundamentum fidei* forming the basis of the Catholic faith. Thus palpably in one vital instance has "tradition," according to the highest Catholic authority, been falsified for the Latin Church ; and human speculation is proved to be the source of what men imagine to be divine truth. But if Döllinger, a scholar of the Latin Church, affirmed so much of the great Latin Father ; that most eminent Greek scholar, Professor Ossinin, charged almost the same speculative and critical freedom on the great Greek Fathers when they expounded the most essential Christian verities. Thus, in minimising the value of Dr Döllinger's long list of passages from the most eminent Greek Fathers, which affirm a procession of the Spirit from the Son, he was not slow to pronounce these to be personal opinions, speculative renderings of a mysterious truth, philosophemata. He shewed elaborately that we need to weigh carefully these sentences of the Fathers, and to estimate their worth according to the school of opinion in which they were trained and the circumstances under which they wrote. Most true, I gladly

assent. But what, then, of the tradition of the Church which is deposited in these Fathers, and can only be unearthed from them? With respect to this awful doctrine of the essential interrelations of the Persons of the Trinity, can any statement be possibly accepted as embodying a revelation of God to the Apostolic Church, when after the silence of two or three centuries the Fathers who first speak of it speak thus variously, and with an argumentative style which betokens a philosophic argument, and not an august tradition to be inviolably preserved? Most assuredly I could not but feel, on leaving the conference, that these Christian scholars, arguing and speaking thus of the Fathers, must abandon the monstrous figment of tradition which now alone gives in their eyes sanction to institutions and theories which Protestants repudiate. The early Church itself exalted the books of the New Testament, because they were the uncorrupted monuments of the apostolic times and teaching, as *the canon* of faith and ordinances in the Church. And Anglicans and Old Catholics who accept with such reverence the judgments of the early Church, had better scrupulously adhere to this judgment. The free, subtle, profound, and wise thoughts of Greek and Latin Fathers, may be most helpful to the theology of our time in studying the deep things of God: but they must not be bound on the intellect and conscience of men as being either remembered revelations or immediate inspirations of God.

2. *The Modern Claims of the Papacy.*—As much has been written on this subject, I need not reproduce here what was said at Bonn; but one thing almost startled me, *i.e.* the distinctness and the certitude with which Döllinger, speaking with the authority of one who had studied most minutely the action of the Roman *curia* for fifty years, and with the dispassionateness of an old scholar, announced the gigantic aims and methods of the modern papacy. Briefly these are, through that civil and political freedom which is the boast of modern society, either to work dissolution and anarchy, in order thus, as in the dissolution of the Roman Empire, to build up again a colossal spiritual and political despotism like that of mediæval Europe; or more directly, to coerce, by means of popular suffrage, the governments of Europe to uphold and obey its autocratic rule. Such are its aims and methods. It was for no light cause that the Ultramontane party in the Church enterprised and per-

sistently carried through their bold conception to organise the whole Church under the immediate jurisdiction of the Pope, and to clothe him with the divine authority of an *infallible* ruler.

The whole Church's immense resources was thus converted into one vast engine, placed immediately under the Pope's absolute control. With what object was this unheard-of power concentrated in one hand? The Syllabus gives us the answer. And hence the anxiety and agitation throughout Catholic Europe in reference to the Vatican Decrees, which do not touch theology, but alter fundamentally the relations of the Roman Church to civil society. On one point, however, Döllinger gave information, which deserves earnest heed of statesmen and others, as to the firm relentless purpose of Rome to use force in her conflict with modern freedom. To this end she has not only declared this to be her right and duty in the Syllabus; argued the necessity and expediency of it by her chief theologians, such as Liberatore, Schräder, and in all the Ultramontane journals amenable to her influence; but her most solemn acts reveal the same fearful policy. Döllinger said:—

"I have been for fifty years a professor of theology, and in all my lectures I have always taught that no force dared be put on the conscience of those who did not think as I did; and neither Rome nor my own nor any other bishop ever told me I was teaching error. Yet now the doctrine of Rome is that such teaching is heretical. It is true that it has always been Rome's practice, as indeed may be charged to the account of all great church bodies, to oppress those who differed from her; but now it is a *dogma of her religion*; and her most solemn acts shew that it is a dogma she intends to magnify and enforce. Before any member of the Church is canonised, his life and every one of his works are rigorously searched and examined by a special commission in Rome, and this highest honour of the Church is only conferred if in everything Rome approves of his conduct and his doctrine. Well, there have been two recent canonisations, which shew not only what Rome approves, but what she specially honours. . Archbishop Kanczewitsch was the instrument of Rome in Poland during the sixteenth century in forcing by bloodshed the Greek Catholics into submission to Rome, and in carrying out the Jesuit plan of union, at the cost of endless persecution in that country. He was canonised just before the Vatican Council. And Peter Arbues, of Spain, has also been canonised; who had no distinction whatever, save that in the same century he so cruelly and relentlessly persecuted heretics, that at last he was himself killed by the relatives of those he had inhumanly tortured."

The executive butchers of the Inquisition are now the favoured

saints in the Roman Church. And in these two canonisations we see that the dogma which is now for the first an *articulus fidei* to every Roman Catholic, viz., that the Roman Church should use force to coerce the faith of men, is being magnified as of capital importance, and is being especially enforced on the consciences of "the faithful."

3. With respect to the doctrine that was under discussion at Bonn, namely the procession of the Holy Spirit, unending ridicule has been poured, alike by the secular and religious press, on the theme and the methods of the discussion. I feel that I am personally too much influenced by the modern ignorance of "Theology," in the strict sense of the word, and by the inaptitude, if not incapacity, of our age for the study it ignores, not to sympathise somewhat with that abounding ridicule which shot a broad grin over Europe. But one thing is overlooked by those who thus nauseate the subtleties of the primitive Greek theology, when they are, it is thought, impertinently obtruded on our nineteenth century wisdom, and retailed in the pages of our penny press by reporters who, like one at Bonn, when the phrase, "procession of the Holy Ghost" was repeated, asked his neighbour in pencil, "when and where the procession took place," hoping to fill half a column with a graphic account of the scene. And that which is overlooked, to my judgment sanctifies the procedure which has been contemned, namely, the object for which these discussions were undertaken. The Eastern Churches have kept aloof from intercourse with Western Churches, and have stagnated in their isolation, mainly by reason of their horror at the heretical addition to the Constantinopolitan creed which all these Western Churches had sanctioned. It is no small matter to bring these churches into living communication and sympathy with the varied, freer, more spiritual thought of the West. The difference in the tone of mind manifested by the Orientals last August, compared with the preceding year, struck all who had attended both conferences. There was last August a larger tolerance, a spirit of concession, a desire to find some common ground of agreement on which their several creeds might be harmonised, which had not been apparent in the former years. So much had been wrought by only one season of friendly communion! To remove a misconception that kept the great Churches in the East and the millions that belong to them

insulated from the West, to open a bridge that might facilitate the transmission of living thought and sympathy from the West to the East, and further an active intercommunion between Christians who had been long in antagonism to each other, was verily a laudable object. And to gain it, I am willing that our age should even perforce endure the discussion of things it wots not of. Further, the doctrine itself may not be so puerile and effete as our journalists have said it is. Were the "theological" faculty again to revive in the Christian Church,—in other words, were the Church again with the mightiest and most delicate powers of thought, to gather into systematic form the vast synthesis of the doctrine of her faith, and to trace anew as far as the human mind may penetrate such a problem, the vital relations between the many elements of that doctrine and between that doctrine and other scientific and metaphysical truth; the question discussed at Bonn will have again transcendent interest, and the subtle metaphysics of Greek Fathers who defined for the Church the doctrine of the Trinity, will be appraised more highly than now. For if there be a doctrine beyond all others that awaits inquiry and definition in a future theology, it is the doctrine of the Holy Ghost. The question of "revelation," on the one hand, and of "the Church" on the other—the two burning questions of our time—are emphatically parts of this doctrine. The Holy Spirit in "the Book," and in "the Church," as Revealer of truth, as Giver of life, becomes thus the centre of Christian thought. And as Theology and Christology have occupied the past, so Pneumatology will find its place in the future.

For the present, however, at Bonn, the Westerns had to justify to the Greeks their retention in all their creeds of the word "filioque," which formed no part of the Nicene Symbol. There must be some truth contained in this expression which is felt to be important, and to have conclusive authority; seeing that it gained universal acceptance in the West though it was not dogmatically imposed by any ecclesiastical body, and that it has been retained without exception in the confessions and creeds of all Protestant Churches. That truth, apprehended and valued by all Christian Churches of the West, it was the object of the Bonn conference to testify and commend to the Oriental Churches. And this was done by

shewing them (1) that the doctrine taught and received in the Western Churches, summed up in the phrase "filioque," had in fact been primarily derived from the Fathers of the Eastern Church, and (2) that it was therefore to be found in those Fathers whom the Oriental Churches still regarded as their *magistri fidei*, and whose "definitions" they submissively accepted. But the argument necessarily took a wider sweep. The Westerns maintained the doctrine asserted in their creed, on those grounds which are familiar to all students of "Pearson on the Creed." And to these lines of argument two others might be added which will serve to shew at once the metaphysical and the spiritual phases of the doctrine. (1.) The Greeks concede that the temporal mission of the Holy Ghost is "from the Father and the Son;" that so far as relates to his presence and operations in the world, he comes to us equally from the Son and from the Father. But that which is "temporal" must have its "ground" in that which is eternal. It were impossible to conceive of the Father being sent even on a temporal mission by the Son or by the Spirit. That the Son and the Spirit are sent by the Father in time, depends on the eternal relationship subsisting between the three Persons of the Holy Trinity. In the same way the fact that the Spirit receives his temporal mission from the Son, depends on a prior eternal relationship between the Spirit and the Son making this mission possible. (2.) The Holy Spirit is emphatically in the Church the Spirit of Christ. He communicates the fulness of Christ's life, and administers Christ's manifold gifts, to each member of Christ's body the Church (1 Cor. iv. 13). He is not only a representative of Christ. He is infinitely more. He communicates Christ's very nature, and applies the benefits of mediation to each of Christ's living members. As Tertullian aptly phrases it: He comes "*vicariam navare operam*," to fulfil a vicarious work. Does not this truth imply the mysterious fact of his procession from the Son, in that he must possess all the virtue and character of the Son whom thus he perfectly reveals to our spirit, and whose grace he perfectly administers in Christ's Church. The truth that the Lord Jesus Christ perfectly reveals the Father, has been justly made the ground of argument to shew the mystery of His union with and derivation from the Father, *i.e.* the mystery of His being

from the Father, and as such, partaker of his divine perfections. Now the same reasoning, or, I may call it, the same intuition of the Christian mind, leads us necessarily to infer the derivation of the Spirit from the Son as well as the Father, seeing that Scripture ascribes to him not only the divine perfections derived from the Father, but the attributes and gifts of the Son, which he not only reveals, but in measure imparts, "dividing to every man severally as he will." I must here pause, however, feeling now as I felt at Bonn, that it is most difficult to discuss dialectically these mysteries of Revelation, and to maintain that reverential awe which should bow the spirit and veil the face before the glory of the triune God. Yet I may have said enough to shew that, as an element of theological science, the doctrine of the Double Procession is important. It is rightly cherished by the Western Churches; and not only as a symbol of peace, but as a symbol of truth, they do well to commend to the Eastern Churches the truth which they hold, and which, as was proved at Bonn, the Fathers of the Greek Church also held. We may say of this as of other doctrines of Scripture, in Augustine's words: "*Bonæ sunt in Scripturis sacris mysteriorum profunditates, quæ ob hoc teguntur, ne vilescant, ob hoc quæeruntur, ut exerceant, ob hoc autem aperiuntur ut pascant.*"

J. B. PATON.

ART. III.—*Pioneer Presbyterianism.*

WHICH Church of the present time is nearest the apostolic model, is a question that Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Independent writers all answer quite satisfactorily to themselves out of the same Scriptures. Leaving this question in the hands of those who have undertaken it, it is still a legitimate field of inquiry to ask, What form of Church government shews itself best suited to meet the demand made upon the Church by the world's varied necessities? Which form is best suited at once to satisfy the wants of highly organised states of society, and the more simple tastes and habits of country life? Which form is elastic enough to meet at the same time the requirements of peasant communities

and those of the lapsed classes of our great cities? Which can satisfy the wants and aspirations of those in the higher ranks of life, and also supply the needed spiritual sustenance to the humble cottager? Which can meet the needs of the Old World inhabitant, with his conventionalities and denominational bias, and, at the same time, follow the settler, freed from many of his long cherished notions, and destitute too often of all religious interest, to the forests and prairie-lands of the New World? The system that has within it the elements to satisfy these varied conditions, and carry on Christ's work successfully in them all, is put to a strain that is probably far greater than that to which apostolic times themselves subjected it.

The present paper is restricted to the examination of how far the Presbyterian system meets the peculiar conditions of New World settlement—in other words, to the examination of the features and working of what, in the absence of a more accurate phrase, may be called Pioneer Presbyterianism. In the history of Canadian Presbyterianism we have a specially excellent opportunity of observing the power of the Presbyterian system to adopt itself to the changed conditions and peculiar institutions of a new home, when transplanted from its original *habitat*.

Presbyterianism in Canada was introduced from different directions. It seems to have been rather the product of individual effort than the result of any comprehensive plan of action on the part of the parent churches—the Church of Scotland, the United Presbyterian Church, and the Presbyterian Churches of the United States. Though the general principles taught by all the early missionaries were the same, and though it might have been thought that their common needs and weakness would drive them together, yet we find that a plan of general union that was proposed so early as 1818 failed. Long after this the Church of Scotland, as we shall see, could not even *preserve* her autonomy. And yet in looking at all the circumstances, to the writer these failures of union and these divisions seem but the necessary antecedents of the birth of the true national Church of Canada, which has been formed by the great union of 1875. It is most common for superficial observers to deplore the differences of opinion, the conflict of ideas, the distressing dead-locks and divisions that have taken

place in the church, and to quote subsequent unions as a proof of the senselessness and sinfulness of these unhappy struggles. A closer view, however, shews that thus only was truth in many cases preserved. True it is that had the church no unsanctified leaven in it, such features would have been happily wanting; but partially sanctified human nature being such as it is, these struggles are often but the fever-heat and spasms by which ill-considered modes of action, wrong motives, and dangerous principles are burned out or purged away from the Christian Church.

It was in 1844, a period ever memorable in the Presbyterian annals of the world, that a part of the Presbyterian Synod deemed it wise to cling to the parent Church of Scotland, and to keep in accord in sentiment and action with that church. As was likely under these circumstances to be the case, those so decided lived on memories of the past rather than on present facts, and in consequence guided their course of action rather by what existed, than by principles aiming at meeting the wants of communities hitherto unreached by Presbyterian effort. Canadian Presbyterianism thus assumed two well-marked types—the one strongly conservative and historic in its character, the other eminently expansive and progressive; the one wedded to archaic forms, the other a Presbyterianism throwing herself into the young life of the country where her lot is cast, and modifying her modes of procedure and methods of working to meet the requirements of her situation. The consequence has been, that the older branch did not keep pace with the younger; for the latter, appreciating the work to be done in a country into which at that time the stream of immigration was beginning to flow rapidly, having cast herself adrift from her connection with the Church of Scotland, as having no churches, no endowments, no glebes, and no standing, was compelled to throw herself upon the sympathies of the people, to declare herself a native church, and to modify her methods of procedure to the sometimes abused, but in this case probably true sentiment, *Vox populi, vox Dei*. No doubt it was with some hesitancy and compunction that those belonging to the infant church, who were thus driven into courses of action that conflicted with old prejudices, took the steps they did; but many of them have lived to see, in the

development and power of the church they were instrumental in forming, the truth that in church procedure and courses of action—

“God fulfils himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.”

It would be unjust to pass without notice that branch of the Presbyterian Church which existed side by side with the Church of Scotland in 1844—small in numbers, but quite as tenacious as the Church of Scotland of her Scottish connection, and seemingly unwilling to cast in her lot with the land of her adoption. This was the United Presbyterian Church, which was not only foreign in her sympathies, not recognising national life or national boundaries as at all bound up with church life, but had the additional weakness of exalting the Voluntary principle—a true and useful subordinate tenet—almost into the grotesque position of an article of faith. This principle necessarily involved one strong point, however; she was a church of the people, albeit of the small section of the community she sought to reach. It was this common principle that in 1861 brought the *Presbyterian Church of Canada* and the branch of the United Presbyterian Church into one body; and the Lord has greatly blessed the union. That great, even marked, prosperity has been vouchsafed to this church of the people is freely admitted by all. It may be interesting to investigate the modified courses of action which, under God, seemed to have resulted thus, as well as to keep in view the events by which the older church was borne along. The conditions to which the Presbyterian system needed to be adapted were the following:—

Canada in 1844 was a sparsely-settled country. Our first missionaries tell us they can scarcely realise, as they look upon our now wide expanses of golden wheat-fields, and upon her busy commercial centres, that she ever was the dull, backward, uninviting land that they knew her to be. Presbyterian families, varying from fifteen to forty in a group, might be found in a radius of eight or ten miles from numerous centres; but it was only in some few localities marked by such names as Dumfries, Ayr, Perth, Lanark, and in the few towns of the country, that what might by the greatest courtesy be called a self-supporting congregation could be found. The people in these many scattered groups were under influences

of a kind well adapted for weaning them from the church of their fathers. In Canada West there was a dominant Episcopal Church that at the date of the Disruption might be called absolute in all things, social and political. Such a church well equipped was able to settle and maintain ministers at all places of any importance, and could count on its large social influence to give it a strong antecedent advantage everywhere, even to its being considered the "only church fit for a gentleman."

There was also an aggressive Methodism that, with its system of lay preachers and itinerants, had special opportunities in its ability to maintain a large number of services, and to occupy every available point; and it is but just to say, that while these preachers were extremely illiterate, and very frequently extravagant almost to fanaticism, yet their zeal and earnestness commanded the respect of all who were religiously disposed. Another fact to be borne in mind is the extreme poverty of these early settlers, together with the fact that in their own land they had not been called upon to support their own ministers. The poor man is too often the creature of circumstances; and his benefactor in poverty will retain a hold upon him even when he comes to enjoy *secundiores res*. Under these conditions, what must the church which had thrown off her "in connection with the Church of Scotland" do towards reaching and holding the Presbyterian settlers, and receiving as well her proportion of the large negative class found everywhere, whom it is her duty, if she be a living church, to reclaim from irreligion and indifferentism?

I. *She boldly declared herself a church of the soil, free from all foreign interference, foreign connections, and foreign prejudices.* Wherever men live under a successful form of government, there must grow up a sentiment of unity on some common basis. A nationality gradually emerges from the chaos of dissimilar elements. The rebellions of 1837 were the beginning of a weak national life in Canada, and the name Canadian became one which those born in Canada, or early brought thither, began to have some pride in acknowledging. It consequently followed that the church which was to retain its young people, and mould them into its belief under such adverse conditions as have been examined, must cease to be

an exotic, must cease to be looked upon as foreign, must identify itself with the land of its adoption. It must not be known as a Scottish church, else its principles may be obscured under its nationalism, and those who are not of Scottish origin repelled from its communion. Not that those of Scottish origin are to lessen in their affection for the land of their fathers; not that they are to lose their love for her literature, and to forget the achievements of Wallace wight and "the heroes of the Covenant;" but the longing for the old land must be laid in Machpelah before the stranger can become a real inhabitant of the land of promise whither God has sent him. It will be observed, that the infant church of 1844, though in full sympathy with the Free Church of Scotland, did not place herself in connection with that church. She regarded her relation to the people of Canada as paramount even to an ecclesiastical connection with brethren whose heroism she admired, and so she declared herself the Presbyterian Church of Canada. She was now free, unfettered by tradition customs or precedents, to take what steps seemed right and necessary for accomplishing her work under the new conditions of her colonial existence. No doubt many of the fathers took the step tremblingly; there was much mist and darkness enveloping them; it is true the "in connection with" which Canadians now can look on as a well-nigh innocuous bond, was regarded by them as a connection involving participation in what they called the "sin of the Church of Scotland," and was a powerful motive in urging a separation; but quite as strong as this was the conviction, that to save the Church and adapt her to the times, severance from the Scottish Church was necessary. Says the Pastoral Letter of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada:—

"They have perpetuated the national and exclusive character of the Synod. In a country like Canada, the Presbyterian population of which is composed of immigrants from all quarters of the world, the idea of the dependance of the Synod on the Church of Scotland has operated as a hindrance to the entrance within her pale of Presbyterians from other churches, and prevented that catholic and comprehensive growth and developement to which she might otherwise have attained, and amidst a population which should have furnished her with members from all Presbyterian Churches, she has been little better than a church for the Scotch, or rather we might say the Scotch of the Establishment. A splendid opportunity was presented in the providence of God for putting

an end to the national and exclusive character, by satisfying all Presbyterians that she was really and thoroughly a free, independent, and catholic church, a church around which all Presbyterians might rally, because adapted and intended for all."

The wisest saw also that they must be in accord with the popular movements of the country. What these were may be stated in a few words. As in the case of many a young colony, the apple of discord had early been thrown into the arena in Upper Canada. His Majesty George III. had consented to set apart one-seventh of the whole of Upper Canada as an endowment "for the support of a Protestant clergy." So large a reservation soon proved a hindrance to settlement, and a popular agitation began to "secularise," as it was called, the "Clergy Reserves." For a time the Church of England was the only church recognised as entitled to benefit from this endowment. In 1823 the Church of Scotland obtained from the Imperial Parliament a share; and afterwards the Methodist Church a small grant. But the popular mind was determined to destroy the endowment, and the manifest favouritism for the Church of England made a large number of those participating in the reserves dissatisfied. The new church saw its duty clearly, and from the beginning became national in the widest sense, *i.e.* in accord with the demand of the people that the clergy reserves as belonging to the nation should be devoted to some distinctively national object.

Another question had given rise to discussion in Canada. There had been established by the Government King's College or University, but its usefulness was much injured by its being an exclusive Church of England institution, the subscription of the Thirty-nine Articles even being required. The Church of Scotland had been compelled in self-defence to establish "Queen's College." But the popular will had pronounced in favour of King's College being made national. The new church with promptness found her allies in those who advocated such a measure. To men of the type of Dr Burns—well known in both old world and new—to men of such breadth and foresight do we their children owe the strong hold the Presbyterian Church of Canada has taken of the people of Canada. She has been the faithful and true exponent of equity and justice to all creeds and classes of the people. The memorial of the fathers stands to-day, under God's blessing,

in the Church, whose wise and prudent counsels they helped to frame, whose faithful declaration of the gospel and intense sympathy with the cause of freedom and right have gained recognition even from their opponents, who, while complaining of the heat of passion and the excessive warmth of controversy that sometimes disfigured them, yet confess that principle and not expediency was their guide. Happily also for Presbyterianism, the branch of the church left behind, though more tardy than the offshoot, grew into accord with the national will. *Tempora mutantur nos et mutamur in illis*. The clergy reserves were secularised and given to the public schools; the national university has been firmly established, and government support withdrawn from all other colleges; the stronger national life of Canada has drawn within its vortex even those whose hearts were aforesaid over the seas, the younger men of the older church have become numerous, and her older men have passed away; and strange to say, the two sections of the divided church find themselves at one on all these points, except that of the university, and this is made unimportant by the stronger intellectual life of the country making it possible for both universities to thrive, situated as they are one hundred and fifty miles apart. As when two divergent roads in their own forest country, each by a circuitous route, neither free from its roughness and tedium, come into one again, so have their two paths brought by ways that they knew not, the divided brethren together again. Impelled by mysterious forces, the various sections of the united Church find themselves to-day in full accord with the popular sentiment of Canada, as indeed a church of the soil, and prove the capability of Presbyterianism to meet obstacles arising from special conditions of national sentiment or of popular bias.

II. The infant church of 1844 was, by its circumstances, compelled to give an extension of privileges to *the people*. It is true that the glory of the Presbyterian Church has ever been that her people have a voice in the selection of their rulers. *Nullus episcopus, nulla ecclesia* is a principle she cannot away with. She occupies however an intermediate position in this as in so many other questions. While admitting popular choice, she cannot forget that once chosen, the minister or elder is a ruler in God's house (being appointed by the Lord Jesus himself) in a sense far different from that implied

in his being simply the choice of the people. It may readily be seen how the sacredness of the office, and the corollary from this, its permanency, may come into conflict with what is involved in the principle of popular choice in the new and changing state of young countries. When congregations are organized, they usually consist of from ten to twenty communicants, a large proportion of these being women; so that there is a very limited scope for selection of rulers. But office-bearers being elected *ad vitam aut culpam*, it comes about that where a congregation rises so rapidly as it often does in the New World, the office-bearers in a decade of years after the organization may not have had the approval of a tithe of the people. So much has this difficulty been felt in the United States, that the question has been for years before the General Assembly of making the eldership an office for a term of years. The absolute necessity of maintaining our Presbyterian principle—for we feel the danger of derogating anything from the office of ruler—and at the same time obtaining the support and co-operation of all the people, has led to several wise modifications.

1. Making the session in the early history of the congregation as small as possible, with a due regard to efficiency.

2. In most cases dispensing with the diaconate.

3. In having an annually or triennially-elected board of managers, somewhat numerous, to whom is entrusted the temporal concerns of the congregation, reserving however to the session the right to interfere in any matter in which they may deem such a course required. These concessions, if we choose to call them such, must in a country of shifting population, changing opinions, and democratic institutions, approve themselves to those who long for the prosperity and peace of Zion, though many a one has been compelled to adopt them unwillingly, and possibly with the feeling that the decay of the Presbyterian polity had begun. It seems wiser to accept them as belonging to the "days of the tabernacle," perhaps to be replaced in a more fully-organised state of society, by a more rigid development of our system of church government. A similar modification has been adopted in allowing each congregation to agree upon a constitution of its own, subject, however, to the approval of the presbytery; and in providing for an annual congregational meeting to consider the affairs of

the congregation. It may be mentioned also, in this connection, that the General Assembly, in some questions of great importance, not only sends the remit down to presbyteries and sessions, but also to congregations. There are those who do not see the place in our polity for such a course ; but however unprovided for in the theories of some who make mere precedent principle, our church fathers and our church, fully satisfied with the experience of these innovations, are prepared to maintain that they preserve all the essential features of the Presbyterian system in adopting such a course. Liberalising principles, when introduced into a country, community, or society, are infectious. Accordingly it was found that the principles of action adopted by the infant church reacted upon the congregations of the church she had left behind. The people of the two churches were everywhere commingled, and those belonging to the older church soon began to claim rights and advocate principles before unclaimed by them. Pursuing these paths, widely different at first, the two branches of Presbyterianism almost insensibly converged, until they agreed and coalesced in the union of 1875, proving that Presbyterianism has in itself the elements for overcoming successfully obstacles arising from the local circumstances and condition of the country, and has the power of originating, in conformity with its principles, a machinery able to accomplish the ends in view.

III. This church of the people cheerfully accepted ministers—(1.) Educated ; (2.) Remunerated—as her necessities would permit.

(1.) *Education of Ministry.*—No doubt there were many who feared to take the step of departing in the slightest jot or tittle from the requirement, that students should go through a regular course of study before entering the ministry. The fathers of the church knew well the danger of countenancing a low literary standard among entrants to the ministry, for they were college-bred themselves ; but, at the same time, labourers they must have—men who could at least preach the gospel, explain intelligently the main points of our theology, and do pastoral work among the people. The course taken was eminently wise—a *via media* was chosen. A school, literary and theological, was established, and an interim Professor of Divinity was appointed. There was also appointed

a Professor of Literature and Science for conducting the studies of young men aiming at the ministry.

But the demand for preachers was so great that, in order to utilise a large class of useful labourers, whose age, circumstances, and domestic relations rendered a full course impracticable, the Synod took the bold step of passing and acting upon the following resolution:—

“The Synod, sympathising with the spiritual destitution of Canada East, and recognising the duty of exercising a watchful care over the young men that may be led through grace to devote themselves to the work of the ministry there . . . authorise the presbytery of Montreal to make the best arrangements they can for training promising young men, residing within their bounds, in the studies usually regarded as preparatory to the study of theology, it being hereby declared that the students who shall follow the direction of said presbytery, and evince on examination a due proficiency in their studies, shall be regarded as on the same footing with the students who shall have attended the institution which the Synod is now about to originate.”

The events of 1844 brought to the surface a large number of young men, who accepted such instruction as the Synod was able to provide, and it is but just to say that many of these have become the ornaments of the church, fully coping with those who had far greater opportunities. As, however, the country advanced in population and resources, the church became more rigid in her admission and training of students for the ministry, though even to the present day the possession of “gifts and graces” is allowed in special cases as a sufficient ground for remitting a portion of literary study to students in remote and sparsely settled presbyteries. That the church in her struggles to meet the pressing demand upon her did not lose sight of a high standard of scholarship, is shewn by her laws in force up till the time of union this year.

(a) It is recommended that students for the ministry take, when possible, a full course in some approved college, and obtain the degree of B.A. before entering upon their studies.

(b) Students not taking a full literary course are required to give three years’ attendance on such classes in the university as the Assembly may direct.

(c) Three full sessions are required in theology.

Probably nineteen-twentieths of all students of the church either take their B.A. degree, or pass through the literary course prescribed. Surveying the whole field of theological

education during the generation that has succeeded the events of 1844, it must be confessed that, did any unwise tendency exhibit itself in the energetic young church, it was that of lowering the standard of education. The more conservative branch of the church, with her university as well equipped as was possible (and it has always been a most respectable institution), for some years required a more thorough scholastic training for her ministers than the younger and more vigorous church, and threw into the support of her own university a noble and self-sacrificing enthusiasm. Thus two ideas, both important and both requiring to be kept in view, namely, on the one hand the necessity for self-denying, earnest ministers, even though sometimes deficient in knowledge, and on the other hand the conviction that the ministry requires the utmost culture attainable, bulked differently in the minds of the two churches. The last twenty years has seen a marvellous advancement in the educational condition of Canada. That national university for which the infant church took so brave a stand, has repaid her most handsomely; and though led by different ways, the two churches find themselves at one in regard to this vital question of theological education. The one church has borne testimony to the principle so fully brought out in the Moody and Sankey movement of to-day, the other has maintained that, for the propagation of the gospel, there is required "the workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth;" and Presbyterianism has shewn her ability to supply herself with a capable ministry, even in unpromising circumstances, and shewn herself capable of advancing too, to meet the demands resulting from a wider diffusion of knowledge.

(2.) *Remuneration of Ministers.*—To the infant church not only was the education of her ministers a matter of great import, but *how to support them* in a manner at all suitable, was an object of most earnest solicitude. The success of the voluntary principle, as a means of maintaining the ministry, had not in 1844 been achieved. The grand scheme of organised and persistent voluntary effort on the part of the Free Church of Scotland was but beginning; and with a people imperfectly trained to the "grace of giving," the young Colonial Church and her poor scattered people had not a hopeful prospect. The circumstances of the time were critical; it was a time of

self-denial for both minister and people, when the determination was taken to leave all, in response to what they considered the voice of duty. The emergency was only met at all by the mutual sacrifices of minister and people. The annals of those dismal years of suffering can never be fully written, for their hardships were endured silently, patiently, prayerfully. Ministers consented to live on incomes marvellously small. Men of ability, of zeal, and of shrewdness, who could readily have obtained comfortable living in other walks of life, lived on salaries varying from £60 to £100. They did it for the Lord. Some were compelled to acquire a tract of land and eke out a scanty subsistence by manual labour, a thing degrading to the minister and lowering to the people; but these were days of trial, and it becomes not us of later and happier days to throw a stone at such men, but to speak of their self-denial, and to account them among those willing to be nothing, that Christ might be everything. Many of these best of earth's sons were too poor to give their families the education which their position required, and no wonder that many a minister's son in the Colonies looks upon the position of a minister as little better than that of a slave in the galleys, and feels to the end of life the bitterness that injustice engenders. Scores of ministers were so pressed with providing for the wants of mere existence that a new book upon their shelves was a *rara avis*, and minister and congregation suffered far more than either were aware of on account of the very great straits to which his narrow circumstances reduced the devoted pastor. Some few may have been driven to join other and wealthier communions from these causes, but usually they were men "of the baser sort." The congregations made up of scattered families, business men in the small commercial centres, and some few individuals of more extensive means, did give liberally of their substance to the Lord.

But the church also, through her judicatories, took every means possible to distribute her resources, and to modify the inequalities of support. The missionary spirit was cultivated; the cry for help from the weak was not unheeded by the strong; it was not considered enough to have a few congregations in a flourishing condition, and to make little or no effort to increase the number of congregations. It was acted on as a principle that the church must be aggressive rather than

defensive, and a vigorous course of action was adopted by the Synod, through the Home Mission Committee, as well as by the various Presbyteries. A careful reader of the records of this important era in the history of the young church is impressed with the zeal that shews itself continually, and the wise and thorough manner in which the means at their disposal were adapted to secure their ends. The mission field was carefully subdivided and placed under Presbyteries; the stations grouped; where missionaries could not be settled, ministers were sent in turn, with the advice that at least "one Sabbath, and eight or ten week days in every two months, ought to be statedly devoted by each minister to this purpose;" the people were taken thoroughly into the confidence of the mission authorities; the organization of every station was insisted on; and in addition to the applications made to the Colonial Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, and to the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, it was recommended that "an active and extensive correspondence should be immediately commenced and persevered in by ministers in this country, with individual ministers and preachers of their acquaintance in Scotland and Ireland, setting forth the religious destitution of the colony, and the prospects which it presents to ministers."

The spirit that prevailed was extraordinary, and the great interest felt in mission work may be seen in the recommendations made to Presbyteries by the Synod's Committee:—

"That they give their missionary business precedence over other business, and make it a rule at all meetings of Presbytery that, immediately after the reading of the minutes, the moderator make inquiry of each minister as to the fulfilment of his duties in the missionary district or districts assigned to him, calling for the written reports of the same."

That the church did not relax in her efforts as soon as her new-born enthusiasm was past, may be seen by her methods adopted in her later and more fully developed condition.

1. There is required full and accurate statistics on all matters from congregations.

2. All congregations are classed as—(1.) self-sustaining; (2.) supplemented; or (3.) mission stations.

3. A self-sustaining congregation is declared such on its paying an annual salary of £120 sterling.

4. Congregations affording sufficient field for a minister's labours, and able to contribute £60 and upwards, till reaching

the £120, are declared supplemented congregations, and receive the annual grant from the mission fund.

5. All other congregations are accounted mission stations, and receive such attention as the supply of men at the disposal of the committee will permit of.

The plan usually adopted for developing the lowest grade into the highest is somewhat as follows :—

Presbyteries appoint ministers to visit localities where Presbyterian worship is not maintained, to inquire into the needs of the locality, the elements of the population, and its capability for being supplied with a reasonable amount of labour; for it is to be borne in mind that in such a vast country as the Canadian Church is called upon to overtake, there must be a wise management of agents and resources. Does the field visited seem favourable, the Presbytery applies in March to the Home Mission Committee, which then has at its disposal some 100 or 120 missionaries, most of them students released at that season from the college halls, and all of whom are expected for the six months of the college interval to do the pioneer work of the church. For the payment of the great service thus done, the central funds are drawn upon, to meet which an extensive and vigorously worked machinery is required among the regular congregations of the Church. The mission stations, after such treatment for a couple of years, and having received the nurturing care of the Presbyteries, are next organized and vigorously urged to take the steps for being placed upon the intermediate grade of congregations, and if able to obtain a settled pastor in a few years become self-sustaining. In church life as in that of individuals, there is, it is true, variety. Some congregations may have risen, Minerva-like, fully caparisoned; but the great number of self-sustaining congregations in Canada have risen by the means described. This gradual method of forming congregations, and the large number of congregations constantly organizing, keep, as may readily be seen, the standard of ministerial support low. This, however, is steadily rising throughout the church. The now united church proposes £140 as the minimum salary, and £80 as the minimum for the establishment of a supplemented congregation. While the young church was passing through its severe, but upon the whole encouraging experience, the older branch had its difficulties

as well. The average salary was greater than in the younger church, but a slower development made the church life less vigorous; so that though there was a nucleus of the minister's salary obtained from the portion of the old Clergy Reserves Fund which remained, it is a paradox, affirmed by many members of that church, that the £50 or £100 received from that source was a pecuniary disadvantage to the minister. Endowed salaries seem to discourage effort on the part of the people, and are by no means provocative of zeal in the minister. A proposition that has been mooted, of the United Church raising a memorial fund of a million dollars for carrying on mission work, would probably not meet with the support of a tithe of the church. Experience has shewn that the steady flow of annual contributions keeps warm the heart of the church, and sustains the missionary spirit in ministers and people.

And now to sum up results. What light has the history of Presbyterianism in Canada thrown on the capabilities of the system? What was the danger that threatened the church? So early in her history she was evincing a disposition to take her ease. She was in danger of doing as the Church of England has done. Though having great advantages, the Church of England has fallen from being the dominant Protestant Church of the Dominion of Canada to the third or fourth position. Why? She did not follow the settler. She neglected new fields. She did not in time seek to adapt herself to the special needs of a new country. While having somewhat popularized her government, it is still more so in form than in reality. She has permitted an offshoot from herself—poor, illiterate, and obscure—to surpass her far. The same danger threatened the Presbyterian Church. But the Presbyterian system, in the hands of wise promoters, was equal to the strain. Her simple and natural church government made it easy to extend her principles under another organization, should that existing fail to do all that was required. Her easily adjusted polity made it possible for her to adapt herself to the wants of a new country—a country poor and difficult to overtake. While certain seeming advantages of a material kind might tend to lull her to security, and to take away the spring of action, it was in following the Presbyterian principles that she allied herself with the cause of justice and

of equal rights. The pliability of her system caused her to adapt her agents to their work, while her theology acted as a corrective to check her in following the Methodist and other churches, whose popular church government and loose doctrinal system lead them into all the evils of an extensive employment of lay preachers, and of an illiterate ministry. The exceptional circumstances which were in danger of injuring the branch of the Church of Scotland having been removed by God, and the reflex influence of the vigorous young Church being felt, has brought about a most remarkable community of sentiment, and the two bodies now fuse into a homogeneous whole without difficulty. To state again the qualities for which the two branches are more distinguished, though no doubt individual exceptions may everywhere be pointed out, the younger sister has the qualities of vigour, independence, keenness, and possibly a slight tendency towards captiousness; the elder has dignity, self-control, and the considerateness flowing from riper years. The qualities of the younger have been of immense service to her in the past; the qualities of the elder are more needed in the advanced and more settled labour of the future. As Martha and Mary, may they in one family henceforth shew forth their affection to their common Lord!

GEORGE BRYCE.

ART. IV.—*The Progress of Old Testament Studies.*¹

IN the introductory statement to his Commentary on the Minor Prophets, Dr Pusey makes the following remarks:—"If, in the main, I have adhered to the English Version, it has been from the conviction that our translators were in the right. They had most of the helps for understanding Hebrew which we have, the same traditional knowledge from the ancient versions, Jewish commentators or lexicographers or grammarians, with the exception of the Jewish-Arabic school only, as well as the study of the Hebrew Scriptures themselves, and they used those aids with more mature and even judgment than has mostly been employed in the subsequent

¹ Lecture delivered in the Free Church College, Aberdeen, at the close of Session 1875-76.

period." After animadverting on the arbitrary textual criticism, and the reckless use of the cognate dialects which prevailed in some of the schools of last century, Dr Pusey continues: "But interpretations as arbitrary as any which have perished, still hold their sway, or from time to time emerge, and any revisal of the Authorised Version of the Old Testament, until the precarious use of the dialects should be far more settled, would give us chaff for wheat, introducing an indefinite amount of error into the Word of God."

The brusque and uncompromising manner of this statement is peculiar to its author; but there is no doubt that the substance of the judgment accords with a widely diffused opinion as to the real value of modern exegesis.

The conclusion which the learned Professor of Oxford puts forth, with the proud consciousness that he "has proved all" that modern scholars have to say, is doubtless entertained with equal assurance by a large proportion of the less learned readers, who in four years called for eleven thousand copies of his Commentary; and in truth any one who is prepared to assert with an air of authority the comparative infallibility of the English Version, is certain to find many listeners among the timidly pious, the narrowly conservative, and the intellectually indolent. Nay, apart from natural prejudices in its favour, it may almost be said that Dr Pusey's opinion has a kind of formal recognition in his own Church, which does not in any systematic or authoritative way demand a knowledge of Hebrew on the part of candidates for the ministry. For to admit to the ministry a man who, being ignorant of Hebrew, is incapable of using with judgment the best modern aids in control of the English Version, is excusable only on the assumption that that version is practically sufficient, not only for the use of edification, but for that close systematic study of the Word of God, without which no minister can hope effectively to discharge his vocation.

The plan of theological study which is pursued in our own Church proceeds on a very different supposition. Every student in our halls is required to learn Hebrew, not because we expect that every one can become as learned as Dr Pusey, and be able to defend the English Version with all the resources of scholarship against the rashness of innovators, but because we conceive that Old Testament studies are

making from year to year a progress which even the less learned of our ministers should be able to follow with something of intelligent appreciation. If the sense of the biblical record has really been established by the older scholars in so satisfactory completeness as Dr Pusey imagines, it is inexcusable cruelty to compel all our students to pass through the grammatical purgatory of the first divinity session, which might be more profitably spent, by those who have not a special taste for languages, in studying some standard old commentary on the Authorised Version, or the conservative pages of Dr Pusey himself.

But however distinctly the deliberate legislative voice of the Scottish Churches condemns any such doctrine of finality as is set forth by the Oxford professor, it is to be feared that analogous views are by no means unknown among ourselves. Dr Pusey's entire contempt for the moderns can hardly be shared except by those who are either altogether ignorant, or as singularly learned as himself; and as the latter class is necessarily limited, his words will be received with the fullest sympathy by sectaries who despise all human learning. Yet even those who in the abstract admit that true knowledge is necessarily progressive are often inclined to dread a progress from which they cannot extort a pledge that it will never come into collision with cherished opinions. Feelings far more respectable than indolence and ignorance are enlisted in favour of a stationary theology; and it is not every one who is able to separate his sacred and precious persuasion of the inestimable value of God's word from a reluctance to allow that in points of detail he has accepted as the word of God expressions or sentiments which are only due to a false exegesis. That the retention of an old error is quite as much a substitution of chaff for wheat as is the introduction of a new blunder, is a proposition plain in logic but distasteful in its practical application; and even those who may be willing to accept new renderings of individual texts, or new views of individual passages, are apt to regard with suspicion the innovator who goes beyond correction of details, and ventures on the basis of a more exact grammatical exegesis to draw new inferences as to the date and significance of whole books of the Old Testament, or to reshape current conceptions of the course of the Bible history, and the develop-

ment of biblical theology. It is only at such a crisis as the Reformation, when traditional exegesis came into plain collision with the daily needs of spiritual life, that large innovations in the way of interpreting Scripture can take the church as it were by storm. An immense stride in the understanding of the Bible was made in the sixteenth century, when the new learning of Western Europe went hand in hand with the impulse of renewed and enlightened faith. But as soon as Protestantism began to take permanent shape, conservative and even reactionary tendencies necessarily reappeared. The immediate needs of the church were satisfied by the new views of divine truth already attained, and the exegesis which had overturned the tradition of the middle ages itself began to acquire a traditional authority. The tendency to transfer to current views of the meaning of Scripture those attributes of stability and certainty which belong of right to the Word of God can be checked only by the constant exercise of a critical habit of mind. But the attitude of the believer to the word by which his spiritual life is daily nourished is not naturally critical, so long as the received sense of what he reads is in harmony with familiar ideas. New results of scholarly study may be welcomed, when they help to remove a difficulty, or when they manifestly cast a fresh light on some precious truth; but when they change the sense of a favourite text, or affect the authorship of a favourite psalm, it requires some exercise of faith to believe that the unwelcome novelty can really be a step towards the better understanding of the Word of God. It is not every interpreter who is able, like Luther and Calvin, to place his novel views in a light which shall appeal as strongly to the religious experience of the Christian as to the scholarly instincts of the learned. The rise of new difficulties is as essential to the progress of truth as the removal of old puzzles; and it not seldom happens that the defects of current opinions as to the sense of Scripture are most palpable to the man whose spiritual interest in Bible truths is weak, and who is therefore little apt to allow the religious beauty of a thought to conceal the flaws of the interpretation on which it rests. Thus the natural conservatism of those who study the Bible mainly for purposes of personal edification is often intensified by suspicion of the motives of innovating interpreters; and even so fruitful an idea as the doctrine of a gradual develop-

ment of spiritual truth throughout the whole course of the Bible history has had to contend, from the days of Calvin down to our own time, with an obstinate suspicion that nothing but rationalism can make a man unwilling to find the maximum of developed spiritual truth in every chapter of Scripture. There are shrewd reasons for suspecting that Dr Pusey himself, with all the learning which enables him to sit in awful judgment on scholars like Ewald and Hitzig, has not been wholly free from the influence of such feelings, and that his complaints of the vanity of modern German exegesis would have been less sweeping, if his distrust of the theological position of the interpreters had not prejudiced his estimate of the details of their work. For he confesses that he has been able to gain something from the school of Hengstenberg, Keil, and Hävernicks; which is as much as to say that his theological prepossessions have prevented him from seeing, that in all points of scholarship these men are absolutely dependent on the writers whom he has weighed and found wanting. It is hard to see how any one can learn from Keil's "Minor Prophets," and yet find nothing to commend in Hitzig's commentary on the same books, which Keil so assiduously translates into easier German, except where he suspects a taint of heterodoxy.

I have used Dr Pusey as a typical specimen of the habit of mind which underlies the widespread disinclination to believe that our knowledge of the Bible can be progressive in any large sense of the word. A well-known saying of Lessing seems to offer the means of reducing this habit to a general formula. In the opinion of Lessing, the search for truth, the constant impulse to new inquiry, is a better gift of God to man than would be the immediate possession of all truth without a struggle, and without the possibility of error. The opinion is in form a paradox, for no search after truth is possible except on the basis of truth already ascertained; and so the antithesis between the possession and the quest of truth can never be absolute. But under the paradox lies the just observation, that truth, like all moral and spiritual good things, is of worth only in so far as it is reached by pursuit and toilsome effort. The truths of revelation can form no exception to this law; for they too are meant to act on man, not magically, but morally. Hence it was that God unfolded his plan of salvation by slow degrees, and not to the careless ear of men who had known no

spiritual struggle, but to the longing souls of prophets and psalmists in their deepest conflicts with ungodliness and unbelief, when they looked to him and were lightened, and their faces were not ashamed. And so even now the full manifestation of God in Christ Jesus does not dispense either the individual believer or the church from constant search after a fuller understanding of God's truth. It is the very meaning of the personal revelation of God in Christ, that the doctrine of revelation is as inexhaustible as the fulness of the personal Redeemer himself. If it is true of the experimental life of the believer, that a saving apprehension and possession of Christ is only to be found in a constant and prayerful seeking after Christ to find him anew in every new need; it is not less true that a right apprehension of theological truth is inseparable from a constant and earnest search after new truth. Theological conservatism of the type of Dr Pusey is simply an ignoring of this law, an expression of spiritual sluggishness which is content passively to accept traditional teachings without remembering, that only the search for truth makes the possession of truth valuable.

So much for the general theory of a stationary theology. Let us now turn to facts and see whether it is true, that modern progress in the understanding of the Old Testament is as illusory as we are often asked to believe.

The first claim of modern scholarship is that it has reached a better philological knowledge of the letter of Scripture than previous generations possessed. According to Dr Pusey our translators were in as good a position for understanding the language of the Old Testament as we are, because they possessed the same traditional knowledge, with the exception of the works of the Jewish-Arabic school. This statement is not quite correct; for, to say nothing of other helps, the Syriac Old Testament had not then been printed. But to let that pass, let us look at the true nature and value of the traditional helps. Hebrew became a dead language long before the Jews, who were alone concerned to preserve the knowledge of the Old Testament, had formed any conception of grammatical study. The scholar learned from his master by rote; and the meaning of words and forms was handed down by tradition without any attempt at theory. It was not properly speaking a knowledge of the Hebrew language, but a knowledge of the

Old Testament Scriptures, that the scribes desired to preserve. Their method of exegesis was not grammatical, but theological. The Bible was valued, partly as a source of precepts for conduct (Halacha), partly as affording the text for edifying practical exhortations (Haggada). The exegesis of the Halacha was reduced to rules by the famous Hillel; but these rules are merely dialectical, and their use could only obscure the true sense of difficult passages. As for the Haggada, which was not content with the simple sense of the text, but sought for allegories and mysteries, it is needless to say that it could do nothing to preserve a sound grammatical knowledge of the language.

It is plain that the knowledge of Hebrew handed down in this way was necessarily imperfect, and was constantly exposed to new corruptions. When the meaning of a rare word was unknown, the most arbitrary conjectures were sure to arise, and were quite as likely to be perpetuated as sound tradition. When everything depended on the authority of a teacher, and no one teacher represented an absolutely pure tradition, it was easy for false views to arise; but their elimination was difficult or impossible. Then again, the traditional method of exegesis tended to obliterate all delicate appreciation of the niceties of the Biblical language. Grammatical tact in the treatment of a dead language can hardly be preserved without the aid of exact philological study; but it must infallibly perish when the recognised rules of exegesis are theological and dialectical. Some of the niceties of classical Hebrew, especially in the use of the forms and modes of the verbs, are almost entirely lost even in the latest Biblical books. These could never be recovered by a mere mechanical tradition. On the contrary, the sense for delicate distinctions of idiom grew continually more blunt, and the power of deciding what a passage *must* mean gave way to an unreasoning knowledge of the sense or senses put upon it by interpreters of different schools.

Not the most extreme conservative will assert that there is an adequate continuous tradition of the meaning of all the words of the Bible. A comparison of the early versions is enough to shew how much had been forgotten, and how much rested on arbitrary conjecture. No doubt some true explanations of words were recovered from the analogy of the vulgar Aramaic (e.g. נָסַח, Isa. xiv. 23=sweep. See Delitzsch *in l.*); and some further progress was made by those scholars who,

from the tenth century downwards, began to borrow from the Arabs the notion of grammatical studies. But it is pure sophistry to claim the value of tradition for knowledge that has not been continuous from the time when Hebrew was a living language; and Dr Pusey, who is so afraid of seeing Scripture corrupted by modern scholars who adduce the other Semitic dialects to explain Hebrew words, is very much deceived if he imagines that an early rabbi or a mediæval grammarian was one whit less likely to be misled by false analogies than a modern scholar, who adds to a much wider range of linguistic knowledge a judgment matured by the use of exact philological methods. The modern scholar may indeed err, like the Dutch school of Schultens, by undervaluing the amount of truth contained in tradition. But this is an error which gradually cures itself; while mediæval scholarship did not possess, either in point of method or in point of linguistic material, the necessary conditions of real advance.

What is true of the lexicon is not less true of the grammar. Up to the tenth century grammar was unknown, though the laborious diligence of the Massorets in fixing with great accuracy the traditional pronunciation of the text had prepared valuable materials for later generations. Working on this material, the mediæval scholars were able to systematise with considerable success the doctrines of the vowels, the accents, the inflections of the language. But grammatical study never became so independent as to displace the old mechanical methods of instruction. The new science was *ספר חסד*, *subtilitas*, designed to facilitate the acquisition of the niceties of the language which, as Qimchi says in the preface to his "Miklol," was found by R. Chiyug in the eleventh century depraved in the mouths of men, and perverted on their tongue. Grammar therefore was little more than ancillary to the old mechanical tradition. It provided collections of rules and paradigms, but never got so far as to formulate, even in an empirical way, the whole of the traditional data. Syntax in particular was almost untouched; and there was no attempt to reach the organic principles of the language. The more deeply-rooted errors of tradition remained not only uncured, but unsuspected. No one ventured to meddle with the pointed text; and yet the points themselves embody a tradition which, though very valuable, is not infallible, and

sometimes does violence to the laws of the language. Then again no one suspected, that the idioms of the earlier and later biblical books are often so different, that a construction which would be legitimate in Ecclesiastes may be intolerable in Isaiah. There are still some people, at least in England, who think it presumption to call any rendering ungrammatical which is accepted by Rashi, Qimchi, or Aben Ezra. But though these scholars knew perfectly well what words and forms are peculiar to post-biblical Hebrew; their feeling for idiom and grammatical construction was seriously affected by the habit of reading and writing a dialect in which many of the original niceties of the language had been lost; and they never reached such scientific views as to the principles of grammatical induction, as would have enabled them to rediscover the lost distinctions of verbal forms and the like. In truth a really delicate philological sense could not grow up in the thoroughly unnatural atmosphere of rabbinic literature and Jewish culture. Some of the Jewish expositors are certainly remarkable men, with a grammatical tact surprising under the circumstances; but those whose philological perceptions are truest are not the favourite commentators of the Jews.

The study of Hebrew among Christians, which may be said practically to begin with Reuchlin, was at first conducted in entire dependence on Jewish scholarship. Reuchlin's *Rudimenta* was the first book which opened the language of the Old Testament to the world of scholars; and it is wholly taken from the rabbins, especially from Qimchi. Long after Reuchlin's day, the learning of the rabbins continued to be the ideal of almost all Hebraists, as it is still the ideal of Dr Pusey. The traditional apparatus of the Christian scholars was enlarged by the use of the Greek and Latin versions; but the grammar and lexicon were still at bottom the grammar and lexicon of the mediæval Jews. So long as there was no question of the state of the text, the use of the LXX and the Vulgate made no wide difference between Christian and Jewish scholarship. The English translators of 1611 were still essentially dependent on the rabbins, not merely for such information as can be handed down only in the way of tradition, but for the philological method and principles, which ought to be entirely free from tradition.

The development of a rational grammar and the establishment of a rational lexicography, by which our knowledge of Hebrew is put on the footing of methodical linguistic science, are subsequent to the English version, and constitute the first claim of modern knowledge to be ranked above the learning of older scholars.

The rational treatment of the language of the Old Testament must proceed on the principle that Hebrew, like every other human speech, is an organism, possessed of an internal unity of structure, related in a definite way to other languages, and bearing within it marks of growth and decay. Grammar is not rational so long as it merely collects rules and exceptions without placing either the one or the other in the light of structural principles. Lexicography is not rational so long as it merely accumulates meanings, without attempting to shew how the various usages of a word have sprung from a common source. The briefest inspection of the current text-books of the seventeenth century—for example, the lexicons and grammars of Buxtorf—will shew more clearly than anything I can say, how little this rational method was recognised at the time when the English version was made. Let me simply remind you, that during the seventeenth century the current opinion was, that Hebrew was the language of Paradise, and that the cognate languages were all derived from the dialect of the Old Testament. This opinion was in itself an absolute bar to a rational understanding of the language. It made the comparison of the cognate dialects thoroughly arbitrary and misleading; and it rendered the explanation of linguistic anomalies impossible. Every tyro now knows, that the anomalies of Hebrew grammar can be explained only by the doctrine of gradual changes within the language, and that the true connection between the various derived uses of a root can be seen only by going back to a primitive sense, which has often been lost in the historical period of Hebrew: but no such ideas could be entertained if Hebrew was the language of Adam. In a word, Hebrew was not treated as a genuine human language, to be understood in the same way as any other language, but as a sort of miraculous phenomenon, the one relic of a lost Eden, exempt alike from growth and from decay. As soon as the ban of this absurd theory was broken, Hebrew philology took a new start. Schultens introduced the syste-

matic study of the language in the light of Arabic and other cognate tongues; and thus, in spite of the sneers of Dr Pusey against the extravagances inseparable from the introduction of a fruitful new idea, he made an epoch in biblical studies. No competent person will now pretend that Hebrew grammar can be understood on any other footing than that of comparative studies, or that a Hebrew lexicon can dispense with the same aids. The immediate results of the new method were of course exaggerated. But exaggeration cures itself; improvements in the knowledge of Arabic reacted on the study of the biblical idiom; and the new era of Semitic philology inaugurated by De Sacy has given us a scientific grammar of Hebrew, which has recovered the undoubted meaning of forms which had been obscure for two thousand years, and of idioms of which the older grammarians never suspected the existence.

In the Hebrew Lexicon the progress has been perhaps less marked. The old scholars knew the meaning of words much better than the principles of grammar, which were not in the same way the subject of direct tradition. But not even Dr Pusey will prefer Qimchi's Book of Roots to the Thesaurus of Gesenius, or deny that we now know with absolute certainty the meaning of many words on which our translators, with their masters, the Jewish rabbins, were quite in the dark.¹ The systematic grouping of meanings about the central notion of a root is the point on which we are furthest behind; but here too there is a constant and undoubted progress, which cannot fail to keep pace with the immense advances which have been made in general Semitic philology since the beginning of the century. I repeat with all emphasis, that the denial that these advances have greatly increased the precision and certainty of our knowledge of Hebrew implies either gross ignorance, or a wilful adherence to the obsolete idea that Hebrew is a unique and supernatural language.

From a consideration of the advances of modern learn-

¹ A single example may be taken in which the true sense of a word was reached by the aid of the Syriac Old Testament, which Dr Pusey, as we have seen, does not think worth mentioning as a new help. The word נֶדָּב, Prov. vii. 20, Psa. lxxxi. 4, was still understood correctly by Aquila and Hieronymus. But the true sense was entirely lost by the rabbins, and the English version gives in the text and margin "time appointed" and "new moon," both false renderings. The true meaning "full moon" was recovered from the Syriac of 1 Kings xii. 32.

ing in grammatical and lexical knowledge of Hebrew, we naturally proceed to examine the development which has taken place in the views of scholars as to the state of the text of the Old Testament. At the time when the Authorised Version was made, the question of the text of Scripture can hardly be said to have existed. Even for the New Testament, where the discrepancies between MSS. were palpable, and forced themselves on the notice of every scholar who had access to ancient copies, the task of text-criticism was undertaken with the greatest reluctance; and long after the time of our translators, every proposal to depart from the *Receptus* was viewed with dislike and suspicion. In the case of the Old Testament, the problem of the text was not suggested by the collation of MSS., for all accessible copies represented a single recension very accurately fixed by the Massoretic tradition. The value of this tradition, that is, the value of the Hebrew MSS. as a whole, and not the relative value of individual copies, is the fundamental question of the criticism of the Old Testament text. Now the Massoretic tradition consists of two parts—the tradition of the consonantal text, and the vowel points and accents. At the revival of Hebrew learning the authority of the points was not insisted upon. The best Jewish scholars, especially Elias Levita, the learned author of the *Massoreth ham-massoreth*, had questioned their antiquity. Luther pronounced them a mere human invention of the rabbins; and the other leading reformers, together with Drusius and other great scholars of the sixteenth century, were more or less decidedly of the same mind. But gradually the opinion gained ground that the adherence of Protestantism to the *Hebraica veritas*, as against the authority of received ecclesiastical versions, could not be placed on a sure basis without a doctrine of the authority of the vowel points. The question thus became mixed up with dogmatical considerations, and the antiquity of the vowels became matter of party feeling between Protestants and Papists, or between opposing schools within the Protestant churches. A thorough discussion of the point in controversy was not gone into till near the middle of the seventeenth century; for the great work of Cappellus against the points remained unnoticed for more than twenty years, till in 1648 the younger Buxtorf entered the lists on the opposite side. The question could not have long

been doubtful if it had been argued on purely scholarly grounds; but a spurious orthodoxy felt itself bound to declare the inspiration of the vowels as well as the consonants. This doctrine was actually incorporated in the *Formula Consensus Helvetici* of 1675; and the simple contrast between this fact and the now universal admission of the secondary character of the points is as clear a proof of the advance of scientific certainty in matters of Old Testament scholarship as can possibly be desired. The relative weight to be attached to the Massoretic tradition of pronunciation is of course another question, which is not yet fully settled, and which indeed could not be fairly discussed so long as the larger question of the absolute value of the points was matter of polemical debate. But at any rate it is now agreed among all competent judges that the points simply represent a very ancient exegetical tradition, not the direct mind of the author himself.

The criticism of the consonantal text was also originally taken up in a polemical interest. The strict discussion of the value of the Massoretic text, in comparison with that which lay before the earliest translators, especially the translators of the Alexandrian version, began in 1633, with Johannes Morinus, who endeavoured to prove in the interests of the Roman Church, that the LXX represents the original words of the sacred authors much better than the corrupt Massoretic text. About the same time the Protestant Cappellus took up the question of the correction of the Hebrew text after the versions in a more judicious fashion; but still not so satisfactorily but that his positions were very open to assault, and that it was possible for the conservatives to plead strenuously for the absolute purity of the received Jewish text. It was long before any really satisfactory principles of criticism were worked out. The conservatives and the innovators were alike influenced by *a priori* prejudices. Conjectural emendation became the fashion in the middle of last century, especially through the French priest Houbigant. But the conditions for successful criticism were wanting. The text of the versions was, and indeed still is, most insecure; and the manner in which their authors went to work was not well enough understood to make inference to the text which they had before them a safe process. Some happy suggestions were made by Houbi-

gant and his followers, but beyond doubt the critics tried to go too fast. Still it must not be thought that even false currents of scholarship can flow by without leaving some permanent result. The text is not to be amended so easily as was once thought ; but the failures of last century have served to put scholars on a sounder track of progress, instead of throwing them back into pure conservatism. One thing that came of the rise of an interest in the improvement of the text, was the collation of a vast number of MSS. The result of these collations was mainly negative, but it was something even to have a negative result. Then again attention was directed to Hebrew Palæography—the history of the alphabet, the changes from age to age in the use of vowel letters, and other points of orthography. And in these subjects no small progress has been made ; though from the nature of the case there must long be much that is doubtful in such inquiries. The use of the versions stands already on a very different footing from that which it occupied last century. No one, for example, will now attempt to use the LXX without first realising to himself, that the translators of different parts of the LXX had MSS. of very varying excellence before them, and that they had also very different styles of translation. Not so universal perhaps is the not less necessary recognition of the fact, that critical operations based on the LXX must begin by criticism of the very corrupt text of the Greek itself. But the materials for a critical edition of the LXX are constantly accumulating ; and Lagarde in particular has conceived a scheme for the execution of the task, which, if he is spared to carry it out, will by itself make an epoch in textual criticism. Meantime valuable results have been got from the present materials. In the books of Samuel, for example, where an exacter knowledge of the language shews numerous passages in the Massoretic text to be indubitably corrupt, many certain corrections have been got from the LXX ; and whatever defects are to be found in a work like Wellhausen's textual criticism of the Books of Samuel, the advance in accuracy of method and certainty of results over last century is palpable. Even purely conjectural corrections acquire a higher value, when they are made on the basis of a vastly preciser grammatical knowledge, and in connection with much clearer ideas as to the general course of the history of the text than the scholars

of last century possessed. Above all, we now know that the criticism of the text is a problem that cannot be shirked ; for it is certain, that there was no standard text even in Palestine till at any rate about the time of Christ, and there is a very high probability, that the received text is derived from a single archetype, and perpetuates all its faults:

In this matter of text criticism, just as in matters of verbal philology, it is possible to observe a principle underlying the progress of recent inquiry. Grammatical knowledge took the shape of a steadily growing science ; when scholars ceased to look on the Hebrew tongue with superstitious reverence, and began to view it as an organic development, possessing structural unity, and bearing within it traces of a regular growth and decay, and marks of natural relationship to other languages. In like manner the doctrine of the text remained unscientific ; so long as it was not clearly apprehended, that the present state of the text is the outcome of a history, which, in all its steps, is perfectly natural, and so can be explored by the ordinary methods of scientific research. It is no longer supposed, that the authenticity and purity of any text or of any version has the guarantee of such a supernatural authority as the Church of Rome asserts for the Vulgate, or as some Protestants, on different principles, but with not less arbitrariness, have claimed for the Hebrew *Receptus*. But instead of losing scientific certainty by giving up superstitions which long seemed necessary to a confident use of authoritative Scripture, we find that we have gained, not indeed a ready-made certainty, but a sure path of progress with the confidence of undelusive results.

I think I may safely say, that the individual results of modern method in grammar and criticism of the text are not in themselves calculated to be at all more alarming to a weak faith, than new results of biblical geography, natural history, or archæology, which are welcomed even in the most conservative circles. The real ground of suspicion lies in the method itself, in the determination of modern scholars to remove all magical haze from the idiom and the text of Scripture, and to represent both as objects of a scientific investigation, which recognises no principle or method which is not the common property of all sound philology. There is still an uneasy feeling that such a style of investigation cannot be applied to biblical subjects

without profaning the sanctuary ; and when modern scholarship takes yet another step, and proposes to extend the methods of general literary and historical criticism to the examination of the authorship and scope of the Old Testament books, to the history of the covenant people, and to the evolution of the Old Testament ideas ; suspicion is apt to develop into open accusations that, under the guise of science, Christianity is robbed of its sacred book.

No vindication of the reality and permanent value of modern progress in Biblical studies can be complete without some discussion of the justice of these accusations. If modern Biblical science, with all its undoubted improvements in grammatical and textual study, has used these advantages only to undermine the authority of Scripture, and to obscure the perception of a gracious revelation of God to man in preparation for the saving manifestation of Christ Jesus ; then we may well despair of the future of theology. If the improvement of subsidiary aids has led only to results destructive of the most precious possessions of the Church of Christ ; if a better knowledge of the letter of the Bible has only operated to destroy a living faith in Bible truth : then indeed science and religion are proved to be antagonistic, even where they should most go hand in hand. But is it true that the principles of modern criticism are opposed to the principles of a living faith ? Is it true that science and religion have parted company, even on the field of the Old Testament ? Is the Bible really such a book that its worth for the Church is undermined when its history and ideas are examined by the aid of the very methods of historical and literary criticism which have shed a flood of light on every other part of ancient history and ancient literature ?

The Bible is precious to the Church ; because the history which it sets forth is the history of God's redemptive dealings with man ; because it shews us how of old time God chose for himself a people, brought them near to himself, made them know him as their ever present God and Saviour ; trained them to understand his gracious will, and to realise his covenant love, and so prepared their hearts to receive in due time the full manifestation of God in Christ Jesus. But for the personal manifestation of God to man, the personal declaration of his tender redeeming love, the Old Testament would have

no value to us. It is nothing to the sinner who feels his need of a Saviour, it is nothing to the believer who has learned to know the Saviour, it is nothing to me in my spiritual needs, to have in my hands a supernatural book full of abstract truths that are above reason. But it is everything to me to have a book in which I can find a personal God revealing himself in the fulness of gracious personal love, and so revealing himself that I, who read the book, can know that he reveals himself to me.

Now I am not to discuss at present all the elements which go to render the revelation recorded in the Bible a fit object of appropriating faith. But at least it is clear, that no personal relation can be constituted through a process which does violence to the laws of human personality. I cannot find a personal Redeemer in the Bible, unless the whole course of the manifestation of God set forth in the Bible is true to my own nature. The Bible history is supernatural, because it is the history of the condescension of God, who is supreme over nature, to enter into personal relation to his creatures. But the same history is also natural in so far as the relation constituted is a genuine moral relation, a relation which grows up in strict accordance with every psychological law of the human soul. The action of God's spirit on the believer or on the Church, the development of a right knowledge of God, the education of the Church to follow the will of God—all this takes place under the laws of human nature, in a genuine historical process in which each link is naturally connected with what precedes and with what follows. If this law were anywhere broken, if at any point of the Old Testament dispensation God communicated abstract doctrine about himself which had to be taken on trust intellectually, instead of embodying the new knowledge of his will in a form that could draw forth personal faith, then edification and spiritual growth would cease, and in place thereof we should have a mere intellectual puzzle valueless for the nourishment of spiritual life.

What is the conclusion, then, to which we are forced? Simply that the history of revelation is a genuine part of human history as a whole. Its unique and supernatural character lies wholly in the fact, that we have here to take account of a supernatural factor, of the personal manifestation of God. But the possibility of Revelation and the possibility of Redemption

depend on the truth, that man is capable of growing up into personal relation to God, without any violence done to the faculties of his nature. The Spirit of God works in and through human nature, and so the relation of the redeemed to God becomes a genuine element in history, of which historical science is bound to take cognisance, and which is as capable of historical appreciation as any other psychological element in the annals of our race. Accordingly modern theological science is altogether in the right, when it insists that the Bible must be studied by the aid of the same principle of historical continuity which is employed in the examination of other records of the past. The Bible has, as it comes into our hands, something of a fragmentary character. It is a loose collection of parts, not arranged in any systematic form. It is the business of biblical science not only to reach the sense of the individual parts by careful exegesis, but so to digest the results of exegesis as to bring out a continuous historical progress in the ways of God to man.

Up to the time of the Reformation, when the Bible was viewed merely as a storehouse of intellectual truths superior to reason, the only unity that could be recognised in Scripture was unity of doctrine. The same doctrinal conclusions were drawn from all parts of the Bible by the application of received methods of traditional exegesis, with the very obvious result that the Bible, which was merely a quarry for dogma, was much less valued than the theological system which incorporated biblical materials in a majestic structure of scholastic divinity. But as soon as the Reformation found in the Bible the living communication of the heart and will of God to personal faith, the idea of a historical study of the living word began to germinate, and the notion that God's dealings with man form a continuous scheme which can be understood only in its continuity, impressed itself with growing clearness on the minds of theologians, and at length received formal recognition in the federal system of the Cocceians.

Still the federal theology failed to do real justice to the historical development of revelation. The scheme of successive covenants did not go deep enough; and though the plan of salvation appeared as a thing gradually unfolded, the evolution was not yet regarded as a genuine part of human history. The defects of the Old Covenant and the notion of a divine

pædagogic were set in an instructive light; but the way in which revelation grew with the growth of Israel and interlaced itself with all the fortunes of the nation, was not yet apprehended. Nay, in so important a point as the conception of prophecy, Cocceius and his school made in some respects a retrograde movement.

The Bible and the Bible history were still too exclusively looked at from the supernatural point of view. Now the evolution of God's dealings with man cannot be understood, except by looking at the human side of the process. The only idea of moral and spiritual evolution which is possible to us, is that of evolution in accordance with psychological laws. The nexus sought must always be psychological. The teleology of revelation is divine; but the pragmatism of the revealing history must be human. No amount of study can add anything to the communication of God to man in the Old Testament dispensation. It could not be left to the science of the interpreter to bring that out; for man knows God only in so far as God has declared himself. No study can add a jot to the manifestation of God in Scripture. On that head the Bible statements are not only authoritative, but complete. What biblical science can do to throw a fuller light on the plan of redemption is simply to reconstruct, by the ordinary methods of historico-psychological combination, the human complement of the divine manifestation. But if we can trace the process of the Old Testament religion completely from the side of psychology and human history, the divine elements in the process will take their proper place of themselves, unless with arbitrary rationalism we forcibly thrust them aside. For it is the postulate of all moral religion, that God communicates himself to man in such a way that his revelation is interwoven with history, without violence or breach of psychological law.

Of course a thoroughly satisfactory view of any historical process must be teleological as well as pragmatical. The Old Testament will not be rightly understood by a man who looks merely to the gradual steps by which institutions grew up and doctrines were developed, without seeing on the whole process the hand of God preparing the way for the establishment of the eternal kingdom of Christ. The life of the whole Old Testament history is the actual presence of God to man

for the realisation of his gracious purpose. The critic who shuts his eye to this, never gets beyond what I may call the anatomy of the dead body. And a man who has never seen life, will not be first-rate, even as an anatomist. But if his dissections are careful and conscientious, he will get results far more useful to science, than the man who wishes to explain everything by the teleology of life without familiarising himself with the organism through which life exerts itself.

Now, speaking generally, it may be said that the Federal Theology still looked at the process of revelation in a manner exclusively teleological. The divine purpose was regarded, but the human and historical nexus was overlooked. And so as one extreme view is generally corrected by a deflection into an opposite extreme, the next real advance in Biblical science was made by a school, many members of which had but little interest in doctrinal construction, but which brought to the study of the Bible a lively human interest exercised in the ordinary methods of literary criticism and historical research. The first thing gained by this kind of study was a keener appreciation of the æsthetic characteristics of the Hebrew literature. But æsthetic criticism necessarily led on to literary criticism of a more searching kind. A history of Hebrew literature was aimed at; and scholars began to declare their conviction that traditional views as to the date, authorship, and composition of many books required to be remodelled. It was impossible, on literary grounds, to suppose that one author wrote the whole Pentateuch, or that all so-called Davidic Psalms were from the same hand, or that the last part of the book of Isaiah was written before the exile. Presently a merely literary criticism was supplemented by arguments drawn from the history of Biblical ideas and Biblical institutions. It became manifest that the doctrine of a future life, the conception of the future destiny of Israel, and many questions of equal importance were in a much more advanced state in some parts of the Old Testament than in others. Here was a clear case for the application of the doctrine of continuity. New light was cast on the relative dates of many parts of the Old Testament; and what was still more important, the old habit of drawing proof-texts for developed Christian doctrine from all parts of the Bible indifferently gave way to a new science of Biblical Theology, which undertook to provide trust-

worthy material for dogma by tracing from age to age the gradual development of the ideas of revelation. So again it became plain, that the religious institutions of Israel had not really been stationary from the days of Moses. The Pentateuch itself embodies ordinances which belong to very different stages in the progress of law and worship; and the historical books confirm the truth that the institutions of Judea after the captivity are not a mere literal revival of the laws of Moses, but the fruit of a long contest for purity of religion, in which each victory of spiritual religion over opposing forces was embodied in a new development of the national ordinances. The laws of Moses, like every other element in the living process of the Old Testament dispensation, were not a dead invariable letter, but a living growth which, through many centuries, continued to assert its vitality by throwing out new offshoots, and assuming new forms. Through these researches and others of a kindred nature, the whole history of revelation before the manifestation of the Incarnate Word has been placed in a new light. That it has also been placed in a truer light, so that many things that were formerly puzzles or stumbling-blocks are now luminous and instructive, is not to be proved without a statement of details which I cannot at present undertake.

A single example of the practical value of critical study may be drawn from the analysis of the Levitical legislation.

This analysis has clearly demonstrated that the exclusive priesthood of the house of Aaron is a secondary growth, not contrary to the great idea of the priesthood of Israel as a whole, but gradually developed out of that idea under circumstances which made it more and more necessary, in the interests of purity of worship, to place formal restrictions on the exercise of altar privileges.¹

This result, and the conclusion which it involves, that the

¹ Criticism has not cast any discredit on the institution in the wilderness of a peculiar Levitical priesthood, to which the sanctuary of the ark was committed. But the institution of a special priesthood, charged with special functions, did not immediately bring with it the abolition of family priesthood, and was not understood as making it unlawful for an Israelite to offer sacrifice, under proper precautions, at any sacred place which had received a patriarchal consecration, or had otherwise been marked out by God himself as a place where he had set a memorial of his name. Exodus xx. 24-26 is not a law for the Aaronic priests, but for all Israelites.

centralisation of all national worship in the Aaronic sanctuary of the ark is also a thing of gradual growth, serve in the first place to justify many actions in the lives of Samuel, Elijah, and other great leaders of God's work in Israel, which, on the old view, were only to be excused by the impossible assumption that God winked at a long continued suspension of his revealed will. In the second place, the results of criticism enable us to understand for the first time the fact that Ezekiel, a true prophet, spends a large portion of his book in sketching a new system of theocratic and ritual ordinances for the Israel of the restoration. To the old view the last chapters of Ezekiel were wholly unintelligible; for they cannot be understood of the days of the new dispensation; and under the Old Testament there seemed to be no room for a reconstruction of the law. We now understand that these chapters were not without an influence on the restored Jerusalem; and thus they receive an organic place in the history of the Old Testament. And finally, the new analysis, by giving for the first time a complete demonstration of the quite secondary value of the hierarchy for the religion of the Old Testament, cuts at the root of every attempt to base the notion of a New Testament hierarchy on the principle of the continuity of the dispensations.

But instead of dwelling on details, let me indicate in a single word two general advantages which the church may derive from the critical studies which she can no longer refuse to welcome.

In the first place, a method of Biblical inquiry which carries out with absolute strictness the principle that God's revelation of himself is always in close contact with the growing spiritual needs of the church, and that the divine word is preserved to us only inasmuch as it was immediately grasped by faith, and so at once absorbed into the continuous process of the history of salvation—a method of inquiry which in this way views every step in revelation through the principle of the continuity and psychological consistency of the life of the church, gives to every point in the Bible history an immediate value for our own religious life. We no longer need to treat the Bible histories as mere examples, or the prophecies merely as wonderful prediction. History, prophecy, and every part of Scripture become instinct with a religious life which is organically one with the life of the church now,

And in the second place, the critical method is the only method which places the supreme and absolute authority of Scripture on a thoroughly sure footing. "The authority of Scripture," says our confession, "dependeth not upon the testimony of any man or church, but wholly on God, and therefore it is to be received because it is the word of God." From this it follows that revelation must carry with it its own evidence, and vindicate its own authority. Now, in a general way, the authority of the Bible is ever anew vindicated by its adaptation to the spiritual needs of the church in each new age. But the special and absolute authority of Scripture, as setting forth the word of God in absolute purity to every need of the believer, demands a special proof given once for all, by which each new truth of revelation vindicated itself as divine in its first manifestation to the church. The men of the Old Testament expressed their sense of the value of God's word by likening it to silver seven times tried. Wherein did this sevenfold and absolute trial lie? Simply in the fact, which the critical school alone has fully recognised, that every new truth revealed to prophet or psalmist was the direct, the necessary, the immediately sufficient answer to a new need of the church. This historical test of God's word is in the nature of the case the only complete test. That every word of God is pure is certain, because every word has been tried apart by strict experiment; and the Bible record is to us the unique and all-sufficient record of a perfect revelation, because it gives us insight into this experimental process, because every word of God is in it set forth in that living relation to the history of the church in which it was first grasped by faith as a sure word of God, revealed by the Holy Spirit alone.

W. R. SMITH.

ART. V.—*Jesus Christ, the Centre of History.*

THE Evangelist St Matthew, in the first chapter of his gospel, adduces a prophecy of Isaiah to ratify his strange account of the birth of Jesus Christ, and to pave the way for its reception among the Jews. The prophet had foretold that

a "virgin" should bear a son; he referred possibly to a case which actually happened in his own days. One who was a virgin when the prophet uttered the words, would, in the ordinary sequence of events, bear a son; and before her son would be of age to distinguish between right and wrong, the danger that threatened the land would have passed away. But the evangelist perceived another and a richer meaning in the words; he instinctively applied them, and justly too, as we shall presently see, to the miraculous birth of Christ. "Now all this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which, being interpreted, is, God with us." Evidently St Matthew aims at connecting this event with what had previously been announced, and shewing that it fits in to the current of history.

That the words had been spoken by the prophet shews that the world expected a Messiah. That they were spoken of the Lord by the prophet shews that he was preparing the world for his coming. That a virgin should be found with child by the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost shews that the world could not produce him. And lastly, that it should occur at the period it did, shews that he was the goal of the old dispensation, and the starting-point of the new.

I. THE WORLD EXPECTED AN EMMANUEL.

The popular view of prophecy is, that it was mere prediction of things to come. There is truth in it, to be sure, but only a part. We would get nearer the heart of the matter were we to look upon prophecy as vitally connected with the present, as bodying forth the aspirations which were then heaving in the hearts of men. Prophecy is only inspired poetry; and if you want to know what the deepest faith, the divinest heart of a nation is, you will find it in its poetry. This is equally true of the Jewish nation. Prophecy was its poetry; it shews to us what the best aspirations of that people were. The prophet spoke out of the present, and to the present, and about the present, though implicitly and not less truly about the future too.

That prophecy sustained a vital and organic connection with the life of the people, and was dependent for its form, and to

a large extent for its matter, on that life, a very cursory investigation will suffice to prove. When the national pride centred in the throne, when the fame and royal splendour of David and Solomon and their immediate successors dazzled neighbouring countries, and caused the hearts of all true Israelites to swell with glowing admiration; the regal element predominates in the prophets of the period, they pourtray the Messiah as a king, and clothe him with befitting dignity, their lofty pæans mirror the national heart. But when royalty receives a rude shock, when its dignity trails in the dust, when the nation is led to captivity; the prophets no longer sing in stately rhythm of a king and a hero; they attune their song to the national spirit, and warble in subdued and plaintive strains of one "stricken of God, and afflicted." This suffices to shew that prophecy is not a bare, cold, abstract announcement from heaven concerning the future, without any relation to the present. Nothing of the kind. It is indissolubly connected with the life of the people; it is first the aspiration of man, and next the inspiration of God.

To ascertain what the expectations of the Jews were, we have only to consult prophecy. What then was the burden of prophecy? The advent of Emmanuel. Who was he, and what was he, they did not always clearly understand; consequently there was much vagueness characterizing their hope and their literature. Generally it was feeling rather than thought. Only now and again in their great men—their poets, their prophets—did it resolve itself into intellectual shape and find for itself articulate utterance. Wherefore it was capable of many applications, and would admit of more than one Emmanuel. The name is not specific—it is "God with us;" and may be accommodated to any case of divine interference on behalf of our race. If we see God with us in the history of Abraham, of Moses, or of David, we are justified in looking upon them as Emmenuels in their degrees. We have a case in point in the seventh chapter of Isaiah. Judah was in imminent danger; Israel and Syria had conspired together to crush it; but the word of the Lord came to Ahaz, the king of Judah, to assure him that the peril would shortly pass, and as a sign a virgin should conceive and bear a son, and call his name Emmanuel; and where such a faith in the theocracy existed, it was impossible the nation should perish. The

prophecy did not point to an arbitrary, capricious sign; it embodied an eternal principle—that no evil shall befall the people who have their faith in “God with us.”

But was the sign exhausted in that individual case? Certainly not; the principle was eternal, and awaited a truer realisation of itself. Every good man in his degree was an Emmanuel, but no one in a full degree. No one had a pre-eminent claim to the title; no one filled the name; no one nailed down the idea to himself so as to render it robbery for another to use it; no one converted the general into a specific term. They were signs that God was with us; none of them claimed *to be* “God with us.” But the imperfect realisation of an idea always points to a more perfect to follow; the thought never rests till it finds a perfect incarnation and a lasting home. The son who was *called* Emmanuel in the reign of Ahaz was a prophecy of One who would *be* Emmanuel in the reign of Herod. The prophet Isaiah gives utterance to an idea; the idea is greater than the man who first wears it; therefore it passes on to the future to be realised thereafter. “Saul armed David with his armour, and he put an helmet of brass on his head, he armed him also with a coat of mail;” but any one who might chance to see David would at once conclude that the accoutrements were not originally intended for him; they were too big for him, “and David put them off,” for a bigger than he to wear them. And the idea of Emmanuel was too big for any in the Old Testament, which is a sufficient proof that, though first worn by one of them, it was not primarily intended for them. It was designed for him who could fill it, for him whom it fitted. And St Matthew tells us that One was born in Bethlehem who *fulfilled* it, who nailed it to himself, who perfectly realised it, who converted a common into a proper noun. He therefore has a pre-eminent claim to it. Every book at one time might be called a Bible; but since the inspired volume has been completed, the general name has been converted into a specific one. “Bible” is now the exclusive title of one book. And there was a time when the term Emmanuel might be applied to any good man; but one has since appeared that occupies the same place among men that the Bible does among books; he has made the name his own, and that because it suited him and suited no one else. Judge to whom it belongs by discovering whom it fits. In St

Matthew's opinion it fitted Jesus; he does not accommodate the words of Isaiah by making the use he does of them; it was the prophet that accommodated in applying them to one who did not *ful*-fil them, to one who only *half*-filled them. In Christ the words of the prophet were first *ful*-filled.

I have said that at first the expectations of the Jews for an Emmanuel were very vague, but as centuries rolled on they began to crystallize and define themselves. About the days of the Maccabees and after, there was a fresh effervescence of the national life. A general impression prevailed that the long expected one was about to appear; so deep was it that several impostors could palm off their spurious pretensions on the public, the one after the other, in rapid succession. And when John the Baptist appeared, an intense excitement blazed up throughout the land; the tension was so great that the least whisper made the Jewish heart vibrate to the very core. Indeed, so electrifying was it that the Gentiles heaved with expectancy; they looked eagerly for the coming of the Divine Stranger. The conviction was universal that the world had reached a crisis. The wise men everywhere expected a Teacher from God. The far east expected him to come from the west, the west expected him from the east, and thus east and west gravitated towards Judæa. Put a flower into a dark room, and let the light shine in through the keyhole; the flower will instinctively turn towards the door, and stretch out its little leaves for the sunbeams to give them a kiss. There is sympathy between the flower and the light. And the world was shut up in darkness. There was but one sky partly relieved by streaks of celestial light, but one land favoured with true illumination, and the religious nature of man quivered in its direction. The wise men came from the east to Jerusalem, saying, "Where is he that is born King of the Jews?"

II. GOD WAS PREPARING THE WORLD FOR THE COMING OF EMMANUEL.

I have represented prophecy as an embodiment in language of the best aspirations of the Jewish nation. That, however, is only half the truth. The other half is this: it is the result of the inspiration of God. According to the first half, the prophets interpreted the latent thoughts of their age; according to the second, they declared to that age the thoughts of God.

They were the messengers of God, crying, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his path straight."

This of course implies that the world was not in a state of preparedness. God is a being of perfect order, and the Incarnation must not be an untimely intrusion upon the world. The ground must be cleared for it; it must take its proper place in the sequence of history; it must run into the eternal fitness of things. It might take place as an outward fact in space at any moment of time, but at any moment it would not answer any moral purpose—it would not bring about the redemption of the world. The mind of the world required to be disciplined before the physical miracle could have to it any spiritual significance, or exert upon it any moral influence. At an earlier age the Incarnation would be meaningless. The mariner's compass has been known in China for thousands of years; nevertheless, for the most part of that time, it was to them but a little better than a toy—the Chinese mind was not educated enough to estimate its value. Only a few centuries ago the compass became a blessing to mankind, because only a few centuries ago we attained the intellectual state requisite to apprehend its usefulness. And did the Incarnation take place in the days of Abraham, or of Moses, or of David, it would have been an idle, purposeless miracle, so far as its human aspect is concerned, and Christ would have died in vain. Under the Old Testament, therefore, God was educating the world up to the fact. He was begetting Christ in the human mind before conceiving him in human nature; and to do the former was apparently harder than to do the latter. To form Christ in the human mind took God full four thousand years; to beget him in human nature was only the act of a passing moment. The history of the inward conception in the mind occupies the whole of the Old Testament; a few verses in the Gospels suffice to give an account of the physical conception in the nature.

Look at the preparation that was going on among the *Gentiles*, to which St Matthew refers in the verses following. Two things strike us at once—first, that mankind had lost sight of God; second, that God had not lost sight of them. "The times of ignorance God winked at;" but you are not to suppose that he utterly neglected them. He overlooked them so far as not to grant them a direct revelation from heaven.

He did not overlook them so far as not to care or trouble himself about them at all; he gave them a revelation from the earth. In order to teach the infant to walk, the mother leaves it to itself, and the child for a time forgets its mother with its toys; but the mother does not forget the child, her eyes constantly revert in its direction. That is a faint picture of the divine treatment of the Gentile world. God was a tender Father to the poor pagans who were wandering far away and amusing themselves with religious playthings; he had some gracious end in view, which in due time will be revealed. One good lesson we know was taught the world: what it could do, and what it could not do; what it could accomplish, and what it could not accomplish.

What then did the world learn to do? It learnt to ask questions, but it did not learn to answer them. Some people think it is a very easy thing to ask questions; but in reality it is a hard thing, the next hardest to answering them. An uneducated mind cannot interrogate; the power to do it is the result of long and severe drilling. Here then is the climax in which the preparation of the Gentiles culminated: they learnt to ask deep and subtle questions touching the immortality and final destiny of the soul, and the nature and character of the Maker of the universe. They propounded the most momentous problems it is possible for a finite being to be employed upon; but here comes in their ignorance—they could only propound them, they could not solve them. Socrates and Plato and others confessed that they could only ask questions, that a teacher must come from God to answer them. God trained the Gentiles to ask questions; in the very next chapter you see their wise men coming with a question on their lips, “Where is he that is born King of the Jews?” They could only ask it, they could not answer it. Paganism, therefore, is only the world’s note of interrogation; Christianity is the answer which follows. For God to give the answer when nobody asked the question, would be out of place; therefore he waited and worked, worked and waited, till the time should arrive when it would slide in naturally and without violence to the current of secular history.

But his method of procedure with the *Jews* was different. He came out of his hiding-place, and committed to them his oracles. It was needful to familiarise the mind of a portion of

mankind with some of the leading truths of the kingdom of God. Without this the life and discourses of the Emmanuel would escape unheeded, just as a lecture on the higher mathematics would be unintelligible jargon to a man who has never learnt his arithmetic. The human mind cannot make a long leap at a time ; it must familiarise itself with lower truths ere it can grasp the higher ; it must see them singly ere it can understand them collectively. That is a necessity of our nature, and with it God must conform. I am therefore prepared to find most of the truths of the New Testament in the world prior to the Incarnation ; and this, so far from detracting from the glory of Christianity, considerably enhances it. It links it to the past ; it shews that God had for hundreds of years been preparing the mind of man to receive and understand it. The sceptics who labour so indefatigably to shew that the New Testament contains materials previously extant, do solid service to the cause of Emmanuel : they shew that the world had been prepared for his coming, and that his advent was not an interpolation. But as a matter of fact the Jews were trained by every possible means to an apprehension of spiritual truths ; God granted them his revelations, and by his providence strove to engrave them on their inner soul. The progress was very gradual, it is true, for he could not reveal faster than they could receive. The master can never teach quicker than the pupils can learn. Oftentimes the Jews were obliged to learn the same lesson over and over again ; and after the days of Malachi no new lesson is taught them. Why ? Because they had better review the old. The volume of the Mosaic dispensation closes by bidding the nation to reflect on the old lessons, and lay them deeply to heart. "Remember ye the law of Moses my servant, which I commanded unto him in Horeb for all Israel, with the statutes and judgments." That is going back, you say. No ; it is going back in order to go on. The student who reviews past lessons before the day of examination is doing better service than he who learns new ones. And their day of trial was at hand, the day that would sift every soul of them ; and Malachi bids them con over their old lessons and review their former history and improve upon it before the coming of the "great and dreadful day of the Lord."

And the four hundred years that elapsed from the days of

Malachi to the appearance of Jesus Christ saw, no doubt, a great change in the nation. Well, then, did the nation arrive at last in a state of preparedness for the coming of Christ? I answer, Yes. They were not so prepared as we should like to see them; they were not so prepared as to receive him, in fact they rejected him; but they were prepared enough partly to apprehend the significance of his life and death. Here we have a proof in the existence of the New Testament, written by men of that age and that nation. The disciples afford us a specimen of the education of the ordinary Jew. They were not cultivated, but they were not ignorant; they were not polished, but they were well versed in the Scriptures; and their previous national training enabled them to lay hold of the words of Christ, and gradually by the aid of the Holy Spirit to evolve their meaning. "God at sundry times and in divers manners spoke to the fathers by the prophets," his words were extensively read and commented upon; and no other nation could present such an intelligent populace. The Gentiles were taught to ask questions; the Jews were taught to answer them. The wise men came from the East to Jerusalem, saying, "Where is he that is born king of the Jews?" And the scribes answered and said, "In Bethlehem of Judea, for thus it is written by the prophet." The Gentiles asking, the Jews answering.

III. THE WORLD COULD NOT PRODUCE THE EMMANUEL. He was begotten by the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost and the power of the Highest.

The world expected him; the world was prepared for him; yet the world could not produce him. Look for a moment to *heathenism*. The heathen world laboured long under the delusion that it could grow its own Saviour, and God gave it a fair and ample opportunity of unfolding its resources. The highest intellectual culture of which human nature is capable in its sinful state was attained prior to the Incarnation. The stateliest heights of eloquence were then reached. Statuary arrived at perfection. Philosophy never soared higher. Greek poetry remains still unrivalled. God sent his greatest souls into the world during that period that it might have every facility of working out its own salvation; and if the master minds of classic history failed, then it is useless for us who

have come after to say that possibly we might succeed. The ablest thinkers of the race lived before Christ to demonstrate once for all that if they failed, much more would we. Their writings occupy the same place in the history of the world that the Holy Scriptures do in the history of the church. They are the standard of taste in literature, just as the Bible is the standard of faith in theology.

All those bright lights had once shone but were now gone, and the world was none the better, but rather the worse. All experiments had been tried, and all had failed. The world was brought to a solemn and hopeless pause. Men were "*sitting* in darkness." There had been a time when they were walking in darkness, when they were groping in darkness; but now they are "*sitting*," thoroughly convinced that no efforts of their own can bring them salvation. Now, then, is the time for God to interpose. They have despaired of their religions and philosophies. These were only torches of their own kindling, and they rejoiced for a while in their lurid light; but now the last torch has burnt out, and left nothing behind but darkness and stench; and therefore it is safe for God to make his Sun—the Sun of Righteousness—rise with healing in his wings. Why not make him rise earlier? Because men would delude themselves into the belief that the Sun himself was only a bigger torch of their own kindling, and greatly pride themselves on their success. They must be first brought to confess their impotence, their utter inability to produce a Saviour. And at the time of the birth of Christ that was the general impression. And when all the earthly lights had been extinguished, the heavens began to twinkle. "A star appeared unto them." And they forswore their self-confidence; they followed the star and found the Sun. "The people which sat in darkness saw great light, and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death, light is sprung up." They *found* light but did not *kindle* it.

We have seen that heathenism could not produce the Saviour; we further notice that *Judaism* could not produce him. The Jews had produced several false Messiahs lately; but they were false, and it was not in the power of Judaism to bring forth a true one. Though their knowledge of the Old Testament was very extensive, though they were familiar with most of the truths enunciated in the New Testament

singly, yet they could not compose one whole out of it. Their *constructive* power had died out. They knew that the Messiah was predicted as divine and as human; yet they could not bring the two ideas together and frame an Emmanuel, one who was very God and very man at the same time. They knew that he was portrayed as a king and as a sufferer, but could not wed the two thoughts together and see he was a king of spirits, ruling over them in virtue of his agony and death. They knew these truths singly and separately; but could neither harmonise nor combine them. The most wretched literalness was prevalent everywhere. Their intellect could only analyse and split; it could not put together and build. It was the age of scribes, not seers. Morally they were blind and sterile. Politically they were at the lowest ebb; the sceptre had departed from Judah, and a blood-thirsty Edomite was on the throne, and he a vassal to Cæsar. Intellectually they were mere analysts, capable of laying down minute formularies, but not of enunciating any grand principle. In every sense their glory was departed. The voice of revelation had hushed. The tree of Judaism had borne no fruit for many a long century; several buds had been struggling into life; but they all withered for want of greater vitality in the tree. It was old "and ready to vanish away." The last words of the Old Testament spoke only of fire. "For, behold the day cometh that shall burn as an oven; and all the proud, and all that do wickedly, shall be stubble: and the day that cometh shall burn them up, saith the Lord of Hosts, that it shall leave them neither root nor branch." The nation was like an aged, decayed tree; one could not look upon it without thinking with the prophet what fit fuel it was for the fire. It was sere and lifeless, barren of fruit, despoiled of blossom, stripped of foliage. Now then is the time for the "plant of the Lord, the plant of renown," to grow. In a meadow in one of the counties adjoining Wales is a willow tree.

"Aged is the willow,
In the sere and yellow leaf,
Seeming to the fancy
Emblematical of grief.

"Growing on the willow,
So melancholy bare,
Is a fragrant rosebush
Luxuriantly fair;

Methought it strange that beauty
Should choose to blossom there.

“Perchance into the willow
Some birds the first germs bore
Of those commingled roses
Which yearly blossom more.”

There the old willow stands still, dead in itself, yet in summer covered with beautiful roses. Like it was the condition of the Jewish nation, dead to the very roots; but when everybody thought its dissolution was near and inevitable, a lovely rose was seen growing upon it. The Rose of Sharon displayed his beauty and loaded the centuries with his divine perfume. How came that to pass? God let a seed drop from heaven and it grew out of the ancient stock. “And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots.” The house of David was more humiliated than any other in the land. But when all the branches were cut down, and nothing remained except the bare stem, a rod was seen to grow and a branch to wave, and on it the most charming blossoms. If the branch grew at an earlier period, it would have been attributed to the latent vitality of the stem; but it was now evident to all that the life was long gone out; and when the world was convinced of that God caused his “plant of renown” to grow to redeem the former glory of the tree. The Saviour grew *on* Judaism, but not *out* of it. He is the gift of God.

IV. AS THE EMMANUEL WAS THE GOAL OF ANCIENT, SO HE IS THE STARTING POINT OF MODERN, HISTORY.

Jesus Christ is a *new* starting point for the race. The Old Testament begins with the creation of man, the New with the Incarnation of God. In the opening chapters of the Pentateuch we behold man; in the opening chapters of the gospels we behold “God with man.” We are here on the brink of an awful mystery, and I am not surprised that men sometimes shrink from believing it. It is almost too great for belief. “God manifest in the flesh!” It seems sometimes as if we should feel bound to refuse credence to this doctrine were it not for one consideration, the greater, and I might say, the insuperable difficulties involved in denying it. There are difficulties on the side of faith; there are greater difficulties

on the side of unbelief. That God exists is a mystery ; that he does not exist is an absurdity. That God works daily in nature, and can modify, change, or suspend its laws is a mystery ; that he cannot modify, change, or suspend them is an absurdity. That God should tabernacle in human nature is a mystery ; that the story of the old world with all its disquietude and perplexity should culminate in nothing, and the strange narrative of the last two thousand years begin in a myth, and be founded on a lie, is an absurdity. The fact of the Incarnation is hard to believe, its denial infinitely harder. "Great is the mystery of godliness—God manifest in the flesh."

And it is gratifying to know that the course of modern history has been steadily upward. Seeing that it begins from the high vantage ground of Emmanuel, we expect to find corresponding results marking it throughout. The Incarnation gave God a firmer and a more vital hold upon the human race ; we therefore expect to discover in modern history a diviner character and more abundant energy. The movement of ancient history was, on the whole, downward. From comparative liberty the nations sank into thralldom ; class was in bondage to class ; at the epoch of which we speak the Cæsar had his foot on the neck of the prostrate world. "It came to pass in those days that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be taxed. And all went to be taxed." The moral life of the world, too, slanted downward throughout the ages ; and at the time Jesus Christ was born, it had reached the lowest possible stage of degradation. In Palestine religion was a whited sepulchre, full of filthiness and dead men's bones ; there was neither life nor warmth nor beauty left, nothing but dead men's bones. And among the heathen the moral sense was well nigh obliterated, morality had been swamped in vice and irreligion. Read the concluding paragraph in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans ; can you conceive a darker picture ? can the most impure imagination add one shade to its darkness, or one feature to its horrors ? Sins are mentioned, foul, gross, horrible, which happily have been stamped out of modern life. The course of the world was downward. But there is a line of demarcation sharply drawn across history ; a new era was born differing

widely from all previous eras ; modern civilisation is not willing to go back more than one thousand eight hundred and seventy-six years, to find its fountain-head ; we make but little more count of the years before the Incarnation than of the years before the Flood, they form no part of the real progress of the race. In the first century of our era something happened which stopped the downward headlong career, and changed the entire drift of history.

If we consider the history of the church, we observe about that period a great elevation in its spiritual tone. Humanity is putting forth new virtues ; it is heaving with fresh potencies ; it is all aglow with holy enthusiasm ; it exhibits nobler courage and develops more heroic qualities of endurance ; in a word, we see it quivering with new life. In the year one of our era the world was lying numb, bound hand and foot, in dense darkness ; before the year fifty there are magnificent outbursts of fresh life. About the year one there is a deadly torpor oppressing the heart of the world, an ominous stillness ; but in a few decades after there is a remarkable movement throughout the nations ; there is stir, commotion, faith, life. Now there is no movement, especially a movement upward, without a mover. Who, then, is the the great Mover that pushes the nations forward in the upward path of progress ? Evidently we must go back to the first beginning of the movement in the first century ; and who there can be the mover but Jesus Christ, the God-man ? God in human nature is the mighty power that carries the world onward.

Yes, you say, we must confess that Jesus Christ, God in our nature, is the creator of modern history, the energising power of European civilisation ; but how did he give impetus to the movement ? How did he bring about the change ? What is it in the Incarnation that did it ? I answer—The Incarnation first changed God's relation to men, and when they apprehended that, it changed their relation to him ; and a change in their relation to him necessarily involved a change in their relation to one another. That is the true genesis of modern life.

First, God changed his relation to man ; the God over us is a God with us ; the God who created our nature is a God in our nature ; the Lawgiver has become a sin-bearer.

Second, this infinite change in his relation to us brought about a corresponding change in our relation to him. Before

Christ, apart from anticipations and hopes of his coming, mankind regarded God, when they knew him at all, as a stern, relentless, inflexible lawgiver and judge ; therefore they recoiled from his touch, they cowered in his presence. They might give their obedience, but they refused to him their affections. They could perceive no interest in common between him and themselves. How to change their relation to him ? Only by changing his relation to them. Loving messages through the prophets could not completely do it ; something more than words, even deeds, were necessary to restore it. We would not believe in *communion* between the divine and the human till we had seen them in *union*. In the history of Moravian Missions, we read of a missionary who undertook to make known the unsearchable riches of Christ to the suffering, despised, down-trodden slaves of the West Indies. So cruelly were they treated, so hard were they worked, so mercilessly were they flogged, that their spirits rankled with bitterest hostility against the more favoured race which had doomed them to their sad, hopeless condition. Under such untoward circumstances the missionary could not get a hearing. It became a grave problem with him how to reach their hearts, win their sympathies, and thus fulfil the purpose of his mission. At last he saw a way to overcome the difficulty. How ? By selling himself into servitude. He became a slave ; he partook of the same fare, and endured the same privations as his dusky brethren. Thus he obtained an access to their hearts. In like manner men, before Christ, were afraid of God ; “they were all their lifetime subject to bondage.” When he spake they feared and quaked, and “entreated that the word should not be spoken to them any more ;” they dreaded his presence, and “hid themselves among the trees.” But at last God rent the heavens and came down. In the first page of the gospel we see not God over us as a taskmaster, but God with us as a brother ; and as we proceed from page to page, we behold him toiling in our world, sharing our condition, and encountering our temptations. “He made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men.” “He was made of a woman, made under the law.” What for ? “To redeem them that were under the law, that ye might receive the adoption of sons.” Men thought that “to be under the law” was bondage and degradation, but

seeing the only begotten Son "made under the same law," our views are changed ; we begin to understand that "to be under the law" means freedom, and in place of a sense of slavery, there grows the spirit of liberty. We looked at a God in the skies with fear and trembling ; the distance between him and us was immeasurably great. But when we see him sending his Son, "made of a woman, made under the law," we begin to feel there is a nature in common between him and us, and the sense of fear yields to a growing consciousness of Sonship. The Incarnation has changed our views of God, and, as a consequence, has revolutionised our feelings towards him.

Third, this change in men's relations to God has effected a corresponding change in our relations to one another. Spiritual freedom has translated itself into civil liberty ; and divine sonship has construed itself into human brotherhood. Freedom and brotherhood ! They are the watchwords of modern progress. Liberty and fraternity ! Both are founded on the Incarnation of the Son of God. Liberty is extending its sway daily ; new races shake off the fetters of the despot ; new classes fling away from their wrists the shackles of the oppressor ; fraternity is drawing men and nations together ; the middle wall of partition is falling ; the spirit of equality is stalking on the troubled sea of European life and politics. Many good conscientious people are alarmed, and exclaim, "It is a ghost ;" and like every ghost it at first frightens timid people and creates much excitement, and, perhaps, confusion. But by-and-by a voice will reach us across the troubled waves, saying, "It is I, be not afraid ;" and we will discover to our agreeable surprise that it is the spirit of the Master.

Thus the Incarnation has changed the character of history, and will continue to change it ; and notwithstanding many serious drawbacks and grave hindrances, the world will progress, till by degrees the face of the earth will be made like the face of heaven. Yes, assuredly, the impulse of history is upward. God is with men bearing them aloft to the skies. He is a living energy, an irresistible abiding presence in modern society. It was not enough to give the world an impulse two milleniums ago and then leave it. The path of progress is steep and rugged ; the impulse, therefore, would soon expend its force, and mankind would again rush along the downward road to ruin. There must be a continuous out-

flow of moral force from him to us. Let us then put ourselves in the proper attitude "to receive of his fulness and grace for grace."

What, then, is the goal which awaits humanity under the gospel economy? Its starting point is "God with man;" its goal will be "man with God." In ancient history God was coming down; in modern history man is going up. Ancient history reached its goal when God partook of human nature; modern history will reach its goal when man will partake of the divine nature. Oh the grandeur of the era in which we live! At its beginning we see God made in the likeness of man; at its close man made in the likeness of God. Behind us we behold God coming down to earth; before us we behold man going up to heaven!

J. C. JONES.

ART. VI.—*On Historical Evidence and the Miracle of the Holy Thorn.*

WRITERS on "historical evidence" have recently confronted the advocates of Christianity with the miracle of the Holy Thorn, as an instance of a miraculous story, supported by the strongest evidence, and yet rejected as incredible by every Protestant at least. And they have accordingly challenged those who disbelieve this story to be consistent, and to reject the Christian miracles for the same reasons. Writers, indeed, of various schools of thought have spoken in the strongest possible terms of the evidence for this miracle. "There is no evidence for any fact in history," says Sir James Stephen,¹ "better or more complete." "The greatest genius, the most profound scholar, and the most eminent advocate of that age, all possessing the most ample means of knowledge, all carefully investigated, all admitted, and all defended with their pens, the miracle of the holy thorn. Europe at that time produced no three men more profoundly conversant with the laws of the material world, with the laws of the human mind, and with the municipal law, than Pascal, Arnauld, and Le Maitre; and they were all sincere and earnest believers."² He adds that

¹ As quoted in *Fraser's Magazine*, October 1871.

² Stephen, *Essays on Ecclesiastical Biography*, p. 308 (ed. 4).

the assent of such men to the story is a "standing wonder," and that volumes might be well employed in answering the question, why our Protestant incredulity rejects it in spite of such mighty names. Certainly a few pages may be well employed in solving what to every writer who has treated of it has appeared to be a difficult problem in historical evidence. The most recent version of the story is thus given in *Fraser's Magazine* for October 1871 :—

"A little girl, niece of the great Pascal, residing in the convent [of Port Royal], was suffering from a malignant cancer in the eye, as testified by several physicians. She was about to undergo an operation of the most serious description, when she was cured, suddenly and completely, by the touch of this most holy relic, taken from the veritable crown of thorns, applied at the moment of her receiving the communion."

That "no means were employed, mediate or immediate, except the touch of the relic, accompanied by the prayers of the community," was, as we are told, solemnly attested by "the abbess of the convent, the Mère Angélique, one of the purest and most high-minded women who ever lived." Sir J. Stephen supplies some further particulars :—

"On the following day the surgeon appeared with his instruments. The afflicted father was present, exhortations to patience were delivered, every preparation was complete, when the astonished operator for the first time perceived that every symptom of the disease had disappeared."

The date of the story, it may be remarked, is 1656. Now it will be observed that the following circumstances are of essential importance in this narrative :—First, the serious, if not incurable, nature of the disease ; secondly, the short interval between the determination of the physicians to operate and their discovery that the patient was cured ; and thirdly, the allegation that no other means were used. This then is the story which is said to be attested by Pascal, Nicole, Arnauld, &c., and the evidence for which is characterised by Sir J. Stephen in the words cited at the commencement of this article.¹ And M. A. Schimmelpenninck observes that, "incredible as the story may seem, it may appear to other persons equally incredible that Pascal, Tillemont, &c., should either wilfully publish an imposture, or be deluded in a matter of fact." The writer in *Fraser's Magazine*, who agrees with Sir J. Stephen in his

¹ We take these words as quoted by the writer in *Fraser*, who adopts them. But we have not found their exact expression in Sir J. Stephen's essay.

estimate, and who adduces the miracle as comparing favourably with those of Christianity, blames him for not drawing the "legitimate inference." What then, it may be asked, is the legitimate inference? A logician would answer, If the evidence is really equal to that of any event in history, there are but two alternatives—either to believe it, or to admit that no fact in history is conclusively proved. The argument may be stated in a simple syllogism. No evidence is conclusive which is not better than what may be produced for an admittedly false allegation. The best evidence for any historical fact is not better, &c. The major being a fundamental principle of evidence, we must either deny the minor or admit the conclusive. Sir James Stephen, without actually accepting the conclusion, betrays a consciousness of his uncomfortable position on the horns of this dilemma when he states that the part taken by Pascal, &c., is a "standing wonder," that is in plain words, an exception to the ordinary rules by which we judge of evidence.

His critic is wholly unconscious of the dilemma. According to him the true conclusion is that no miraculous story is worthy of belief. And no doubt this would be the inference drawn by many readers, simply because they are disposed to admit this on other grounds, and are not logical enough to see, that if the premises do not justify a universal conclusion, they do not justify any. The argument does not tell a whit more against miraculous stories than against any other narratives whatever. It is true that in the first instance it is only because this particular story is miraculous that we disbelieve the very strong evidence for it. But when once we have learned that evidence such as this is unreliable, our inference from its unreliability does not depend on the way in which it was proved. If a single witness, previously supposed to be truthful, is convicted of telling a monstrous or impossible story, we cease to trust him; we do not continue to accept him as an unimpeachable witness in cases where we have no obvious proof of his mendacity. This, however, is not the only nor the greatest fallacy in this writer's argument; it includes also a most palpable logical circle. On what grounds in fact does he assume that the story is false? There is not a particle of evidence against it, direct or indirect. It is disbelieved solely because it is miraculous, in virtue of the assumption that no

miraculous story is credible; and this disbelief is then appealed to in proof of the very proposition on which it rests. In Sir J. Stephen's case, the inference which he is censured for not drawing would have involved a still grosser circle. For Sir James Stephen's disbelief was founded on a less general proposition; he only assumed that no miracle is credible which is alleged to have occurred under such-and-such ordinary circumstances. He did not consider the Christian miracles incredible. But we repeat that, admitting his estimate of the evidence, there is no alternative but either to believe the story or to surrender all historical certainty. Before we accept this alternative, it is worth while to consider whether that estimate of the evidence is not wholly mistaken. A reference to the original documents will, we think, satisfy the reader, not only that the weight of evidence is exaggerated, but that the original story is in some important respects different from that given by Sir J. Stephen and his critic. It will be obvious that this is not a matter of mere curiosity, but has very important bearings. The original documents (the principal of which is a letter from Mdle. Pascal, aunt to the child) are to be found in "Récueil de Pièces pour Servir à l'Histoire de Port Royal," and in Father Clémencet's "Histoire Générale." The reader will bear in mind that the subject of the alleged miracle was a child of about eleven years. Her name was Perrier.

In the first place, then, the disorder was not "malignant cancer," but *fistula lachrymalis* of the kind called by the physicians of the day *ægilops*, a disease not ordinarily incurable where the health is otherwise good. In this case, however, it had lasted for three years, and had resisted the ordinary remedies. There was a swelling at the corner of the eye as large as a small nut, from which matter exuded on pressure. Matter also passed into the nose and mouth, and the bone of the nose was believed to be carious. It is important to note that when the swelling had been well pressed, it disappeared, and did not begin to return for about a quarter of an hour. In two or three hours it was as before. It may be inferred from this that an unprofessional person would not be able to form a correct judgment of the state of the child from a short or casual inspection. This inference is further borne out by the circumstance which is incidentally mentioned, that a sister, who was combing little Perrier's hair after the "miracle,"

did not notice that the eye was cured until she was informed of the fact. There is no mention of the "loathsome ulcers," in addition to the fistula, which Sir J. Stephen says "disfigured her face;" and it is clear that they are a mere rhetorical amplification due to some second-hand reporter. It is necessary to remark also that, in consequence of her illness, the child was isolated from the other inmates of the convent, with the exception of the one sister who shared her room.

In the second place, it is not true that she was seen by the surgeon on the day following the application of the holy thorn, nor that he had seen her within a few days, or a week, or even a month before. In fact he had not visited her for two months. Nor is it true, that he came prepared to perform the "very serious operation," the day for which had *not* been fixed. It had simply been resolved, months before, that the cautery should be applied "in the spring." The dramatic account above quoted is in fact nothing but a myth. It is taken from M. Fontaine, who wrote from hearsay before the original documents had been published; and it furnishes a good illustration of the growth of myths. It is strange, however, that Sir James Stephen, and other writers in the nineteenth century, should copy M. Fontaine's loose account, or even add to his errors; when the letters of Mdlle. Pascal and of Angélique Arnauld, inmates of the convent at the time, are easily accessible. Our anonymous writer's citation of "the Abbess, Mère Angélique," as attesting that no means were used except the prayers of the community, is inaccurate in every particular. Mère Angélique was *not* at that time the abbess.¹ We know that the usual remedial measures had been adopted before; and whether they had been discontinued does not appear. The reference to the "prayers of the community" is due to the writer's imagination. Probably he thought the community were sure to pray for a blessing on the touch of the relic applied in what by the story appears to have been a public manner, "at the time of her receiving the holy communion;" and accordingly he has helped the myth forward another stage or two. There were no prayers of the community other than general prayers, for the simple reason that the community knew nothing whatever about it. The only person who knew that the thorn had been applied

¹ She had been abbess from 1642 to 1654, when she was succeeded by Marie Suireau, who remained in office till 1657.

was Sister Flavie, the mistress of the novices, who suggested the application, and who herself said that she thought no more about it. It was not at the moment of receiving the sacrament that it was applied, but on the occasion of a procession in honour of the relic, which was kissed by each of the nuns and novices in turn ; and it was only at the moment that little Perrier's turn arrived that the idea of touching the eye with the thorn occurred to Sister Flavie, who, as we have just said, "thought no more about it." This was at three o'clock P.M. on the 24th March. At bedtime the same Sister Flavie overheard Perrier saying to her chamber-fellow, "The thorn has cured me." She informed the abbess (Mère Agnès Suireau), and the abbess told Mdlle. Pascal next day ; but so little was said about it that Father Clémencet says the reserve used was a sort of second miracle ; so that a week after there were sisters who had heard nothing of the case. It was exactly a week after (31st March¹) that M. Dalencé, the physician, saw the girl, and finding her cured, asked whether this had happened suddenly ("sur-le-champ"). On being assured that it had, he said he would attest that this was impossible without a miracle. However, he resolved to wait another week in order to be assured that the cure was perfect. On the 14th April the attestation of the miracle is signed by several surgeons, who seem to have visited the girl then for the first time, although they speak of M. Dalencé's visits as if they had all taken part in them. "As this cure," say they, "thus made in an instant . . . must be extraordinary, however one takes it . . . we judge that it surpasses the ordinary forces of nature, and could not take place without a miracle."

From the preceding account it appears unquestionable that the ailment was in fact cured. But it further appears that the attestation of the physicians to its miraculous character was really conditional. The question of miracle or no miracle turned, in their judgment, on the instantaneousness of the cure. Now what witnesses have we of this instantaneousness ? Strictly speaking, as far as we can discover, only the child herself. Every one knows how little reliance can be placed on most persons' testimony as to questions of time and degree ; and it is obvious that if a cure took place in any way at this time, the child was just in the disposition to ascribe it to the relic.

¹ Misprinted 11th in some books, which Sir J. Stephen followed.

Indeed, it is related that when ill-attested miracles were spoken of in her hearing, she said that if she were cured by the touch of relics, she would believe that it was truly a miracle. The statement that she "was nothing bettered, but rather grew worse," cannot be connected with any time later than the visit of the physician two months before. If she began to improve after that, it would not be the first time that a patient began to mend just when the doctors had begun to lose hope. If she had been mending, who had an opportunity of noticing it? Sister Flavie, the mistress of the novices, who was in much closer relations with her than the abbess, or perhaps any one else, except the companion of Perrier's chamber, whose evidence we do not possess. Sister Flavie, then, may be considered as coming nearest to the character of an eye-witness. Now, we know a good deal about this person.¹ On her first sojourn at Port Royal as a postulant, she had caused so much trouble by her consummate artifice that she had been dismissed as unfit to join the community. She then applied to Gif, and was there admitted to profession. Here she adopted a new line of conduct. Her profession of sanctity was most demonstrative, and she pretended to be favoured with a multitude of miraculous interpositions and divine communications. Few weeks were suffered to elapse without the Sister Flavie being attacked by some malady which was regularly terminated by a miraculous cure; and this malady took place on some day when distinguished visitors were expected. It was said to be almost impossible to enumerate all the miracles of which she professed herself the favoured subject. After some time she again applied for admission to Port Royal, and was successful. At first she was more reserved with her miraculous stories here than she had been at Gif, knowing no doubt from former experience that she had more intelligent persons to deal with. She succeeded in being appointed sub-mistress of the novices, and afterwards superintendent of the girls' school. Hereupon she resumed the line of conduct she had pursued at Gif. Whenever her conduct was impugned she pretended to be taken violently ill, abandoned her duties, and took to bed. But no sooner had the community assembled for the purpose

¹ See Schimmelpenninck's *Select Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 273. On the possibility of a cure by natural process, see Beard's *Port Royal*, vol. i. p. 314.

of electing her successor than she was cured again "by a miracle." Whenever it became her duty to do any servile office, her indisposition invariably came on; and as certainly it miraculously disappeared on the application of relics if she was called to any post of honour. Probably these were some of the "miracles" with reference to which little Perrier made the observation quoted above. Further, as Sister Flavie possessed keys of the desks in which the children's letters and journals were kept, she availed herself of the knowledge she was thus enabled to gain, to persuade the children that she was able to divine their secret thoughts. This deception was detected and stopped by Mère Angélique, who was abbess at that time. To complete the portrait of Sister Flavie, it must be mentioned that after the time of which we are speaking, having failed in her ambitious scheme of becoming the Superior of Port Royal, she became a traitor to the community, and brought it into its greatest troubles.

Is it possible to describe or to imagine a more untrustworthy witness in any matter tending to bring herself into prominence or to further her schemes, especially in connection with anything that could be made to look miraculous? It is not too much to say that she was a consummate liar, hypocrite, and self-seeker. The evidence of such a person in such a case is of less than no value; like a negative quantity in algebra it tells the other way. The very fact that she was mixed up with the story at all, would be sufficient to raise doubts respecting it. When we find in addition that the sick child was under her especial care and instruction; that the application of the relic was first suggested by her; that the first report of the cure came from her, most reasonable persons will probably think it unnecessary to inquire further, or to search out the precise point in which the deception began. If it was the duty of Sister Flavie, as it probably was, to see that the physician's orders were carried out, it need hardly be said that they would be attended to or neglected just as it suited her plans. Nay, if one were to suggest that she used means to keep up the disease until it suited her purpose that it should be miraculously cured, we do not see how the conjecture could be called unjust or improbable. The fact that Mère Angélique believed her, that Pascal, Arnauld, and Le Maître accepted the story, does not add anything to the evidence. It is essential

to bear in mind that a man's belief is no evidence whatever of the truth of what he believes, except as to matters which have fallen under his own senses ; and the number of such believers adds nothing to their value. It may be admitted that few men have existed whose testimony would be of more weight than Pascal's ; and if he and others like him are found to testify to what is incapable of belief, the value of human testimony would be permanently lowered. On the other hand, if there were many instances in which such men gave personal testimony to the fact of a miracle, this would be fatal to the "argument from induction," against miracles. But, however dazzling these great names may be, the first question to be asked is, Are they witnesses ? and to this the reply must be an unqualified negative. But then it is said, at least they "had ample means of knowledge, and they carefully investigated the story." Even if this were true, their belief would fall very far short of testimony ; it would only have the weight of their judgment that there was sufficient evidence. But the statement is devoid of evidence, and is against all probability. The fact is, they simply accepted on what appeared *prima facie* to be credible testimony a narrative which to them presented no particular improbability. The "ample means of knowledge" amounted simply to this, that they had it in their power to ascertain that the whole rested on the assertion of the child herself. But there was not the slightest inducement to be critical or hesitating in accepting the story as it was related. It fell in completely with their prepossessions, and their belief in it led to no practical result whatever. It may be regarded as proving that the story was told with the appearance of truth, but it proves nothing more.

We are told, however, further that this narrative is unique amongst modern miraculous stories in this respect, that it grew up under the eyes of the Jesuits, the most bitter enemies of Port Royal. This might be of some weight if it could be alleged that a single Jesuit was convinced of its truth, or induced thereby to give up his hostility to Port Royal. The threatened persecution was indeed suspended by order of the Queen, who had sent her own physician, M. Félix, to examine the case, and was convinced by his report that a miracle had occurred. M. Félix, however, could testify to nothing but the completeness of the cure, in every other respect he was depen-

dent on the sources of information to which we have already referred. Is it not, however, preposterous to say of a story, every incident of which from first to last was confined within the four walls of a convent, that it grew up under the eyes of any one outside those walls? Few even within them had any opportunity of seeing it grow. This was verily a thing "done in a corner." Bearing in mind that the *suddenness* was the vital point, it must be repeated that we cannot point to a single adult who professed to be an "original witness." The person who comes nearest to this condition, and who had the best opportunities of being a witness, was a convicted impostor, proved to be capable of saying or doing anything to promote her own ends; whose ends were promoted by the story; and who as soon as it suited her purpose turned against the interests which the miracle was supposed to be intended by Providence to support. The one "original witness" is the subject of the miracle, a child of eleven years, under the special care of the aforesaid impostor. The miracle was one belief in which would have involved no inconvenience whatever, much less suffering. It demanded merely an "otiose assent," as Paley calls it. Yet it was believed only by those who had no temptation to disbelieve it.

This then is the narrative of which we are seriously told that it is better attested than almost any event in history, and in particular that its evidence is fully equal, if not superior, to that of the Resurrection; a miracle which in the first place admitted of no delusion, and of which those who professed to be original witnesses proved their sincerity, not only by the sufferings which they voluntarily underwent, but by what is to many persons harder, submitting to new rules of conduct solely in consequence of their conviction of what they had themselves seen and heard. The writer whom we have quoted, like many others, thinks he has set aside at once this consideration. The grand point, he says, with the advocates of Christianity in the last century was the honesty of the witnesses, which would now be granted without a word; and then he states their argument thus: "They endured persecution and death for their opinions, therefore their opinions were true." It is, of course, easy to shew that such reasoning as this would be invalid; and the writer need hardly have specified such cases as that of Sir Thomas More dying for the doctrine of the

Papal Supremacy, or the Suttee of the Indian widow.¹ The fact is that no Christian apologist, at least none of any weight, ever thought of using such an argument. Bishop Butler clearly exposed the fallacy that underlies the objection—an objection which he thought almost too transparent to impose on any one :—

“They allege that numberless enthusiastic people in different ages and countries expose themselves to the same difficulties which the primitive Christians did, and are ready to give up their lives for the most idle follies imaginable. But it is not very clear to what purpose this objection is brought. For every one surely in every case must distinguish between *opinions* and *facts*. And though testimony is no proof of enthusiastic opinions, nor of any opinions at all, yet it is allowed in all other cases to be a proof of facts. And a person laying down his life in attestation of facts or of opinions is the strongest proof of his believing them. And if the apostles or their contemporaries did believe the facts in attestation of which they exposed themselves to sufferings and death, this their belief or rather knowledge, must be a proof of those facts, for they were such as came under the observation of their senses.”

As long as the world lasts, human testimony will be the strongest evidence we can have of facts, but no evidence at all of the truth of opinions. Indeed it is an abuse of words to speak of testimony to opinions. Experience has not taught us to distrust testimony more than the unlearned do, but the contrary. The unscientific make little or no distinction between the original testimony of eye and ear witnesses and mere hearsay reports. If unlearned, they credit both equally ; if learned, they discredit both equally, and think it highly scientific to be incredulous of everything. True science teaches us to draw a broad line of distinction between the original witnesses to facts observed and mere second-hand assertors of the same—a distinction drawn every day in our courts of law. Scientific history, like law, attaches little weight to the details of hearsay evidence, except by helping us to ascertain what the original witnesses said or did. This is not really an exception, for in this respect the secondary witnesses speak of what they themselves saw and heard. Science has taught us further to distinguish in the narrative of original witnesses

¹ Easy as it is to refute the argument as above misrepresented, the writer has chosen his instances badly. The Indian widow does not die in defence of the belief, for this reason amongst others, that no disavowal would save her. It would be easy, if it were worth while, to shew that More's case also is not fully to the point.

between fact and inference. The result of the application of these two distinctions has not been to lessen the value of testimony in general, but to increase it; and many relations which were formerly rejected as pure fictions are now admitted to rest on a basis of fact.

By a curious inconsistency, the writer who ridicules the argument founded on the sufferings of the first witnesses of the Christian miracles, dwells on the sacrifices which Mère Angélique made in the cause of what she believed to be truth, as giving great weight to her so-called "evidence" in the present case; and this notwithstanding the facts that Mère Angélique did *not* profess to be an original witness of the alleged miracle, and that the sufferings she endured were *not* in attestation of it, nor at all in consequence of her belief in it. In speaking of the Port Royal miracle, he studiously mistakes belief for testimony, while in referring to the Christian miracles he mistakes testimony for opinion. In fact, in his pretended quotation from the Christian advocates of the last century, he deliberately substitutes "opinion" for "testimony." The belief of Pascal in something which he had been told, but could not have seen himself, is described as evidence of the highest kind; while the conviction of the apostles, &c., as to what they professed to have seen and heard (and he admits their honesty), is only "opinion." "In the face of such a fact as this," he adds, "what value can we attach to the evidence of the best and cleverest people in cases where their prepossessions and desires are all one side, and in questions where they probably do not feel themselves at liberty to apply the ordinary rules of what constitutes evidence?" So far as the principle implied in this question is sound, it is as fully recognised by Paley as by any one else, and he employs it to discredit stories of pretended miracles. But the only illustration of the remark that the present narrative supplies is furnished unconsciously by the writer himself. Pascal and the others give no evidence at all, they simply believed what they were told by credible persons, and what they had no reason to question. He, on the contrary, testifies as if from the results of his own study of the history—First. That the story above quoted was the original story, whereas it contains not less than eight distinct misstatements, some of them important. Secondly. That Pascal, etc., carefully examined it. Thirdly. That Pascal, etc., were wit-

nesses to its truth. This he several times assumes, notwithstanding his own admissions elsewhere. Fourthly. That Madame Angélique was abbess at the time, and gave "evidence." Possibly, if she had been abbess, she would have been more critical as to a story with which Sister Flavie was so deeply concerned, whom she had herself on a previous occasion convicted of imposture.

Let it be remembered that we did not undertake to adduce arguments against the miracle of the holy thorn ; nor to shew that its circumstances rendered it less credible than the Christian miracles. Our task was to cross-examine the evidence for it, with a view to ascertain whether this is really comparable to the evidence for the best attested facts of history. The reader is now in a position to judge whether there is anything really so extraordinary in it, anything to distinguish it from the modern "miracles," or any "standing wonder" in the part taken by Pascal and other great men. To put the matter in a practical point of view, setting aside altogether the *a priori* improbability of miracles, would any jury convict a man of felony on evidence such as this ? Or to put a closer analogy, suppose Sister Flavie were the claimant to a property, her claim depending on the truth of the miracle, what chance would she have of establishing it ? Would any judge or juror dream of saying that no fact in history was established on better evidence ?

Mr Matthew Arnold is of opinion that too much stress has been laid on the argument from induction against miracles. He draws attention to another consideration which he thinks equally conclusive, namely, that we can clearly see how miraculous stories originate. This is what may be called the common sense practical way of looking at the question. We may regard the allegation or belief of any fact as a phenomenon of which we are seeking the cause, which cause may either be the actual occurrence of the event alleged, or some other combination of motives. Now, if the event is very improbable, and if, on the other hand, it be easy to account for the belief of it from other reasons ; then we of course adopt the latter explanation. But there is an important proviso. The phenomenon to be explained must be regarded as including the apparent evidence, if any, for the fact. In the case of almost all alleged miracles we can, as the argument supposes, clearly

account for the origin of the story ; and this fairly justifies us in meeting thus such miraculous stories as from time to time crop up in similar circumstances. But if we are challenged in any particular instance, or if any important interests are concerned ; we must be prepared to shew that similar motives, &c., either were or may have been in operation. Amongst these motives in Christian times has always been the belief in the New Testament miracles. But the evidence for these is of a totally different kind. It is easy, by grouping the biblical miracles together, and then taking that of Joshua as a type of the whole, as a recent eminent writer has done, to represent them as coming under the same category. But if some theologians think the "miracle" of Joshua entitled to as much credit as the miracles of Christ, it is because they connect it by a chain of argument with the latter, not because of any direct evidence for it. We may admit that, taken by itself, the story of Joshua's "miracle" is easily accounted for ; but surely no one will regard it as a satisfactory way of accounting for the influence of belief in the resurrection on those who professed to be actual witnesses of it, to say that many such stories have arisen, and that it can be accounted for on the same principles. It is alleged by its advocates, that no story exists like it in its evidence ; that the evidence, in short, is as unique as the history itself. This is the point of Paley's celebrated propositions, namely, "There is satisfactory evidence that persons professing to be original witnesses of the Christian miracles passed their lives in labours, dangers, and sufferings, voluntarily undergone, in attestation of the accounts which they delivered, and solely in consequence of their belief in those accounts, and that they also, from the same motives, submitted to new rules of conduct ;" and, "There is not satisfactory evidence that persons professing to be original witnesses of other miracles, in their nature as certain as these," proved their sincerity in the same way. The former proposition may be regarded as certain. It is in no respect a question (as our critic would have it) which of the evangelists gives the evidence of eye-witnesses of the events he relates. Paley has shewn that the authorship of the Gospels is not an essential part of the argument—indeed he shews incontrovertibly that, even if the four Gospels had never been written, it would have been absolutely certain that the resurrection was asserted by the

first preachers of Christianity; and that the first preachers professed to be "original witnesses" is also certain. He carefully distinguishes testimony from belief. As to the second proposition, the attempts to establish an exception to it have generally, like that with which we have just dealt, betrayed a fundamental confusion between testimony and belief. Believers have been treated as "original witnesses;" or the facts attested have not necessarily been miraculous; or they demanded merely an "otiose assent." In the Port Royal story we find all these three circumstances; and in addition, the account originally came merely "in affirmance of opinions already formed." For at least three distinct reasons then, Paley would have put this story out of court. All honest attempts to disprove either of Paley's propositions should meet with the most candid consideration. But until reason is shewn for a far-reaching distrust of all human testimony, such as would shake all historical certainty, Paley's first proposition will continue to present an insuperable difficulty to those who on *à priori* grounds hold miracles impossible.

T. K. ABBOTT.

ART. VII.—*The Place of Foreign Missions in the Work of the Church.*

THE foreign mission enterprise of the Church of Christ, which for generations—I might almost say for centuries—had lain neglected and forgotten, is now in full view, and, as some might suppose, occupying its rightful place of pre-eminence amid the multifarious efforts of Christian men, and engaging a fair share of the undeniable energy which characterises the present age. But a little reflection and reference to a few outstanding facts will satisfy a careful observer that foreign missions are considered quite secondary to other aims in the eyes of the Christian community; and that hitherto this momentous work has been subordinated to other work which, however important, has secured for itself a share of efforts, of talents, and of expenditure wholly out of proportion to its rightful claims. At this time, moreover, when the spirit of life has been breathing upon the home churches of Christen-

dom, attention is attracted more than ever to the work at our own doors; and earnest men, actively engaged in seeking to win souls within their reach, are in danger of being wholly absorbed by these efforts, and led to assume that the great outlying fields of labour are well cared for by others.

The object of this paper is to draw serious attention to a grievous neglect, full of danger to the churches themselves, and inflicting woful wrong on the heathen world; and to endeavour, however feebly, to awaken in some minds a juster appreciation of the due proportion which should obtain between Christian effort at home and mission effort abroad.

St Paul teaches that, "Whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning" (Rom. xv. 4); and that "All scripture . . . is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works" (2 Tim. iii. 16, 17); and it is admitted that in the history of the children of Israel, under the leadership of Moses and Joshua, we possess, as in a guide book, a multitude of plain directions, as valid and as valuable for the Christian church to-day as they were in the wanderings and the settlement of the chosen people in the olden time. And, without intruding into the domain of those who are fitted by special training to instruct the believers, some lessons of Holy Writ are so "plain to him that understandeth, and right to them that find knowledge," that their meaning cannot be misunderstood by one who has no pretention to theological aptitude. In this spirit I venture to ask my readers to go back with me to that long past period, the beginning of victories after the forty years' discipline in the desert, to ponder one of the remarkable episodes of that remarkable history, and see whether we may not find a finger-post for present guidance. I do so with the more confidence that, out of the abundance which that time furnished, preachers glean plentifully unto this hour, rightly drawing lessons of warning and examples for encouragement from a storehouse of truth, meant for "our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come." Such ideas as the following are familiar to men and women who have enjoyed the ministry of the word in the present generation:—The people of Israel typified the Church of Christ; the promised land prefigured the world which is to be won for Christ; the armies of Israel, with their

carnal weapons, shadowed forth the soldiers of the cross who in after ages would be commissioned to "go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature," armed with "the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God." In the light of this and of other cognate truth, I ask attention to the incident recorded in Numb. xxxii. Moses, the great leader of the Exodus, just before the close of his career, with natural force unabated, had been permitted to smite two kings on the eastern side of Jordan, Sihon king of the Amorites, and Og the king of Bashan (Numb. xxi.)—giving thus to the people an earnest of the career of victory to which Joshua afterwards led them on the western side of Jordan. Gilead and Bashan were occupied by the invading armies of Israel, and formed a base of operations for further conquest; here, with full deliberation, was doubtless planned the seven years' campaign which witnessed the destruction of the nations of Canaan by the irresistible hosts of the Lord. And now occurs the transaction so full of significance in which I find a lesson for the present hour. The children of Reuben and the children of Gad saw in the already conquered provinces a habitation so suitable and so pleasant that they begged permission of Moses to settle there with their wives, their children, and their cattle (Numb. xxxii.); a request which roused the anger of Moses, who foresaw great discouragement for the rest of the tribes, were one-sixth of their whole number disbanded and permitted to remain behind, whilst the great work of subduing the Canaanites had still to be accomplished. Out of this difficulty there was found a way, satisfactory to the great leader, and honourable to the two tribes whose proposal had for the moment exposed them to suspicion and reproach: they suggested an alternative, creditable alike to their courage and public spirit, and to their firmness of purpose in desiring to possess the goodly land on the east of Jordan; they volunteered to be the vanguard of the advancing host, to run thus the greatest risks in the invasion of the promised land, and to continue in active service in the field until all the other tribes had obtained their inheritance, meanwhile building sheepfolds for their cattle, and refuges for their wives and little ones. We need not for our present purpose follow Joshua's army, or attempt to narrate the sieges and battlefields in which the men of Reuben and of Gad took a part; but we know that

they faithfully fulfilled the compact which they made before the death of Moses, and before Jordan was crossed. Listen to the words which Joshua spake to them at the end of their seven years' service :—

“ Ye have kept all that Moses, the servant of the Lord, commanded you, and have obeyed my voice in all that I commanded you : ye have not left your brethern these many days unto this day, but have kept the charge of the commandment of the Lord your God. And now the Lord your God hath given rest unto your brethren, as he promised them : therefore now return ye, and get you unto your tents, unto the land of your possession, which Moses, the servant of the Lord, gave you on the other side of Jordan ” (Joshua xxii. 2–4).

It has been sometimes assumed, rather hastily to my thinking, that the conduct of the Reubenites and Gadites in the choice of their inheritance was a combination of rapacity and disloyalty ; that they were greedy in attempting to seize upon the portion of territory first wrested from the heathen nations, and wanting in their duty to the rest of the tribes of Israel. The latter accusation falls to the ground in the light of the noble offer, so nobly executed, that they should accompany their brethren to the great war now imminent ; and, as regards the other charge, it is fair to ask, which tribe was entitled to first choice in the division of the land, if not the tribe of Reuben,¹ Jacob's first-born ? The already conquered territory, Gilead and Bashan, was doubtless traditionally known to the tribes as part of the country embraced in Abraham's title-deeds ; it certainly lay within the glorious view which Moses was invited to behold from the top of Pisgah. We have no evidence that any of the other tribes desired it for their inheritance ; to some of them it might fairly be supposed to present drawbacks of no ordinary character ; it was a border land, exposed to the marauding attacks of desert robbers, by no means so inviting as the lots which afterwards fell to Benjamin and Ephraim, for example, in the very midst of the land, secure from foreign foe, and promising peaceful, undisturbed

¹ Jacob's prophecy concerning his sons (Gen. xlix.) can hardly be supposed to have extended downwards in the form of a curse or disability through thirteen generations. If so, what congruity would there be in the selection of the tribe of Levi for the priesthood ? A priest “ must have compassion on the ignorant and on them that are out of the way ; ” yet we know that Jacob very justly spake concerning Simeon and Levi individually, “ instruments of cruelty are in their habitations ; oh, my soul, come not thou into their secret, ” &c.

possession. But the men of Reuben and the men of Gad were fearless men ; they were willing to occupy Gilead and Bashan with all these risks, and to hold the country against all comers ; and the whole region was subsequently incorporated as part of the land of the people of the Lord, with its full proportion of cities of refuge.

The forty years' wandering in the desert formed the time of discipline and training for a great future work. The nation of slaves who were led out of Egypt under Moses had given place to a nation of free men who, in the discipline of their well-ordered camp, the endurance of long and tedious marches, and the faith of the great destinies which awaited them, possessed a singular preparedness for the enterprise marked out for them by God. That period finds its counterpart surely in such an epoch as the Christian church has more than once experienced ; beginning in despondency, but ripening into expectancy ; setting out with seemingly aimless speculations, but gradually assuming the form of set purpose and steady resolve ; a time for gathering up the energies, and making ready for a struggle with the powers of darkness. Is not the church to-day on the eve of a great conflict to which the Lord is calling her ? Are there no indications that we are weary of purposeless, sectional attacks upon the mere outskirts of Satan's dominions, and are now longing for the presentation of a more united front to the common foe ? Further, the wilderness period was a time when the nation gathered force and increased in numbers ; but there was no conquest for God, no overthrow of his enemies. So too, within well-marked boundaries, the church may exhibit greater energy and activity, and seem to herself stronger in organisation and equipment ; but what if there be expansion, no forthputting of power, no great enterprise on which her very existence is staked, and for the accomplishment of which all her forces are summoned ?

Bearing in mind that the gospel idea of foreign missions is precisely parallel in Scripture teaching to the conception of wresting the promised land from the nations of Canaan by the Israelites, I ask attention to the position and attitude of these Reubenites and Gadites. Now at length had been fulfilled in part the promise made to Abraham, in the actual possession by his posterity of a portion of the land of which the enemies

of God had just been dispossessed. Here then was a place of permanent rest and inheritance committed to the keeping of the chosen people. But beyond the river, westward and southward and northward, there remained to be conquered a far wider region, full of hostile tribes who would resist the invasion to the very utmost. To the wandering Israelites, weary of long wilderness journeys, how sweet the prospect of the pleasant and peaceful pastures of Gilead and Bashan ; how unwelcome the alternative of a deadly struggle with the enemies of God, in which many of their number would fall during the protracted warfare. And what of the families left behind, and the flocks and herds which needed shepherding by night and by day ? No light work this shepherding, as we may gather from the history of the patriarch Jacob : " In the day the drought consumed me, and the frost by night ; and my sleep departed from mine eyes " (Gen. xxxi. 40) ; or, in the history of another shepherd, David : " Thy servant kept his father's sheep, and there came a lion and a bear, and took a lamb out of the flock," &c. (1 Sam. xvii. 34). And besides the dangers to flocks and herds, what of the perils to which wives and little children and aged parents would be exposed if deprived of their natural protectors ? If the strong arms and stout hearts of the choicest men of these tribes were not available, how could these helpless women and children resist an invasion of the desert hordes, and how tend the cattle and the sheep ? Faith and a strong sense of obligation to obey the voice of Jehovah gave answer to all such questionings, and all other difficulties ; to the remonstrances of weeping women, and the appeals of selfish interest. He who called them to the battlefields west of Jordan could watch over all they left behind. The national life beat strong in these days in the heart of the Israelites. Desert trials had bound the tribes together in a true brotherhood, and a great common purpose now bound them closer still. The glory of God and the victory of their race lay equally before them in the path they were about to tread ; and the men of Reuben and the men of Gad did not falter when the signal to advance was given. Foremost they marched in the procession which passed over Jordan dry-shod, headed only by the Levites bearing the ark ; foremost of the forty thousand who invested Jericho during its seven days of terror ; and foremost throughout the whole

campaign in its seven years of victory. And the key-note struck by the Reubenites and Gadites in preferring to share the hardships and conflicts of the army rather than abide in their newly acquired habitations, produced a harmony of purpose throughout the whole nation. The other tribes readily followed the example thus happily furnished; and the conquest of Canaan became, not the long, weary, fitful conflict into which it would have degenerated had each tribe been left to secure its own inheritance single-handed, but an overwhelming advance along the whole line of an army of picked men, representing all the interests of the nation. None of the tribes got their inheritance until "Joshua took the whole land, according to all that the Lord said unto Moses, and Joshua gave it for an inheritance unto Israel, according to their divisions by their tribes. And the land rested from war" (Josh. xi. 23).

During the prolonged absence from their already allotted share of the inheritance, it is not likely that the men of Reuben and of Gad were left in ignorance of what was going on to the east of Jordan, where they had left their families and all their earthly possessions. Messages of love and good cheer would be sent to and fro; tidings of a great victory would sometimes reach the aged fathers of the tribes, who would recount them to boys and girls beginning to forget those absent parents far away across the river fighting the Lord's battles; and mothers would grow pale as they thought, how many more years of waiting, how many more battlefields in Canaan, ere we behold the fathers of our children? And it would be told in the camp that no inroad of hostile marauders had yet stricken the ill-protected villages in Gilead and Bashan, for they were well protected by the same Jehovah who was giving victory after victory to Joshua; that the flocks had increased and the herds were multiplied amid the abundant and well-watered pastures of their new possessions, for the boys had grown to striplings, and had early learnt the art of keeping the sheep and tending the cattle, and driving off the wild beasts of the forest. But all these messages would but whet the desire for a speedy end to the war, and then a swift march homewards; it would give a keener edge to their swords in the day of battle, and a stronger impetus to their final assaults upon the last strongholds of the doomed Canaanites; and if, when the last city was taken, and

the dead had been buried on the last battlefield, they awaited a little impatiently whilst Eleazar the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun, and the heads of the fathers divided the land by lot unto the other tribes west of Jordan, they would remember their compact with Moses and endure the delay, for their warfare was accomplished, and rest within their grasp. And what a home-coming was theirs! Did it not repay all the toil, all the danger, all the weary years of absence? Their infants had grown to be boys and girls, their children were now young men and maidens; their homes were full of plenty, and the smile of beloved ones welcomed them back; they themselves now took the place of the aged patriarchs of their tribes who had passed away; in honour and in peace they occupied their rich inheritance, for out of it had been driven or destroyed, more thoroughly than in the possessions west of Jordan (Judges i.), the heathen inhabitants whom Moses overthrew; and in this golden age of Israel's history their annals seem undimmed by adversity or reproach.

What correspondence do we find between the leading features of the great enterprise thus briefly described and the methods pursued in modern times for the accomplishment of that grander conquest—the subjugation of the nations of the earth to the obedience of faith in Jesus Christ? We find a parallel to the position of the Reubenites and Gadites, without going far to seek it, in the circumstances of our own most highly favoured land. If ever there was a land where the word of God had free course, and his servants full scope for peaceable occupation in his name, certainly Great Britain is that land. The worship and the work of God may be carried on here without let or hindrance. Shepherding the flock of Christ has nowhere been carried to such perfection as in this peaceful isle; so much so, that the shepherds have in great measure forgotten that there is other and nobler work which the Captain of the Lord's host had meant them to engage in. Ah! these great outlying kingdoms still in the grasp of Satan! Where is the conquering army, summoned to "go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature"? Its armour is rusting, it abides in the sheepfolds. The flocks and herds at home are numerous, and need careful tending; how can they be left behind so long as enemies are ready to break in and devour? Thus did not the Reubenites reason with

Joshua; and it speaks little for the spiritual life of the church that the great missionary warfare is left to the desultory efforts of separated tribes, or to feeble detachments from each in succession. Thus was not Canaan possessed; not only did all the tribes go forward; but all the fighting men of all the tribes, all the trained and disciplined soldiers of Joshua, were summoned to the war; whilst sheep and cattle were left to the care of the women and the boys. Is the Church of God in this country prepared to face such a grand combined effort, similar to the mission not dimly foreshadowed in Israel's history? Is not this the purpose for which her existence is prolonged, and for which her Lord and Master waits expectantly? Listen to these words penned in 1870 by a well-known English divine: "To preach the gospel I suppose to be our business; not to form churches, still less to find pastors; but simply to publish *everywhere* 'repentance and the remission of sins.' In America and England the gospel might be preached, fully and tenderly, without much more cost than the loving personal labours of our church members." The idea conveyed here is that the church in this country might part with all her effective soldiers of the cross, trusting in God for the care and security of the interests of home christianity, and giving her energies and activities for a season mainly to the foreign mission enterprise. Is this too much to ask? It is not more than the Reubenites and other tribes gave, in order successfully to accomplish the purpose of God concerning the promised land. Suppose we contemplate for a moment going half the length the Reubenites went in the surrender of their own interests to the higher interests of their nation. Are we willing to go thus far for the real and rapid extension of God's kingdom throughout the nations which are sitting in the region and shadow of death; say to part with *half* of our pastors and teachers, and to sustain them with our prayers and offerings in a grand campaign against the powers of darkness? Imagine for a moment a request from the Reubenites and Gadites that one-half of the fighting men might be allowed to remain in Gilead and Bashan to protect the homes and watch over the flocks and herds during the probably lengthened absence of the other half. To human judgment no unreasonable request this; but the divine purpose ran counter to human prudence, and the Reubenites and Gadites listened to the voice of God, and not

to the promptings of their own wisdom. But how is it with us? Give up one-half of our pastors! nay, not one-tenth can we spare; let the heathen wait awhile. We read (1 Sam. xiv. 52) that when King "Saul saw any strong man, or any valiant man, he took him unto him," and enrolled him in his army. At this moment, in the ranks of God's army, gathered out of this land, what a host of goodly soldiers we have, valiant for the truth, strong in the Lord and in the power of his might; but is it too much to affirm that the most gifted of our preachers, the most eloquent, the mightiest in the Scriptures, are not sent to the war on distant battle-fields; rather they are kept at home on peaceful garrison duty, whilst a few—not less devoted, but probably less gifted—are sent forth to the deadly fields of strife, their hearts burdened with this discouragement: "How few we are, and how feeble in this great struggle!" Are the heads of our training colleges without blame in this matter? Are they at pains to explain to their students that the evangelistic enterprise rather than the pastorate is the grand life-work for the future ministry, and the evangelistic work in St Paul's apprehension of what it really meant, "to preach the gospel in the regions beyond, not to boast in another man's line of things made ready to our hand" (2 Cor. x. 16). In what corner of crowded city of our land, in what remote hamlet, in what Highland glen of Scotland, in what dingy alley of our great London has not the gospel been preached in this our day? Besides the thirty thousand ministers of the gospel in England, more or less trained to their work, and the three thousand in Scotland, what an army of city missionaries and Scripture-readers, of Bible-women and nurses, of itinerant evangelists and open-air preachers, of Sabbath-school teachers and class-leaders—many of them treading upon each other's heels, or competing for an audience; and withal, how many half-filled churches and chapels? Pondering all these things, does not the example of Paul and Barnabas force itself upon the memory, and their rebuke to the unbelieving Jews of the Pisidian Antioch sounds like an exhortation for the present day, "It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you: but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles" (Acts xiii. 46). Is the preponderance of personal effort and a lavish expenditure to be

applied, generation after generation, in a repetition of the story of grace to gospel-hardened sinners and Christ-rejectors within the little area of this island, whilst the great masses of mankind on distant continents are allowed to grope in the dark, and to perish for lack of knowledge? We are familiar in this country with the idea of what is termed "high farming;" it is a system of cultivation pursued only in old countries, and though applied to a somewhat worn-out soil, is capable of producing good results. Plenty of labour, the use of stimulating artificial manures, and of ingeniously contrived machines will give a return for a liberal outlay of capital on land which had become impoverished, and which to ordinary methods of cultivation would yield very poor harvests. But the same amount of labour, without any artificial stimulants, would give to the husbandman tilling a far greater breadth of virgin soil, a far more abundant in-gathering of golden grain, and the joy of having rescued from barrenness fields which are now bearing precious grain for the food of man. This tillage of a perfectly new country, formerly lying waste, what an added joy must it bring to the ordinary joy of the reaper! Now, it appears to me that at home we are carrying on spiritually a system of *high farming* to an extent which approaches sinful waste. What ingenuity, what stimulating novelties do we not set in motion in order to gather some results; our conventions and our conferences, our anniversaries and our special services—good and precious things in their way—oh! could we but concentrate half the time, half the energies, half the Christian ingenuity and contrivance, half the money thus expended in a grand endeavour to obey the Master's parting command! would not then the vast outlying wastes become as the garden of the Lord? and concerning the labourers, would it not be true, "The wilderness, and the solitary place, shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose"? I am acquainted with the statistics of a church in this country, the proportion of whose foreign missionaries to the number of the home pastors is as one to ten, a respectable proportion as times go; but it has happened, and may happen again, that a larger number was added to the church abroad in one year, from among the heathen in a far-off Eastern land, than was added to the home membership. Here was high farming in the old country producing no doubt a blessed result; but one-

tenth of the personal effort, and a far smaller proportion of money outlay, brought as much glory to Christ and joy of salvation to sinners in the heathen country as the far costlier service at home. I speak of the work, remembering that "the wind bloweth where it listeth," and that God moves in a mysterious way; that we know "not whether shall prosper, either this or that, or whether they both shall be alike good;" but for the workers in Christ's vineyard there certainly seem joys and an exceeding great reward, co-extensive with their giving their labour to the work nearest to His heart, and most calculated to advance His glory—"Preach the gospel to every creature."

Shall I find any one prepared to seriously dispute the proposition that, were all the ordained bishops and curates, pastors and teachers of Great Britain withdrawn to-morrow on a well-organised expedition for carrying the gospel to every heathen land, the interests of our home Christianity would not only not suffer, but would prosper exceedingly? Is the shepherding of the flock of Christ at home a work so light and so devoid of peril that the shepherds can be spared and the sheep left untended? By no means a light work this pastoral oversight, and the enemies of the truth are many and strong. But, for the disarming of these enemies and rendering them powerless for evil against the flock of Christ, I know of no weapon so powerful as that manifestation of zeal for God's glory which a grand combined foreign mission enterprise would furnish. How it would silence the gainsayers! How it would rebuke infidelity and worldliness! Doubtless timid and irresolute Christians would cry out, and hinder if they could so unselfish and Christ-honouring a project; and the great mass of mere professors would call it utopian, and prophesy failure; we should hear in every street the well-worn adage, "Charity begins at home," and at every church-door the bemoanings of those whose religion began and ended in church or chapel-going. But how soon all this would be changed; the Lord would fit and furnish for the work at home the striplings and the inexperienced; there would in all likelihood be a sifting process in the Church of God—a separation of the precious from the vile—a better marked division between the men of the world and the followers of Jesus; and truly this by itself would be great gain; and as those who remained at

home got tidings swift and frequent of the triumphs of the gospel in other lands, would there not be stimulus enough to fit the weakest Christian to put his hand to his Lord's work in the fields at home, and emulate the activity and success of the labourers in the high places of the field far away? Would not the very absence of Christ's army on distant battlefields give aim and purpose to the great work at home, so that the returning host would find a deeper, purer, more compact Christianity in their native land than when they set forth? And how would not such a warfare abroad unite the hearts of God's people at home? What room would there be for divisions and envyings and strifes? Ah! these divisions! What is their history? Why does Judah vex Ephraim, and Ephraim envy Judah? Is it not mainly a question of boundaries, of trespass, of treading upon each other's fields? We are so numerous here in this little isle, there are so many shepherds and so many sheepfolds, we cannot but fall out by the way. What is the remedy? Is it to make more sheepfolds, and to multiply pastors? Nay; rather let us seek fresh pastures and new countries, crying, "The place is too strait for me; give place to me that I may dwell!"

The main hindrance to the thorough prosecution of the foreign mission enterprise is to be found in the selfishness of professing Christians; of those who desire to see God's work done by deputy, because they have never realised their responsibility as servants and stewards, and who, in contrast to the Master's example, are content "to be ministered unto," thereby absorbing so much of the energy, the talent, and strength of Christ's soldiers in the ceaseless round of home service which is devolved upon them. Many such valiant soldiers, viewing the real conflict from afar, must have keenly felt the bondage to which they committed themselves when they chose the home field of labour, as year after year went by in reiterating to ears which would not hear, and exhibiting to eyes which would not behold, that message of life and light for which the far away millions were waiting, but in vain.¹ If the Lord of the harvest finds no adequate

¹ Some such longing after the higher and nobler work of the missionary seems to breathe in the following sentence. Speaking of Dr Duff (1864), the late Dr Norman Macleod says: "He is, of course, older and visibly feeble; but that very feebleness was to me so touchingly eloquent. How humbled I felt before him, how inwardly I revered and blessed the old soldier of the

response to the call, "Go forth into all the world!" if the labourers persist in refusing obedience, and fall out among themselves, is it to be wondered at if our candlestick be removed out of its place, and the blessed light of truth be quenched or obscured? If we be not "hasting the coming of the day of God" (2 Pet. iii. 12), then are we hindering the glorious appearing of our Lord and Saviour; and how can we more effectually hinder that great consummation than by the neglect to "preach the gospel for a witness unto all nations"? Oh! for a truce to our rivalries and competition at home, and the inauguration of a blessed rivalry in effort to "sound out the word of life" to the distant nations! How shall we set about it? Cannot we agree to stop church and chapel building for a few years?¹ Cannot the leaders of Christian opinion in the pulpit and the press proclaim a crusade against any further squandering of our Lord's money in architectural finery, or in the increase of our huge standing army of preachers? Can we not reckon on our array of volunteer evangelists, whilst the better trained bands are drafted off for service in India and China and Africa? and cannot we trust the Master for blessings at home and victories abroad whilst we yield obedience to his plain commands? The Reubenites and Gadites will rise up in the great day when the Lord shall reckon with his servants, and their example will condemn the men of this generation. How can we answer for the neglect of unrivalled facilities and doors opened wide and prejudices removed; for God's providences as well as his purpose of grace combine more and more loudly in calling attention to the lands where thick darkness covers the people, and in bidding us carry thither the light of life?

A word or two concerning the duration of that memorable campaign under Joshua's leadership. The chronology given in the margin of our bibles seems to indicate seven years as the period of enlistment for the fighting men of Israel's tribes. May there not be a hint here for missionary societies and churches to guide them in their appointments to distant fields

cross. I have desires and words, weak and feeble. But he is the living embodiment of work done."—*Memoir of Norman M'Leod*, vol. ii. p. 175.

¹ The unwisdom of our present costly system needs no comment. We erect at vast expense a building which is open for some eight hours out of 168 hours in the week, and is adapted to no other useful purpose from year's end to year's end. Can folly further go?

of labour? I venture to think a much larger number of men would offer for mission work in tropical and unhealthy climes were the period of service limited to seven years, and some prospect of after-service on their native soil held out to them whilst health and vigour still remained. The missionary spirit would spread in our home churches by the presence and testimony of these eye-witnesses of gospel triumphs abroad; and the distinction of having served on distant battlefields would prove an example and an incentive to younger soldiers of the cross just setting out on their career. Such a limit to the terms of enlistment need not hinder a second enlistment for another period of seven years; though here we may learn something from modern theories of earthly warfare. The preference for veteran soldiers is abating now-a-days; and competent generals would dismiss from the army after comparatively brief service those who had given the flower of their youth to deeds of daring, filling their places again and again with the young and the strong. But to all such general rules there must be room given for frequent exceptions; and many missionaries of the noblest type will prefer a life-long service on a foreign shore. Were a large steady stream of missionary labourers found constantly flowing outwards to the heathen world, we could spare from the exhaustion of needlessly protracted service many valuable lives, and welcome home those who had given proofs of their devotion by a sufficiently long occupation of the posts of danger.

The unlikelihood of any extensive transfer of the home ministry to the mission fields abroad, and the difficulty of adaptation to new circumstances and surroundings which must always characterise men who have chosen their career in life, and have passed the period of youthful enthusiasm, compels me to cast about for a remedy for the evil which this paper seeks to deal with; and I am driven to suggest one which may be accepted as practical, and which need not alarm the flock of Christ in these lands as if they were about to be bereft of their shepherds. And it would console many who now lament the miserably inadequate measures which are employed to secure and send forth labourers to heathen lands if they could have any well-grounded assurance that, in the course of a generation, an abundant supply of foreign missionaries would always be forthcoming, and along therewith the freewill-offer-

ings necessary to carry on the work on a great scale. Now, to keep the church up to the mark on this subject, it is necessary to awaken and to sustain an interest of the most widespread character, that it is to say, in all Christian congregations—an interest not fitful, as on the occasion of an annual missionary sermon, but constant and continuous. How is this possible? I conceive it to be within the power of quite a multitude of pastors in Great Britain to give such an impetus to this cause that within ten years its prospects would be of the most hopeful character; and on this wise. Suppose every godly minister to be on the look-out for a converted young man of good average abilities, and to seize opportunities¹ to persuade him to devote his life, or part of it, to the foreign mission enterprise; is one such recruit too much to expect from an average congregation under the care of an evangelical pastor? is it too much to expect that that pastor's loving counsels would prevail with a youth just brought to the Saviour's feet through his own or some other ministrations? And supposing the consent given, and the career marked out, prayerfully and with decision: would the means not be forthcoming for the cost of college training and the theological course within the circle of the congregation? What point would be given to public prayer on behalf of colleges, if a large proportion of congregations throughout the land sent up thither and supported there each its own student, preparing for a difficult and arduous enterprise; and what point to public prayer for foreign missions, if each congregation had sent forth, or had the prospect of sending forth, one of these "messengers of the churches, the glory of Christ"! It is sometimes said that people do not much value what costs them nothing; it would be a wholesome influence in a congregation this pecuniary support of one destined to go out for them to the perishing heathen, and that they should realise the responsibility to be as binding to sustain such a student or missionary, as to sustain the pastor who weekly breaks to them the bread of life. Such an enlargement of the horizon, over which many hearts might in this manner be led to view the great "fields

¹ Doubtless many ministers have habitually sought for young men, and directed their minds to this subject, though rather for the home than for the foreign field. These will continue their quest, and get a blessing and reward for such faithful search after fresh labourers. What we want is to make this outlook a solemn duty with all ministers.

white unto the harvest," could not fail to increase Christian liberality, and fill the Lord's treasury. It is not by looking "every man on his own things" that we get the hearts of men touched and their purse strings untied; it is by the cultivation of a large and catholic interest in what is going on in every part of the great harvest field; and much of the straitness which is felt to be starving good works at home is due to the neglect of the glorious work abroad, now rarely mentioned, and still more rarely pressed upon the people as the object most dear to the Saviour's heart. Were it made the subject of weekly prayer, of frequent preaching, and of habitual mention at week-night services—if ministers would but follow the apostolic example narrated in Acts xxi. 19, and "declare particularly what things God had wrought among the Gentiles" by the hands of foreign missionaries in these very days in which we live—would not God be glorified and his great work intensified in the hearts of believing people, and soon he would "bring them into a wealthy place"?

Is there not a cause for appealing to all who can in any way help to change the narrow stereotyped treatment which the foreign mission enterprise receives at the hands of us dwellers at home? If there be, I have my excuse for this article; and in it I seek to gain the ear of Christian ministers who, I feel assured, are deeply in earnest in prosecuting the work which the Master has given them to do, and many of whom will be ready to admit that they have not given due heed to foreign missions, because of daily claims upon their time and energies, such as the sins and sorrows of our own streets, and lanes, and byeways have laid heavily upon them. As a sharer in a great neglect, and not as censor, do I venture to urge the foregoing considerations, and to desire the dawning of a brighter day for the heathen nations.

JAMES E. MATHIESON.

ART. VIII.—*The Cherubim.*

THERE is no great difficulty in coming to a determination as to the number of places in which the Cherubim are mentioned in Scripture. It may almost be taken for granted that they are the living creatures seen in the midst of the

throne in the visions of the Apocalypse. These, again, may be regarded as the same with the four living creatures in the parallel vision of Ezekiel. The differences between the two accounts are not to be forgotten ; but the outstanding resemblances are so clear, and the entire visions so closely allied as to warrant this assumption. For a like reason, the living creatures in the Revelation may be accounted the same with the seraphim in Isaiah. The song, "Holy, holy, holy," in the latter book is derived from the refrain which Isaiah heard within the temple ; and the place of the seraphim is that which the living creatures occupy on the throne of God. Once more, the vision of Isaiah carries us back to the cherubim, that with their outspreading wings covered the throne of God, the mercy-seat, within the temple and tabernacle. These by their very name are associated with the cherubim in Eden.

The vexed question, however, remains as to who or what the cherubim were. Are they to be reckoned as real or ideal existences ? Do they set forth angels, or men, or the lower creation ? Are the fathers to be followed who regard them as the four Evangelists, though they differ as to which is represented by the ox, and which by the eagle, the man, and the lion ? Or are the cherubim rather to be considered manifestations of the power and perfections of God ? Happily amongst modern writers there has come to be a very general agreement that the new creation of God must in some way or other be set forth by these living creatures. Some regard the cherubim as merely representing redeemed humanity ; others consider that the cherubic forms are the representatives simply of the lower creation ; while others again cannot get free from the belief that the intelligence and powers of the heavenly hosts are reflected in these winged forms, "full of eyes around and within." Possibly, however, these views only err by each excluding the other ; for it seems no way necessary to shut out any of these conceptions from the idea given in the Bible of the summing up of all things, whether in heaven or on earth, in Christ the head. It is this broad scriptural conception of all things being reconciled to God by Christ, "whether they be things in earth, or things in heaven," which may have a kind of bodily expression in the cherubim. The epithet applied to Christ in the address to the Church of Laodicea, as the "Beginning of the creation of God," is in harmony with

this thought. So is the song in which the living creatures join when first their voice is heard in the Revelation, for it is in praise of the Almighty and Eternally living One; and when the elders join in the refrain, it is the song of creation they chant: "Thou didst create all things, and by reason of Thy will they were, and were created." Even in the following vision, when the living creatures and the elders join in more direct praise to the Lamb (for whatever version is adopted, the living creatures are brought into very direct relation to the burden of the song), there is still the carrying out of Paul's prediction, "That in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth." The whole of the new creation, with redeemed man as centre, and the lower forms of life and existence "delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God," along with the most exalted types of angelic ministry, may all be deemed as represented by the cherubim on and around the throne of God.

Taking this view, it becomes obvious how man, as the centre of the whole, must always be the prominent figure in any representation by which the new creation is set forth.¹ It is with the voices of men the cherubs speak, and with the hands of men they act. Indeed, Ezekiel says: "This was their appearance; they had the likeness of a man." In like manner, the cherubim are usually seen *upon* the throne of God; for the redeemed stand on the mercy-seat, and the cherubim, representing the gathering together of all things in Christ, have also their natural place on the blood-sprinkled throne.

Strong objection, however, may be urged against the idea that the cherubim merely represent redeemed humanity. What would distinguish them in that case from the four-and-twenty elders? Why also should such forms as the ox, the lion, and the eagle be connected with them? It is scarcely an adequate reply that in the cherubim the notion of man is

¹ As against the doctrine of Hengstenberg and Alford, that the cherubim are simply representations of the animal creation on earth, Fairbairn, in his *Typology*, has urged that "it would have required the position of the cherubim to be always very distinctly and manifestly below the throne of God; which however it does not appear to have been, except when the manifestation described was primarily for judgment; it leaves unexplained also the prominence given in the cherubic delineations to the form and likeness of man."

presented in the possession of his glorified faculties ; though indeed this opinion has been very ably advocated. The figures of the ox, the lion, and the eagle have been taken to suggest the thought of patient industry and fruitfulness, of strength, and of exalted and far-reaching intelligence, which need to be added to the present condition of man's powers to bring them to perfection. "To present the human form as invested and conjoined with the creaturely personifications of such diverse qualities was to exhibit a concrete ideal of excellence, human indeed in its groundwork, having man's intellectual and moral powers for its most fundamental characteristic, yet higher in its collective attributes and attainments than can be claimed for humanity in the existing state of things."¹ On the same grounds, the theory might be justified which exalts the cherubim into symbols of the divine perfections: "The cherubim is a being which stands on the highest pinnacle of created life, and combines in itself the most perfect kinds of creature life—is the most complete manifestation of God and the divine life."² The view may similarly be defended that the cherubim are "the four ground forms of the divine government in the universal world generally, and in the creaturely world—the figure of the ox denoting the spirit of sacrifice, the lion the spirit of through-breaking victorious might, the human form the spirit of humane sympathy, and the eagle the spirit of ideality."³ Are we not thus brought into a region bordering on purest fancy?

To return, therefore, to the view that the cherubim represent simply the church of the redeemed in glory, it may be remarked that this would make it very difficult to accept the teaching of Psalm xviii., where God is represented as riding on a cherub, and flying on the wings of the wind. This would be an equally bold poetic license if the cherub represents the essential nature of glorified humanity. How that should ever be spoken of as the chariot of God it seems hard to comprehend. But if the cherubim represent creation, which in its totality is to be renewed, then nothing is more

¹ Dr Fairbairn, in his latest contribution to this topic in his *Bible Dictionary*, leans strongly to the opinion, that in the cherubim little or nothing is presented save the notion of man in the possession of his glorified faculties.

² Bähr

³ Lange.

natural than to speak of the powers of nature as subservient to God's behests; there is nothing grotesque in combining together the flying on the wings of the wind and the riding on a cherub—"It signifies that creation belongs to and serves God, that he is God and Lord of the whole earth, its Creator, Sustainer, and Ruler."

There are references also to the cherubim in Ezekiel which are apparently inexplicable, on the understanding that they denote simply our glorified manhood. In his opening chapter the firmament is seen over the heads of the living creatures: "And above the firmament that was over their heads was the likeness of a throne, and upon the likeness of the throne was the likeness as the appearance of a man above upon it." Why should the virtues and powers of ideal humanity be regarded as having the firmament over them, and as sustaining the throne of God? Why should the combination of ox and lion and eagle be at all required to convey the notion of perfected manhood when, high above all, God himself is seen in the likeness as of the appearance of a man? Everything changes, however, when our conception becomes the concrete one of creation which is to be redeemed. Is not the firmament spread out over material creation? Above that firmament do we not regard the throne of God as set?

Even so with the wheels which attend the cherubim in Ezekiel's vision. How could they be added to such essences as those into which the cherubim are sometimes sublimated? Are they to be deemed as exalting the idea of ideal manhood, or Godhead? Such philosophic abstractions hardly fit in with the general strain of Scripture imagery. But if the cherubs represent the perfect whole of the new creation, then creation, waiting the bidding of its Lord, and instinct with the desire to accomplish his will, could not be better typified than in connection with those wheels which ran in every direction, and had the spirit of the living-creature in them. The redeemed creation is thus regarded as attent to do God's will—ready for any summons, and for any mission. This will be seen to harmonise with the old view of the church that Ezekiel's wheels represent the wheels of God's providence, which turn not as they go, which are so high that they are dreadful, and which seem instinct with the very life of God, and so are full of eyes within and without.

It is to be noted also that the sound of the cherubim's wings is as the voice of the Almighty God when he speaketh—like the noise of great waters, the voice of speech, the noise of an host. All is in perfect keeping with the view that creation is depicted in action, doing the will of Jehovah. For the sounds are the sounds of nature—the speech of man, the din of a multitude, the roar of the cataract, and the noise of thunder.

It is however not creation as such, which in an idealised way is betokened by the cherubim, but creation as connected with the blood of the Lamb—creation connected with man in his fall, and related to him in his redemption.

There is thus no necessity for excluding the conception which many entertain who regard the cherubim as angels; for the elect angels will have their part in the new creation of God. Difficulty is only created when the cherubim are considered to be angels in their own proper personality, apart from any connection they may have with redeemed creation. Why in that case should things terrestrial have formed integral parts of the figures on the mercy-seat, and why should the human form have been the preponderating element? If the cherubim were angels; they were angels with a special office and mission connected with the creation which sin had stained, and which grace would render glorious. Hence in every representation given of them the different elements of creation have a part, and their voice is in unison with that of the multitude redeemed from every kindred and nation and people and tongue.

It might be easier to consider them as simply symbolic figures and ideal existences, were it not that actual living forms apparently were seen in Eden, and of these heavenly agencies the figures in the tabernacle were doubtless typical emblems. It runs no way counter to the analogy of Scripture to conceive that certain of the principalities and powers in heavenly places have the special commission assigned to them of standing in ceaseless relation to the general circle of redeemed creation. Such a conception would harmonise with the Saviour's words as to his little ones: "Their angels do always behold the face of my Father, which is in heaven."

The significance of the cherubim in Eden can in this way be understood. They betokened, that those who were driven

forth because of sin might again be restored, and that the fair creation which had been blighted by iniquity would one day shine in the light of God. The connection also becomes apparent which must have existed between the cherubim and the flaming sword; for the old theory is not to be lightly set aside of the cherubim holding in their hand the sword which kept the way to the tree of life. It is hardly warrantable to say that the cherubs were a type of mercy, while the sword-like flame told of wrath. Mercy and judgment on the part of God are never dissevered. In Eden they stand forth in perfect accordance. The redeemed creation have the same mind as God regarding sin, and are at one with him as to the only way of life. They will add their Amen on the day of doom to all God's judgments: and in Eden they flashed forth fire in the face of the guilty pair whom God had driven thence. In Ezekiel the cherubim also take to do with vengeance. The same truth is conveyed in Revelation, where one of the living creatures gives to the seven angels seven golden vials full of the wrath of God. The redeemed are filled with the spirit of God: and the representatives of the redeemed creation rest not day and night, saying, "Holy, holy, holy." It is in respect of holiness that regenerate creation is distinguished from the present world, and this attribute of God obtains appropriately the chief regard of the cherubim, and forms, with the story of redemption, the burden of their song.

In conclusion, a difficulty may be met to which Dean Alford has given expression when he says, that the having harps and vials full of odours "apparently applies only to the elders, not for any grammatical reason, but on account of the symbolism; for (1) it is unnatural to suppose figures described as the four living beings are, having harps or vials, and even if this is not to be pressed, yet (2) it is inconsistent with the right view of the four living beings, as representing creation, that they should present the prayers of the saints." If the hypothesis thus requires the plain grammatical sense to be overruled, is there not reason to suppose it untenable? Might not the thought suggest itself that Alford looks on cherubic forms as too far apart from human? More especially, however, is exception taken to the idea of general creation offering the praises and prayers of God's people. But, looking on the cherubim as the representatives of *redeemed* creation, men are

not only included, but stand, so to speak, in the centre; and it is only natural to find them associated with the service of praise to the Lamb. As to the fact of their presenting incense, the difficulty is not much greater than that the elders should. The people of God as priests to him have an offering to render—the offering of praise continually, and the incense of prayer. Restored creation led by man has also a voice of prayer and praise. Has not man been justly called the high priest and interpreter of nature? The cherubim therefore wave their censers and tune their golden harps. This is the burst of praise which succeeds the longing cry of creation. There is no contrariety between the position held by the elders and by the cherubim. The latter have the wider range as bringing in all redeemed creation together with man. The elders present to view the special position and privileges of the church of the ransomed; but both together sing, as is most due, the new song.

MALCOLM WHITE.

ART. IX.—*Priestly Life in Ireland.*

Sermons, Lectures, &c., of the Rev. Michael B. Buckley, of Cork, with a Memoir of his Life. By the Rev. CHARLES DAVIS, Skibbereen. Dublin: M'Glashan & Gill.

A LITERARY critic of considerable dexterity and power has denounced the whole class of religious memoirs because they are magnanimously indifferent to natural truth, breaking up a living person into abstract bits of qualities, and so prevailingly elegiac that death seems to hold almost a professional place among the agencies of modern piety. It would certainly add greatly to the literary value of such compositions, if their authors could understand the charm and power of everything that is spontaneous, and could cultivate a style that would not almost obliterate personality and veil individual character from our eyes. There are classes of persons however, remarkably unindividual in their outward life, because they are all formed and disciplined on one method, who make very difficult subjects for biography, even

for writers with the highest powers of literary art. We do not know how far this explanation may account for the remarkable scarcity of biographies of Irish Roman Catholic priests. Though there are, and have been for a century at least, three thousand clergymen every day in the service of Irish Romanism, it is possible to count upon one's fingers all the lives of bishops and priests published since this century began. The paucity of such memoirs is the more remarkable, because clerical biographies abound in all sections of British Protestantism. How can we account for this paucity? The explanation we have already given evidently does not go to the root of the matter. Perhaps it may be founded on considerations like the following :—

In the Roman Catholic Church the priest in his individual capacity counts for very little. All the priests seem to be made, as their coats are made, after one pattern. All originality is suppressed; and it is not one in a hundred who will venture to assert his individuality. And if he does, he will receive little mercy from either clergy or laity. Or again is there after all much of personal interest in the life of a Roman Catholic priest? He reads his offices; he fasts; he eats; he makes retreats; he celebrates the mass; he administers the sacraments. In fact, his whole functions are to administer forms. Thus there is really little to record. There is no room, and according to his theory, little need for the exercise of independent intellect, or the development of his own spiritual life as a means of influencing the members of his flock. Or can we suppose that the time of the clergy is so engaged by the external duties of their office, that they have no leisure, and have lost the taste, if ever they acquired it, for literary pursuits? It is a quite significant fact that nearly all the books, reviews, magazines, and papers, which are issued by British or Irish Catholicism, owe their existence to the literary industry of converts who acquired their intellectual force in another atmosphere. Even when an editor is wanted for the speeches and letters of O'Connell, it is "the Nun of Kenmare," a lady who was originally a Protestant, and upon whose head the Pope has poured a special benediction for her untiring industry in letters, who does this national service. All this is the more remarkable when it is remembered that even the worst enemies of Ireland

cannot and do not charge her Roman Catholic sons with a want of intellect, or of a willingness to work. Yet so it is, account for it as we may, the Irish priesthood, the men who breathe the air of Bishops Doyle and Father Prout, eschew, as a class, the walks of literature, and are very slow to chronicle the lives of the most conspicuous of their brotherhood.

Perhaps there might be another reason for the rareness of such clerical biographies; and such authorities as the late priest of St Bonifacius in Philadelphia, and even Father Prout himself, would lead us to believe that there is; namely, that it would not tend to elevate the priesthood, or edify the people, to give too severe and faithful a chronicle of the daily incidents of priestly life, to tell of the avarice, the intemperance, the gamblings, the revellings which not unfrequently characterise it.¹ But whatever may be the feeling of the Catholic laity towards their clergy—and indeed a writer in the current number of the *Dublin Review* has asserted that the priests are fast losing their power in Ireland—the people are on the whole attached to, or rather, let us say, bound up with, their clergy, as the clergy are with the people; and if all Irish priests were like Father Buckley, whose name is at the head of this article, this would excite no wonder. The events of his life were quite ordinary; but they are worth considering, since they help us to see a little way into the sentiments and feelings and movements of the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

¹ That there is some foundation for these allegations there is little doubt. In a town in the south of Ireland, well known to the writer, there lived a poor basket-woman, a widow, who had an only son in the American Navy during the late war. Being invalided, the son came home to die; and his mother, in searching his trunks a few days after his funeral, found a deposit receipt from a local bank for a considerable sum that he had lodged immediately after his arrival from America. In due course she presented the receipt at the bank. The manager very naturally refused to pay the amount until she had administered. In her perplexity she waited one morning, in a stealthy sort of way upon one of the Protestant clergymen of the town to ask his advice. Before rendering her, as he did, the assistance which she sought, he said, "Why do you not go to Father —, or one of the other priests (there were four resident priests in the town) in reference to this matter?" "Wisha, yer rivrince," was the prompt reply, "I wouldn't for the world that any of them knew my son had left this money. Its little of it the poor widow would handle." For the strict accuracy of all this the writer can testify; and yet the clergymen referred to were popularly regarded as fair and worthy specimens of their order.

The Rev. M. B. Buckley was born in Cork—the city of Arthur O’Leary, of Father Prout, of James Barry, the painter, of MacLise, and of Father Mathew. Being designed for the priesthood, he was at an early age sent to Maynooth, where he acquitted himself with much credit, and laid the foundation of his future popularity as a preacher and lecturer. In 1855 he was ordained, and within the space of a very few years we find him ministering in five different villages or towns in the county of Cork.

It has never been the practice of the Irish Roman Catholic Church to permit her younger clergy to remain long in one place, and in these latter days much less than ever. It is evidently part of her policy to keep her clergy very much in hand, and to this end to keep them often moving. Even the older clergy are not permitted to become the fixtures that the senior clergy once were. “Parish priests” are on all sides giving way to “administrators”; for while, under canon law, a parish priest is not, as we are made to understand, removeable, administrators can plead no such privileges or protection; and so parish priests are becoming rare, for there is far more direct and personal government in the Church of Rome in Ireland now than there was in former years. Said a Roman Catholic curate not long ago to the present writer, “Are all Protestant clergymen moveable at a moment’s notice at the wish of their superiors?” “Not at all,” was the reply. “Because,” added he, “I have this morning been ordered away from my present cure, and am required to be in my new sphere of labour, some twenty miles off, within twenty-four hours;” and to my knowledge this priest had taken a house and furnished it only a few weeks before. One natural result of this new policy is to tempt clergymen to become servile, and stifle their honest convictions. “I don’t see your name in the list of those who the papers say were at the Home Rule meeting yesterday in ——,” said the writer to a Catholic curate some months ago, “I see Fathers So-and-so were there, and I thought you sympathised with the movement.” “So I do,” said he; “but my bishop does not, and these clergymen are parish priests, and I am not in a parish yet,” was the immediate reply of this curate of many years’ standing. Thus is it seen how this system works till the present hour; for while we are writing, we observe that, owing to the number of changes which have been made

in the priesthood in a certain parish in a western diocese in Ireland, the people of the parish absolutely refused to give up their chapel to the newly-arrived priest, or hear mass from his lips, insomuch that on a certain Sunday the constabulary had to be drafted into the village, and form a cordon round the altar rails. And "such was the vigour of the attempt made," says the *Freeman's Journal*, "to dislodge the new-coming priest from the altar, that the constabulary had to fix bayonets, so threatening were the people." The bow is being pulled to its utmost; the end will be by-and-by.¹

After five years of clerical life in the country, Father Buckley was transferred to Cork, and thus was gratified the dearest wish of his heart. He was possessed of literary tastes, and it was natural that he would love to mingle with those who have helped to make the name of Cork illustrious in the domain of letters. In this city—which it is said St Finbar founded when he left his cloister in

" Lone Gougane Barra,
Where Allu of songs rushes forth like an arrow"—

Mr Buckley at once attained to eminence. His personal appearance was imposing. He was tall of stature, and of graceful figure. His voice, his biographer tells us, was peculiarly clear and sonorous, his gesture animated and appropriate. In a few years his character as a preacher was established. He was ever ready to preach for any public charity, no matter how distant the place or inconvenient the time. And doubtless the calls upon him would be frequent, for the Church of Rome has in Ireland few celebrated preachers. And so when a Burke or Buckley appears, crowds run after him upon all public occasions.

His published sermons will not take a very high rank in pulpit literature. They are not without smoothness and beauty of expression. But they possess little force, little vigour of thought; and the subjects of many of them are of too denominational and local a character to commend them to the attention of the general public.

¹ Since the above was written, we observe in the *Freeman's Journal* of the 19th January 1876, that upon the recent death of two parish priests in the diocese of Cork, sixteen changes in the ecclesiastical appointments of the diocese followed upon the vacancies created, the names of all the priests thus changed being given—another fresh and striking illustration of what has been already stated in the text.

Mr Buckley appears to more advantage as a lecturer. Six of his lectures are published with his life. They are all able and eloquent disquisitions; though, in saying this, we have little sympathy with many of his sentiments. The tendency of some of them is very doubtful. He delivered his lecture on "The Irish Character Analyzed" in Boston in 1871; and while we give him all credit for manliness and honesty in pointing out, as he did, to an Irish audience the weakness as well as the strength of the Irish character; and while we give him all credit for his earnest appeals to Irishmen to forget their divisions, and contentions, and offensive rallying words, and to live together in peace and amity; we cannot but blame him for his implied censure upon Britain for the way in which Ireland is at present ruled, and for the unwarrantable insinuation that Ireland is still in bondage. This is what he says:—

"The great faith and hope of Irishmen at home and abroad is, that their country will yet be free. If they had not this hope they would despair of the justice of the Almighty, who surely will not permit tyrants to prosper for ever. In their realisation of this hope, they see a vindication of their country, a reparation for all she has endured through long ages of persecution, a compensation for all she has lost, a balm for her wounds, a consolation for the contempt and ignominy to which she has been subjected. We look forward to that day, and we believe in its coming as firmly as we believe that to-morrow's sun will rise. But why is it so long postponed?

'Why still in darkness doth Erin lie sleeping?
Why doth the pure light its dawning delay?' "

And that this was not a passing sentiment, into the utterance of which, in a moment of Celtic excitement, he had been betrayed, is manifest from the fact, that in his lecture on Curran he says, when speaking of the Sheares Brothers, whom Curran had so ably but unsuccessfully defended against the infamous Toler (then Attorney-General, afterwards Lord Norbury): "Two new names were added to the martyrology of Irish patriots, two new names by which to *swear eternal vengeance to British law*." Now it is easy to understand how language like this would affect an exciteable race like the Irish, coming as it did from a priest who had a reputation for extreme moderation, from a priest in whose judgment his audience had the fullest confidence. And if the matter was sifted to the bottom, it would be found that to such lectures and sermons as breathe the spirit of these extracts is largely traceable that spirit of insubordination, restlessness, and dis-

content, which for half-a-century and more has been characteristic of the Roman Catholic Irish.¹ How indeed could it be otherwise, when a clergyman like Father Buckley could speak approvingly in 1871, after Mr Gladstone had sent to Ireland his "message of peace," of "swearing eternal vengeance to British law"? We are well aware that one of the English Roman Catholic bishops, when reviewing and replying to Mr Gladstone's first pamphlet of last year, took credit to the Irish bishops for preserving loyalty in Ireland during the Fenian rising; but among the bulk of the population, where was there loyalty then, except among the Protestants, and the higher ranks of the Catholics? Nay, it was openly and broadly stated in the southern Roman Catholic papers, that immediately before the Fenian rising, hundreds of young men were found flocking to their different chapels for confession. How then could priests or bishops be ignorant of what was in contemplation? And what did they do to arrest the insane attempt at rebellion? Not only so, but under the influence of such oratory, as the specimens already given from one of the most moderate of priests, what could be effected but a rising when an opportunity offered? When Mr Buckley impresses upon his countrymen that "the history of Ireland is but a plain record of constant persecution on the one hand, and constant resistance on the other, a perpetual resistance against a superior and implacable power; and yet we never grow weary of the oft-told tale, we ever find something new and inspiring in this simple gospel of our fatherland:" it is easy to understand what the effect of such teaching would be, all the more that he insists upon it, that Irishmen possess the two things needed to self-government, the two things needed, in other words, to throw off the British yoke, namely, intellectual and physical vigour, the head to govern, the arm to control.

¹ It was supposed, and not without some reason, that Catholic Emancipation would have pacified Ireland. We say not without some reason, for the Roman Catholic bishops of that day boldly asserted that it would have that effect. At a great banquet in Belfast, immediately after the passing of Emancipation, Bishop Crolly said: "This act of generosity demands the most ardent feelings of gratitude on our part, and it shall not be lost. We will give you in return a peaceful and prosperous country; and you will have the pleasure of seeing seven millions of Irishmen walking out in the majesty of freedom, enjoying the full exercise of civil and religious liberty, and feeling that they are not unworthy of the blessings."

But granting both these qualities to Irishmen—and nobody can deny them—it is an indisputable fact, old as Irish history, that in presence, and in possession of both of them, Irishmen have not been able to govern themselves. Till England, with the consent of the Pope (for Father Burke's statements notwithstanding, we still hold with Froude, that the Pope gave Henry a bargain of Ireland), put down her foot on Irish soil, the history of Ireland, account for it as you may, is a history full to the brim of intestine feuds and bloody fights, and even when we write, is not the Home Rule party at sixes and sevens? The spell of O'Connell's name could not harmonise his enthusiastic and admiring followers. The traces of the processionists are cut; but it is a brother's hand that cuts them! The ticket of Lord Mayor M'Swiney and of Professor Kavanagh is not the ticket of Mr A. M. Sullivan, M.P., and of Mr Parnell, M.P. Thus has it been always. Roman Catholic Irishmen cannot govern themselves. Even when in reference to the University Bill of Mr Gladstone, they had agreed to a certain line of policy, and their newspapers and their politicians had accepted it; in a trice their views and their judgments are given to the winds, for a mandate against the bill has come from Rome, to which, according to the teaching of the Papacy; as Mr Gladstone truly puts it; their first allegiance is due; and so it was that the very voices that had begun to bless the bill, soon cursed it altogether. Not yet is Ireland ready for self-government; albeit she has both head and hands. Nor will she, so long as that "Ultramontanism which pervades the world, which brags in England, which partly governs and partly plots in France, which triumphs in Belgium," bears sway within her borders. And when it ceases to bear sway, Ireland will then take thankful rest in the blessings of the union. But there are no indications yet that the Pope abates one jot of the high pretensions with which he was invested on that 21st of June 1846, when, according to the ritual, the Bishop of Ostia, to whose office it belonged to crown the Pope, performed that ceremony, saying as he did so: "*Receive the tiara circled with three crowns, and know that thou art Father of princes and of kings, ruler of the world, vicar on earth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom is all honour and glory for ever and ever.*"

And since all this is so, it is not to be wondered at that priests in Ireland, or for that matter in any other country, indulge in oratorical effusions of the kind already quoted from Father Buckley's lectures.

His lecture on "The Bible" is an able and adroit performance. The subject itself was a most unusual one for a Catholic priest to take. For it cannot be denied that not very much prominence is given to the holy book by Roman Catholic clergymen in their pastoral instructions. Father Buckley finds it no easy task to do honour to the Bible, and at the same time to meet the allegation, that the reading of it, though recommended in a way, is rather forbidden to the Roman Catholic laity.

He does candidly admit that the Bible was prohibited by the Councils of Toulouse and of Trent, because "it was the cause of the Albigensian heresy;" and he quietly asks, "What wonder is it that the Church should prohibit?" And then, in almost the same breath, he says, "Let no man ever say that the laity are prevented from reading the Bible." Then, almost immediately, he adds, "It will be said that, supposing all I have stated to be true, the reading of the Bible is not countenanced in Ireland; that in this country, where the Catholic clergy exercise so large an influence, the reading of it is not recommended, but is rather forbidden to the laity;" and then he proceeds once more to rebut this allegation, by informing his audience that a certain and very large number of Bibles had been published in Dublin within a very limited time. But why, if all this was exactly as represented, was it necessary to refer to the matter at all? Why should it have been necessary to reproduce and refute a baseless rumour? What Protestant clergyman would ever think of combating the report that his Church was not in favour of the circulation of the Bible? To us it appears that the genial, generous, gifted priest "doth protest too much." Nor will it do to say that it was only the Protestant Bible his Church rejected. Though indeed for that matter the dignitaries of his Church have before now accepted and utilised the Protestant Bible. The late Primate Crolly was for several years a member of committee of the Belfast Brown Street Sunday School Society, one of the avowed objects of which was "to give the children an opportunity of obtaining an acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures which are able to make them wise unto salvation;" and

for many years hundreds of the Roman Catholic children of Belfast received side by side with Protestants instruction every Sunday in the authorised English version of the Bible, with the consent and co-operation of Bishop Crolly; and yet, says Father Buckley, "We rejected the Protestant Bible, but we cling with unshaken tenacity to our own." What an elastic conscience, what elastic principles Holy Mother Church has to be sure! And, as a matter of fact, the Bible, in the Douay version, is very little known or read in those districts of Ireland where Roman Catholicism predominates. The feelings, alas! of too many are still akin to those which obtained in Queen Mary's day, when, as Tennyson has it:—

"It was never merry world
In England since the Bible came among us,
It is a saying among the Catholics."

But we readily acknowledge that we would be doing Mr Buckley an injustice, if we supposed that such feelings were his. He so eloquently expatiates on the delights and advantages that flow from the reading of the Bible, that we can almost fancy him exclaiming with one of Tennyson's characters:

"It never will be merry world in Ireland,
Till all men have their Bible, rich and poor."

For, notwithstanding all the trammelings of the councils, his soul expands in presence of his theme; and so it is that thus he closed his lecture (which at the time of its delivery, as we learned from a reliable source, occasioned considerable remark in Cork):—

"Here is heavenly doctrine, here are burning words . . . here the clouds are scattered that enshroud the past; and the future beams with living light. . . . To this fountain-head of knowledge every scholar may come, and from it bear away the sacred waters to invigorate the mind and cheer the soul. Read the Bible as a Christian should read it . . . it is the choicest food of mind and soul, the Bread of Life, the Word of God, the Tree of true knowledge, of which all who taste shall be wise unto salvation."

If his co-religionists would only attend to these counsels, many political difficulties would speedily be obviated, and many educational and religious difficulties likewise. But if they are of the opinion of Father Burke, the eloquent Dominican, who, in his sermon on "The Catholic Church the Safeguard of Salvation," tells us that "the Bible alone cannot be the medium for

giving divine truth in such a way as to make the knowlege of that truth the salvation of man," we fear that Mr Buckley's earnest advocacy of the Bible will remain unheeded. Not that on this subject the renowned Dominican can be thought a great authority; for his ignorance of the Bible seems to be profound. In this very sermon of his already referred to, he says: "Here is the saying of St Paul, 'No one ascends into heaven except he who came down from heaven, the Son of man who is in heaven.'" Words these which, as every Protestant will remember, were spoken by the Lord himself in his discourse with Nicodemus. The priests themselves are unacquainted with the Scriptures. So is even Cardinal Cullen. The Protestant portion of the country have not forgotten how, at the great educational meeting in Dublin a few years ago, the Cardinal twice informed his audience, as appears in his published speech, "that our statesmen were like the Roman Governor *Festus*, who told Paul to go from him until he had a more convenient season to attend to him!" Nor is the ignorance of Scripture confined to Irish priesthood; for the Parisian newspapers have just been making merry over the bishop of Orleans, for his ignorance of Scripture history, as manifested in his letter with reference to his recent re-election to the French senate. The bishop had written that he would accept the appointment, though he was thrown by it like Daniel at Babylon, into a burning fiery furnace! We repeat, it is pretty evident from these startling facts, and they are not isolated facts, that the reading of the Bible is not much attended to or countenanced even among Catholic hierarchy.

Besides his published lectures and sermons, Mr Buckley wrote the life of the Rev. Arthur O'Leary, the celebrated Capuchin friar. This was the only work he published. It was rumoured at the time of its appearing, that to some of his friends among the higher orders of the clergy it was not altogether an acceptable undertaking. And the late John Francis Maguire, in the *Cork Examiner* described the work "as a waste of intellectual power." The character of O'Leary was not that of a staid ascetic; and it was feared that to freshen up the facts of his life would not raise the priesthood in public estimation; all the more when it was known that O'Leary was receiving at the time of the union between Ireland and England, a pension of £200 per annum from the British Government.

Notwithstanding these obstacles in his way, Mr Buckley produced an admirable and readable book, which we are told "had a large circulation, and received favourable notice at the hands of the reviewers."

It gave indications of literary ability and culture, which, doubtless had he had leisure, and been spared a little longer, Mr Buckley would have fully realised in other works of more general interest and of more enduring character.

But there was little rest allowed him. At the call of his church he went to America to endeavour to raise funds to help to build a new cathedral for the Catholics of Cork. For like their brethren all over the country, they were not content to worship in the unpretentious buildings which had to serve many previous generations. For this we do not blame them. We are not of those who decry the building of beautiful churches as an unmeaning waste. Houses dedicated to the worship of him who is the king in his beauty should be such gems of beauty as to be joys for ever. Irish Roman Catholics are at present, as they have been for years, engaged all over the country upon a great work of church building. As one of their leading newspapers said the other day, in reference to the Queenstown cathedral now in process of erection, they want to shew the world that Catholicism is not dead in Ireland, but that it is alive, and hearty and strong. Let us say, however, that so far as our observations have gone, the people do not take as kindly to this work as the priesthood. In many districts the burden of raising the funds necessary to carry it on seems to be worrying and unbearable. The writer has seen on a Sunday morning the priest of a certain town in which a grand chapel is being erected, wrapped in his cloak, sitting in a sentry box at his chapel door, with a collector at each side of him, watching the people as they came in, to make sure that every one of them should give according to his means for the new building. None were permitted to enter without giving something. And this arrangement for getting in the money was carried out, as we were informed, from Sunday to Sunday. Then in another town we have observed multitudes of worshippers on the sacred day kneeling outside the chapel doors, when public worship was going on within, so, as they imagined, saving their souls and their pockets at one and the same time. When lo! out came

their old parish priest, and hunted them all inside, that they might get the full benefit of, and pay the right thing for his curate's ministrations, and for chapel purposes. And when all such measures as these fail to raise the funds necessary for the building work, then it is not an unusual, and one would say not an unfair, thing to impose a tax upon the parishioners, according to the scale of the poor-law valuation. But even all these appliances have proved insufficient to meet the ambitious projects now in vogue among Irish Roman Catholics; and it has become so common to send begging deputations to America, that the American Roman Catholic bishops have felt it necessary, we are told, to interpose; and so in many of their dioceses there is a direct prohibition against the admitting into their chapels of any begging priests for begging purposes from Ireland. Nevertheless, as the lecture-halls are open to all and sundry, and as the doors of private houses are open too, it is still found a profitable business for any priest of polished manners and fair ability to cross the Atlantic on behalf of church building in the dear old country. And so to raise funds for the new Roman Catholic cathedral in Cork, Father Buckley, accompanied by another priest, went (as he was sent) to America. From his first appearance in America his career, we are told by his biographer, was a brilliant success. He delivered lectures in the principal cities in Canada, in Boston, and in New York. On one occasion in the Cooper Institute, 5000 persons were computed to be present. When there, he preached in many churches for local charities; and if he could have made the object of his mission the subject of his sermons, his biographer thinks the pecuniary results would have been enormous. As it was, it seems they far surpassed any hitherto realised by any ecclesiastic within the same time.

It appears that Father Buckley wrote a diary of his labours, travels, &c., when in America. His biographer, fearing "that its publication might give rise to misunderstanding, without any opportunity of explanation," has thought it right and wise not to publish it. We confess to a feeling of disappointment that we have not the opportunity of getting a glimpse into the inner life and thoughts of one whose outer life has indeed around it so much that has attracted our interest and excited our admiration. The little glimpse into it that we do get,

from lines written in a Boston hotel on Christmas day 1870; entitled, "Consolations of an Exiled Invalid," is not reassuring. They manifest much kindly sympathy with the sufferings of others and a patience under his own which is buoyant almost to rollicking, as when he says :—

"Come, let us be jolly, whatever betide,
And fill up a bumper : let's call it Falernian,
It matters not what be the liquor supplied,
As long as we cannot produce the Hibernian.
Come, Mary and Pat, to your welfare, here goes :
Time flies ! see already the day's disappearing !
The season comes round once a year, and who knows,
The next we may spend in the dear land of Erin ?
The thought is so pleasant, it makes me inclined
To try an experiment in acrobatics ;
This Christmas, at least, is the last that will find
Me sick in a Boston hotel with rheumatics."

But these are hardly the utterances one would expect from a Christian minister bowed down with suffering on a Christmas day. One would expect his consolations to have been somewhat different. We admire the piece for the pathos, the kindness, the patience it reveals ; but we note the absence of that deep-toned spirituality which in the lives of Christian ministers we have been so accustomed to, under circumstances of a similar character. Keble or M'Cheyne or Bonar would have written otherwise. Keble did write :—

"Think on the eternal home
The Saviour left for you ;
Think on the Lord most holy, come
To dwell with hearts untrue ;
So shall ye tread untir'd his pastoral ways,
And in the darkness sing your carol of high praise."

And we would say that there were more suitable consolations for an exiled invalid, all the more that he was a Christian minister. But as we have already remarked, the whole tendency of Romanism is to quench, to stifle, the individual life, intellectual and spiritual, of its devotees. And therefore it need not be thought wonderful that we have so few books and so few hymns from Roman Catholic priests illustrative of the reality, of the depths and workings of their spiritual life.

But we hasten to note the end. The American campaign proved altogether too heavy for Mr Buckley ; for he came back an invalid, and after getting a cordial welcome from his

fellow-citizens, he lay down to die. A few months of heavy sufferings, which he bore with patience, and the end came. And with much outward lamentation and deep sorrow of heart, masses of the population of Cork assembled around his bier; and carried to the cemetery in the Botanic Gardens, on the 20th of May 1872, the remains of their much-beloved Father Buckley. His grave did not remain long un-honoured. A few yards from the entrance to the cemetery a beautiful Celtic cross of noble proportions and exquisite workmanship, with a suitable and laudatory inscription on its pedestal, points out his last resting-place. Though he died comparatively young, at the age of forty, he lived much and long. And had he been born under another star and in another communion, where his mind and heart would have been untrammelled, the Christian world would have known him better and loved him more.

WILLIAM IRWIN.

AMERICAN QUARTERLIES.

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The first article in the January number of this *Review* is a deeply interesting one, entitled "The Auburn Declaration," by Rev. Professor Morris, D.D., of Lane Theological Seminary. It deals with that instructive chapter of American Church history, the separation and re-union of the Presbyterian Church ; and shews that the Auburn Declaration had an important connection with the successful completion of the union negotiations. The article is admirably written, and discusses in an excellent spirit both the doctrinal questions which divided the Church, and the wider subject of the propriety of revising the Confession of Faith. So fair and conciliatory is the writer that we can only infer with some hesitation that he himself belonged to the New School section of the Church. The Auburn Declaration originated as follows :—A convention of Old School divines in 1837, just before the Assembly, when the separation occurred, prepared a *Testimony and Memorial* to be laid before it, demanding examination into sixteen doctrinal errors which the convention alleged were prevalent in the Church. These errors were stated in a very broad and offensive form, and practically denied the main points of Calvinism. The New School party, denying that their views were as alleged, drew up the Auburn Declaration, in which they set against each of the "Errors" charged against them the "True Doctrine" which they maintained. The Assembly received this protest, but did not either formally answer it, or accept it as a true statement of the New School views, and shortly afterwards the separation took place. To shew the tone of the two documents, the "Testimony" and the "Auburn Declaration" respectively, we give two examples, first of the errors alleged by the Old School, and then of the doctrine maintained by the New. 1. "That the doctrine of Imputation, whether of the guilt of Adam's sin, or of the righteousness of Christ, has no foundation in the Word of God, and is both unjust and absurd." Reply : "The sin of Adam is not imputed to his posterity in the sense of a literal transfer of personal qualities, acts, and demerits ; but by reason of the sin of Adam, in its peculiar relation, the race are treated as if they had sinned. Nor is the righteousness of Christ imputed to his people in the sense of a literal transfer of personal qualities, acts, and merit ; but by reason of his peculiar relation, they are treated as if they were righteous." 2. "That saving faith is a mere belief of the Word of God, and not a grace of the Holy Spirit." Reply : "Saving faith is an intelligent and cordial assent to the testimony of God concerning his Son, implying reliance on Christ alone for pardon and eternal life, and in all cases it is an effect of the special operation of the Holy Spirit." These specimens are enough to shew that the divergence between the two parties was not nearly so wide as the Old School section supposed, if the Auburn Declaration truly represents the New School position. Dr Morris says on this point: "At this day there are none who suppose that this con-

vention (which adopted the Declaration) was consciously covering up cherished Arminian errors with Calvinistic wrappings, or that its avowal of loyalty to our symbols was otherwise than sincere and cordial." The New School never made this Declaration an authoritative symbol, not because they did not unanimously accept it, but because they preferred to hold by the Confession of Faith unaltered. Their teaching, however, we are told, came to be cast very much in this mould. The main points of Calvinism were all retained, as in the Declaration; but the general tendency in the Church's teaching, as in that document, seems to have been to lay special stress on such points as the freedom of man and the sufficiency of the Redemption. When the better days of longing for re-union came, the Auburn Declaration formed an important instrumentality in favour of union. When, in 1868, a protest had been lodged in the Old School Assembly against union on the basis of the Standards, by some eminent divines, on the ground that too much liberty of interpretation was provided for, the Assembly passed this important resolution: "We regard the Auburn Declaration as an authoritative statement of the New School type of Calvinism, and as indicating how far they desire to go, and how much liberty they wish, in regard to what the terms of union call the various modes of explaining, illustrating, and stating the Calvinistic faith." And on this understanding, next year, the re-union was happily accomplished. It is not often, surely, that a document originating in a heated controversy has thus become the means of reconciliation; the fact reflects much honour on its original authors. The last part of this important paper maintains the position, that it is not at present expedient to revise the Confession of Faith. Dr Rainy's "Cunningham Lectures" are quoted with approval, and his position on the subject of creeds is characterised as "conservative rather than radical," a fact of which no one in this country needs to be assured.

We must deal very briefly with the other articles in this number. Professor Green, of Princeton, on "The Study of the Hebrew Language," amply proves and illustrates the importance to ministers of an accurate and thorough knowledge of Hebrew for the interpretation of the Old Testament. Perhaps he makes rather too much of some *minutiæ*, e.g. the force of the definite article in the Pentateuch. Dr Skinner, of Cincinnati, rehearses the arguments for the fact and value of our Lord's resurrection in a plain, forcible style. Under the title, "The Duty of the Presbyterian Church to the Indians," Mr Condict, of New York, who has long lived among them, pleads that they should be educated and Christianised where they are, and admitted to citizenship, and that the "reservation policy" of banishing them to some limited district where they must live alone be given up as unsuccessful. Next comes a translation of a very thoughtful lecture by Professor Harms, of Berlin, on "The Philosophy of Arthur Schopenhauer." This system has of late attained a wide popularity in Germany, though it is as yet unrepresented by a champion in any University chair. Some of Schopenhauer's main positions are the following—a cheerless system enough: "All things in the soul are produced by a blind will. Consciousness is its product. Nature itself is the manifestation of the will to live. Man's will is always

predetermined before birth. Every human life vibrates between pain and *enayi*, through the hopeless struggles of the desiring will. The world is the very worst of all possible worlds!" This pessimism is shewn to be Indian in its origin; but what in India was a life, "in Germany is only an idle speculation, according to which no one has tried or dared to live."

There follows a very creditable defence of the perpetual obligation of the Fourth Commandment, on scriptural grounds, by "A Layman." At the close, he defends the change of the day of the Sabbath as a thing which the apostles and primitive Church could fairly carry out, even without express divine command, because the day chosen was a merely positive feature in a moral institution.

Rev. Dr Lowrie, of New York, under the head of "Church Questions in Foreign Missions," makes out a better case than may at once commend itself to some who begin his article, for training native converts from the first in Presbyterian principles. He mentions instances of non-denominational mission churches which soon adopted narrow prelacy or ultra-independency; and maintains, with more boldness than most will share, the advantages of denominational action in foreign missions. But he ably shews the usefulness of Presbyterian organisation to the native pastors and congregations, and advocates that they should be affiliated to home churches.

Rev. F. Vinton, librarian of Princeton College, examines the evidence of the recently-discovered "Utrecht Psalter," on the subject of the antiquity of the so-called Athanasian Creed, or "Quicunque Vult." This Utrecht psalter has a copy of the creed appended to it; and has been identified with that described by Archbishop Ussher, as seen by him in the Cotton Library, and dating, in his belief, from the age of Gregory I. (600 A.D.) Mr Vinton maintains that the MS. is not older than the ninth century, on various grounds, such as the use of contractions, the presence of punctuation marks, and the nature of the drawings between the psalms. It therefore gives no support to the antiquity claimed for the unpopular creed.

Among the short notices at the close of this number, we observe an earnest and hopeful appeal for prayer on behalf of the American colleges, that they might share "in the revival of religion now in progress through the country."

The April number opens with a sensible discussion, by Dr Atwater, of Princeton, one of the editors, of the well-worn topic, "Civil Government and Religion." It is sure to be useful in America, as it deals throughout with the present bearings of the subject there, such as the legislative recognition of the Sabbath, and the place of religion in the common schools. In the early part of the article, which deals with the principles of the subject, the positions of the author will commend themselves to most British Presbyterians, i.e. to those who are neither avowed Erastians nor extreme Voluntaries. Under the question, how far civil government may cherish religion, like most Americans, he holds, "that equal protection be shewn to all, and special favour to none of the religious denominations which profess to be guided by the sacred Scriptures;" and that

"the State cannot give support to the Church by giving material aid to any one or all of its branches." It may, however, support Protestant chaplains, and exempt church property from taxation. The independent jurisdiction of the Church in spiritual matters is maintained, and declared to be recognised by the Supreme Court of the United States. And as to religion in the schools, the election-programme of President Grant is vigorously attacked; and, in opposition both to Papists and Secularists, the duty of Bible-reading, and using simple forms of prayer in every school, is strongly maintained.

The second article is entitled "Beneficiary Education: Historical Sketch," by Rev. A. D. Barber. It is a defence of the Presbyterian Church of the United States in its long-established habit of aiding with money help the education of aspirants to the ministry—a course of action which has recently been denounced as hurtful to the young men themselves. The paper is one-sided, but has some historical interest, especially where it deals with the views of the Reformers. The writer certainly has Calvin's and Knox's example on his side, as well as some of the Westminster divines; but circumstances have vastly changed since then, and it is an unwholesome sign of the American laity if money help is becoming necessary to secure the attendance of the average student of divinity, instead of forming, as among ourselves, a reward of special industry.

There follows a useful *resumé* of Lipsius's recent work on "The Roman-Peter Legend." The position is strongly maintained that Peter never was at Rome at all. Scripture is silent on the point. Clement of Rome and Ignatius have no decisive testimony. Later fathers may only have founded upon a growing mass of tradition. Next comes a translation of M. Paul Janet's article in the *Revue des deux Mondes* on "Final Causes and Contemporaneous Physiology." It is well worth reading, but cannot be shortly summarised. A volume on the subject is announced by the author. Rev. Dr Stanton, of Cincinnati, writes on "The Ecclesiastical Disruption of 1861," or the division of the Northern and Southern Presbyterian Churches at the outbreak of the war. This is by no means so pleasant an ecclesiastical article as that with which the January number opens. It is fitted, by its sharp tone towards the mistaken and prejudiced, but unfortunate Southern Church, to make re-union less possible than before, and even those fraternal relations which the Northern Assembly desires less likely. It seems to us at this distance a pity, in a country where the capacity for union has been so largely developed as in the northern part of the United States, to go so minutely, as this Northern divine does, into the history and the principles of that disruption. No doubt the Southern ministers said many rash things in favour of slavery and of State-rights fifteen years ago, but it would be better to let the oral words of deceased divines drop out of memory than to print them here. Of course Dr Stanton will reply that he is only defending the Northern Church against the charge of having forced the Southern brethren to separate by taking the Federal side in politics. Both parties seem to have been equally influenced by the excitement of the times, and naturally so. (We are glad to observe the hearty proposal

of the recent Northern Assembly at once to renew fraternal relations with their Southern brethren.)

The last article is an admirable popular paper, by Dr Charles Hodge, on "Christianity without Christ," in which he shews, with all his characteristic force, and at the same time with much evangelical warmth, the central and supreme place of the divine-human person of the Lord Jesus Christ in vital Christianity.

The Bibliotheca Sacra. April 1876. Andover: W. F. Draper. London: Trübner & Co.

The solid learning and exact scholarship of America are nowhere better manifested than in the pages of this *Review*; and it is most creditable to its publisher and readers, as well as to its contributors, that so large a proportion of the articles are of permanent value to students, rather than of passing interest to the popular reader. We doubt if any quarterly or monthly periodical in the United Kingdom could have ventured to devote so much of its space to papers whose only attraction is that they state, in plain, clear language, important results of patient personal study. The first article is a very long one, by Professor J. Emerson, Beloit, Wisconsin, on "The Cyropædia of Xenophon: its historical character, and its value in the illustration of Scripture." It is hopeless to attempt to give in a few lines any abstract of the argument of this paper; but it seems to vindicate for Xenophon, with thorough success, a much higher character for historical accuracy in this work than has generally been allowed him. The writer shews how, in various instances, the comparison of ancient authorities and the testimony of recently-discovered inscriptions justify Xenophon where he differs from Herodotus, or Ctesias; and maintains that the Cyropædia is throughout a trustworthy history, not a careless romance, as the late Colonel Mure insists, in his "History of Greek Literature." Professor Emerson leaves himself little space for shewing the harmony which he asserts between the scriptural and Xenophonian accounts of the Babylonian kingdom and the achievements of Cyrus. But he adequately establishes such results as the following:—Scripture and Xenophon agree, "as two independent, distinct witnesses, on such test-points as the relations of Susa (Shushan) in the last struggle of Babylon; the presence of the king in Babylon at its fall, and the story of his last night; the Median predecessor of Cyrus (Darius or Cyaxares); and the date of the accession of Cyrus to the royalty;" and thus the reliability of each is proved. Further, "The Book of Ezra, and especially that of Daniel, is transferred from a defensive position to one of authority, as shewing the familiarity of a contemporary," with many facts as to which they and Xenophon agree. The next article, by Rev. B. Pick, of Rochester, is entitled "Horræ Samaritanæ: or, A Collection of various Readings of the Samaritan Pentateuch, compared with the Hebrew and other ancient versions." It is the first of a series that will be valuable for reference, and contains all the variations in Genesis between the Masoretic Hebrew text and the Samaritan Pentateuch. In most cases the LXX reading is also given. The readings of the ancient Samaritan versions are given for convenience in Hebrew characters.

Next come two brief and much lighter articles—the one, which does not call for notice, on “The relation of Theology to other Sciences,” the other on “The ‘J. C. Brown’ Library, Providence, Rhode Island.” Mr Brown spent his life in collecting valuable books and MSS., especially such as were in any way connected with America, without the least regard to cost, and in consequence, the city of Providence now contains probably the finest collection of the kind in the world. We hope those of our learned readers who mean to visit the United States will bear this fact in mind.

Professor Abbot, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, follows with an exhaustive examination of “The Reading, ‘Church of God,’ Acts xx. 28.” He concludes decidedly in favour of *ἐκκλησίαν*, rather than *θεόν*. The article is a model of exact and careful criticism. The printer, as well as the author, deserves praise for his accuracy; and the students of Cambridge may be congratulated on possessing so masterly a teacher of Biblical criticism. We can only find space for the briefest summary of the evidence, which in its full form seems thoroughly convincing in favour of *ἐκκλησίαν*. The manuscript authority for it includes both Alexandrian and Western *uncials*, and nearly all the best *cursives*. The ancient versions and the earlier fathers also favour it. The internal evidence, instead of favouring *θεόν*, is also claimed for *ἐκκλησίαν*. The theory of wilful alteration by the Arians is shewn to be without proof or parallel, or even reason (for *θεόν* would have favoured their theory of Christ’s secondary divinity). But it is very likely that *θεόν* crept into the text, from the margin, as a copyist’s substitution of a familiar for an unusual expression, “church of God,” being a frequent phrase of Paul. But that apostle never *names* Christ God, while often proving his true divinity.

At the end of this valuable paper are two supplementary notes—the one on the patristic use of such expressions as “the blood of God,” the other on the reading of the Peshito-Syriac and Æthiopic versions on the verse in question.

Rev. James F. M’Curdy, of Princeton, continues his learned dissertation on the relations of the Aryan and Semitic languages, begun in last number. This instalment is occupied with what he calls the “criteria of relationship” between these two families of speech. He contrasts in succession their sounds and their structural principles, leaving the contents of their vocabularies for subsequent analysis. As to the sounds, while he agrees that *gutturals* are characteristically Semitic, he maintains that they are not so exclusively so as to justify Sayce in denying on their account the possibility of affinity between the two families. As to structure, he concludes that there is no direct demonstration of relationship. Both have fully developed inflectional systems, but the verbal forms are essentially distinct in their structural principles. He then argues with much ability that “nothing in the established principles of the science of language forbids an assumption of the possibility of an ante-grammatical connection between the two forms of speech.”

The last article, by Rev. G. F. Wright, of Andover, is entitled “Dr Hodge’s misrepresentations of President Finney’s System of Theology.” Not having President Finney’s works at hand, we cannot estimate the importance of the alleged misrepresentations. Dr Hodge will probably take

occasion to defend himself. The first of the writer's complaints is, that early editions of Dr Finney's publications only are quoted. But this is not a very serious charge, since Dr Hodge carefully states in each case the edition from which he quotes. He is also accused of misrepresenting Dr Finney's views; but it is acknowledged that he gives references to his author's pages at every point, proving his perfect honesty. There is perhaps some truth in this critic's allegation that this part of Dr Hodge's work bears traces of a controversial origin. But this need not shake our confidence in the general value of the "Systematic Theology."

The New Englander. April 1876. New Haven : W. L. Kingsley.
London : Trübner & Co.

We have only space for the briefest notice of this number. Only the last of its articles, but that the longest and most valuable, deals with theology. It is on "The Theory and Method of Preaching," by Rev. Professor Hoppin, of Yale College. Treating, *first*, of the object and scope of preaching, he illustrates three of its main aims—*illumination, persuasion, and edification*; *secondly*, as to the proper treatment of divine truth in sermons, he discusses, only to reject, the view which has generally prevailed in America, and, above all, in New England, "That preaching consists pre-eminently and exclusively in the argumentative discussion of theology." He exalts rhetoric above logic, and appeals for a revolution in the American theory of preaching, till it become more spiritual. He recommends expository or textual preaching, and gives as examples of his ideal, F. W. Robertson and Horace Bushnell. He also recommends the guarded use of the results of science. His *third* head is on the best methods of pulpit delivery, where he takes a wise and moderate position. He takes for granted that the modern method of reading written sermons has greatly diminished the eloquence of the pulpit, and yet recognises its advantages. Both "memoriter" and "extemporaneous" preaching are sensibly discussed. Coquerel's three prerequisites of success in the last method are worth quoting—"An abundant supply of ideas, a rich knowledge of the Scriptures, and a fluent idiomatic use of one's mother tongue." He closes with three suggestions, which we give in the briefest form. 1. Try to combine the advantages of the three methods, by writing, committing (to some extent), and then preaching without great care to adhere to the written words. 2. Speak at one service from written notes, and at the other extemporaneously. 3. Let young men, if strong and full of faith, "dare to make use of a more excellent way, and, the all-absorbing desire to save men's souls being taken for granted, cut loose entirely from the trammels of writing," though not at all from the severe labour of study.

Some of the other articles are full of interest. Mr Lyell Adams, on G. H. Lewes' "Problems of Life and Mind," is as racy as usual, and the reviews of books are discriminating and useful. B. B.

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

Theologische Studien und Kritiken. 1876. III.

Gustav Rösch, who formerly wrote about the Jewish myths relating to Jesus, now discusses the Mohammedan myths about our Saviour. He assumes with recent inquirers that Mohammed had intercourse with Jewish teachers, and also with Christians of an Ebionite type. The latter he presumes to have possessed written gospels—perhaps the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and the originally Syriac Gospel of the Infancy. Herein he opposes Muir's view. The essayist then takes up in detail the stories about Mary and Jesus, which are found in the Koran, or in later Mohammedan writings, tracing some to Jewish sources, and others to Jewish Christianity, pointing out parallels in the apocryphal gospels, &c. The investigation covers ground which has been repeatedly traversed before; but Rösch puts forward new explanations of several puzzling myths, and in particular suggests that a good many of the stories in the Koran are based on typology. Thus the fable that a fountain burst forth where Jesus was born is connected with Ezekiel xlvii. 1, by the aid of the well-known typical interpretation which takes the east gate of the temple in Ezekiel xlv. to signify the womb of the Virgin Mary. Diaconus H. Schmidt discusses, in a lengthy paper, the contrast between the ethical principles of the Bible and those of the so-called "modern" theology. Beginning with the metaphysical and psychological principles involved, he argues that a distinctly pantheistic tendency appears in the modern conception of God, even as that conception is developed by a theologian like Pfleiderer, who represents the extreme right of the modern school. Among other remarks, a point is made against Pfleiderer by contrasting his argument, that God must be personal because the pious man knows that he loves Him, with the quite opposite course of the thought of 1 John iv. 10. The ethical consequences of this pantheistic tendency, which allows only an immanent revelation of God, appear in the abolition of the idea of direct divine commands, and in want of appreciation for the notion of obedience. The essayist proceeds to discuss the ethical dangers of the doctrine of *creatio continua*. The discussion is superficial, and the writer seems unaware that this doctrine, in the hands of the old divines of the reformed theology, was very far from tending to reduce "ethical processes to intensified natural processes." In this connection we find the singular remark that "the difference between creation and preservation seems to be essentially dependent on the objectivity of the notion of species." The criticism of the modern dilution of the idea of guilt is juster, but contains nothing fresh. Passing to the modern Christology, Schmidt shews that, with all their efforts to rise above the Ebionitism of the older rationalism, modern rationalists are unable to find in their conception of Jesus the ethical motives which attach to the biblical doctrine of a personal manifestation of God in Christ. Then he proceeds to examine the Pelagian tendencies of the new school. Next he comes to the doctrine of the church and

kingdom of God, criticising Ritschl in a very unclear way; and finally he takes up the modern eschatology.

Professor Lechler sketches the course of the conversion of the Germans to Christianity. There were Christian churches in Rhenish Germany in the time of Irenaeus. The gospel had doubtless reached these districts from the Rhone; and the very word kirk—Kirche = *εκκλησία*—points to the Greek Churches of Vienne and Lyons as the source of the earliest German Christianity. The fall of the Roman empire at first pressed back Christianity from the districts of Germany where it had penetrated along with the legions. But about the beginning of the sixth century the missionaries of Ireland began their work among the Franks. Late in the seventh century English missionaries entered Frisia. Then came the great mission of Boniface. But the Saxons remained heathens, and received the gospel only when they were subdued by Karl the Great. It is remarkable that the generation converted by the sword had scarcely passed away when Saxony produced the great Christian poem of the *Heliand*. The last foreign missionaries on German soil were the Greeks, Cyrillus and Methodius, who began to preach to the heathen Slavonians of Moravia in 863. The Germans took the missions to Slavonia into their own hand. Anskar (801–865) laboured in Schleswig-Holstein. The Wends received the gospel in the tenth century, not without bitter resistance to a religion identified with the German yoke. In Misnia, the present kingdom of Saxony, heathenism lasted into the twelfth century. The heathenism of the Baltic coasts was unbroken till the twelfth century; the Prussians were converted only in the thirteenth, and the work was not thoroughly completed till the Reformation. From this sketch, which contains nothing new, and seems more suitable for a popular magazine, the author draws three conclusions:—(1) The slow progress of modern missions is not to be hastily condemned if it took more than eleven centuries to evangelise Germany; (2) The nationality, origin, and religious position of the missionaries was as diverse as possible, and German piety and Christian culture owe to this a certain impress of universality; (3) German unity and German culture in general are the fruit of Christianity. After these thin essays, we turn with pleasure to Hermann Strack's account of the Hebrew manuscript bibles in St Petersburg—the famous Firkowitsch collection. Most of the facts brought out in this paper are more fully discussed in the catalogue of the MSS. just published by Strack in association with Harkavy. The first point which has been clearly made out is, that Firkowitsch was a forger of the grossest type. In the larger of the two collections formed by him, and now in St Petersburg, not one of the inscriptions with dates is free from suspicion. Old dates were transformed by erasures and touching up, so as to produce an appearance of greater antiquity—a MS. of the fourteenth century, for example, being made to date from the tenth. Other inscriptions are wholly false, or, being originally undated, have had dates added. All this was done, according to Strack, not so much for gain—though the collection was bought by the government for 125,000 roubles—as to glorify the Karaites, and to supply documentary evidence for Firkowitsch's theory connecting them with the

ten tribes. Nevertheless the collection has great value, containing at least two real gems, both of which belong to the smaller collection formerly at Odessa. The oldest Hebrew MS. of the Bible with a certain date is the Codex of the Prophets, of the year 916-7, with Babylonian punctuation, which is now being published in facsimile at the expense of the Russian Government. Next to this MS. ranks one of the year 1009, containing the whole Old Testament. Other MSS. are also valuable, and even some of the undated or falsely dated copies are old and important. But Strack gives the warning that some of the various readings already published from these MSS. are due to forgery. Fortunately the forgeries can generally be detected, a sure criterion being that the new writing has not sunk into the body of the parchment. This can be observed by holding the leaf against the light.

An important note by Dr A. Harnack, who is so rapidly coming to the front among the younger German theologians, brings from the Apocalypse of Baruch vi. 7, a contemporary parallel to the mention of the golden *θυμιατήριον* in Heb. ix. 4. There we read of an "incense vessel"—Syriac *ܢܕܝܬܐ*—as belonging to the holy of holies. The Syriac word is not quite free from the ambiguity of meaning which attaches to the New Testament word; but it is certainly used of the censer, and has not been shewn to be ever used for an altar of incense. At any rate, the two contemporary writers must have the same thing in view; and it becomes clear that it is no longer possible to accuse the writer to the Hebrews of having put down his statement by mistake. The association of an incense utensil with the holy of holies must have been general at the time; and if so, it can hardly be doubted that a censer is meant, not the golden altar.

Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie. 1876. II.

Hilgenfeld writes on Hegesippus, arranging the fragments of his writings, and criticising his historical position and the scope of his work. In opposition to the author of "Supernatural Religion," Hilgenfeld maintains that Hegesippus knew the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, but of course denies that the question, *τίς ἡ λόγος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*, which he relates as having been put to James by the Jews, has any relation to the Gospel of John. To avoid this reference, Hilgenfeld very arbitrarily proposes to take "gate" as a metaphor for "religious teaching." To a writer of the Tübingen school, the Jewish Christianity of Hegesippus is of special interest; and the essayist is concerned to prove that Hegesippus, standing on the teaching of the first apostles, rejected Paul. The whole argument rests on a very strained application of a passage of Stephanus Gobarus, and is surely neutralised by the admission that Hegesippus stood in a friendly relation to Pauline Churches, and approved of the epistle of Clement; and that accordingly "he was not one of those Jewish Christians who wished to force upon heathen converts the literal observance of the law."

An interesting point for the history of the early constitution of the Palestinian Church is brought out near the close of the essay. Hegesippus places the whole period from the beginnings of the Church down to A.D. 108, under the two episcopates of James and Symeon. But Eusebius had

documentary notice of *fifteen* Jewish bishops at Jerusalem before the year 135. We cannot suppose thirteen monarchic bishops in eighteen years. Hegesippus must have made a mistake in thinking of James and Symeon as monarchic bishops. The real constitution at that time was presbyterian, and the fifteen episcopates were partly contemporary with one another.

Dr Görres inquires into the martyrdom of Vincentius of Leon, and concludes that it is a historical fact, and took place between 460 and 560, when the Suevi were under Arian kings. Tollin, never weary of his favourite subject, adds another to his numerous essays on Servetus. The title is, "The Pantheism of Servetus." The conclusion, is that the Spanish theologian had nothing in common with the pantheism which abolishes the freedom of God and man, and ignores Christ, the first-born Son of God. Servetus was an energetic representative of the mystical Christo-panteism which has been carried down to our own times in the writings of Boehme, Oettinger, and Rothe

K. F. Köhler gives an account of the literary works of Rabanus Maurus, including some treatises not yet printed. Rönisch continues his linguistic studies on the Itala; and Aug. Baur illustrates Matt. xix. 23-26 by a reference to Lady Duff Gordon's letters from Egypt, p. 133, where she describes the difficult passage of a camel through a small gate, of a kind called a needle's eye.

Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie. 1876. I.

An article by Dr C. Weizsäcker, on the beginnings of Christian morals, deals mainly with the ethical contents of the Pauline epistles, but does not bring out anything very interesting. Piper of Berlin follows with a long essay of nearly seventy pages on what Church history has gained from inscriptions, especially from those of Christian antiquity. The essayist takes up in systematic order forty inscriptions illustrating numerous points of Church history during the first eight centuries. Inscriptions valuable for dogmatic rather than for history are reserved for another and larger essay. We are first presented with a series of inscriptions illustrating the external progress of the Church, the suppression of Paganism, the ravages of the Barbarians, and so forth. Then, as a specimen of what may be got from this class of sources for the inner history of Christianity, the general councils are selected for special illustration. A very curious thing is the way in which many sepulchral inscriptions use the names of the 318 orthodox members of the Nicene Council. The anathema of the 318 patriarchs is invoked as the heaviest curse that can fall on any one who shall injure the grave. Of other points connected with the general councils on which interesting light is cast, it may suffice to mention the long and obstinate schism of Istria and Aquileia after the Council of Constantinople in 553.

Hermann Schultz, of Heidelberg (now of Göttingen), writes on the address of the Epistle to the Romans. With Ewald and others, he holds Rom. xvi. 3-21 for a fragment of a letter of Paul to Ephesus. This conclusion suggests to him the question whether other fragments of the same letter may not be found in Rom. xii.-xvi.; and he comes to the conclusion that

chapters xii., xiii., xiv., xv. 1-6 are also addressed to Ephesus. The combinations of the two epistles into one piece is explained as follows:—The public use of the Epistle to the Romans could hardly begin till after the Neronian persecution. Then the overseers of the Church, who prepared the epistle for congregational use, may be supposed to have had a copy of the letter to Ephesus written by Paul at Rome. This copy may not have had the address filled up, and so may have got to be viewed as a second letter to Rome. For practical use the two letters were put together; the main part of the letter to the Ephesians being immediately subjoined to the main body of the proper Epistle to the Romans. W. R. S.

ITALIAN PERIODICAL.

La Rivista Cristiana. Firenze. January-May 1876.

These numbers of this magazine contain some valuable and interesting communications, especially in regard to the history of the Reformation and its martyrs in Italy. In the January number, Dr Karl Benrath throws some new light on the authorship of the work, entitled *Benefizio di Cristo*, which was so useful and much valued at the time of the Reformation, and has generally been ascribed to Aonio Paleario. He produces a statement of Pietro Carnesecchi, the contemporary and friend of the Italian Reformers, that the work in question was written by Don Benedetto da Mantova, a Benedictine monk in Sicily, and revised by Marcantonio Flaminio. This is confirmed by a statement to the same effect in a contemporary MS. account of the proceedings of the Inquisition in Italy by Antonio Caracciolo, which is published in the April number of the *Rivista*. It also appears from a MS. extract of the trial of Paleario, seen by Professor De Leva, of Padua, in the library of S. Pietro in Vincoli at Rome, that the title of Paleario's book was different from that of the one which has been ascribed to him. Notwithstanding these discoveries, Dr Jules Bonnet has not accepted without reserve this view; and the number for March contains a letter from him on the subject, with a reply by Professor De Leva. The evidence seems decidedly to support the opinion of the latter.

In the number for February, Dr Benrath has an article maintaining that the celebrated Vittoria Colonna held the Protestant doctrines, though she never broke with the Roman Catholic Church, and when the time of reaction came, gave up a letter of Bernardino Ochino into the hands of the inquisitors, who were seeking something against him. In the same number we find a notice of a life of Ochino by Dr Benrath, who defends him from the suspicions of unsound doctrine, for which, after having been exiled from his own country for his religion, he was in his old age banished from Zurich by his Protestant brethren. These two numbers also contain two papers by Albert Revel, under the title "Did Joshua make the Sun

stand still?" the former of which narrates the condemnation of Galileo, as an example of the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church to scientific discoveries; while the latter reviews the various explanations that have been given of Joshua x. 12-15, and gives the preference to the view of Herder, Bleek, Keil, and others, that the passage is a poetical extract, not to be understood literally. This explanation has called forth a letter in the May number, maintaining the literal sense, to which Revel briefly replies. The paper of Caracciolo, from the records of the Inquisition, printed in the April number, and already referred to, is a very remarkable notice of the numbers of so-called heretics in the various cities of Italy in the sixteenth century, and gives a very vivid idea of the extent to which evangelical views prevailed at one time in that country. It is striking to find even the holy office confessing "that not only many bishops, and vicars, and friars, and priests, but also many of the inquisitors themselves were heretics." This illustrates the fact, that the Reformation in Italy was only arrested and suppressed by the force and cruelty of the Inquisition. These historical articles are the portions of the *Rivista* of most general and permanent value; they are likely to be of much use as *mémoires pour servir*; and we are glad to see that the divines of the Protestant Church in Italy are shewing such pious care to preserve the memory and vindicate the character of their godly ancestors. But the periodical also shews their catholic interest in the cause of Christ, and concern for present day questions; for a good part of each number is occupied with such topics as accounts of the religious awakening in Britain, and of the centenary of American Independence, popular discussions of religious topics, suggestions in reference to various parts of public worship, and notices of current events of interest.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

Die Trinitätliche Lehrdifferenz zwischen der Abendländischen und der Morgenländischen Kirche. Eine dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchung. Von Dr JOSEPH LANGEN, Ord. Prof. der Katholischen Theologie an der Universität Bonn. Bonn: Eduard Weber. 1876. [*The difference of Doctrine on the Trinity between the Eastern and Western Churches. An Investigation into the History of the Doctrine.* By Dr JOSEPH LANGEN, Ord. Prof. of Catholic Theology in the University of Bonn.]

The doctrine of the Trinity is a doctrine common to all the churches, and a book which professes to be a record of a new investigation into the history of its evolution, is a book which should be cordially welcomed by all. Dr Längen is an Old Catholic, yet he professes to conduct his inquiry purely in a scientific way, without regard to the interests of any

Church. His investigation is historical ; and in a clear, lucid manner he gives us the results of his investigation of successive periods up to the time of Charlemagne. His learning is adequate, his style is clear, and his brevity is worthy of all commendation. His little book extends only to 127 pages.

There can be no question that this book is a result of the movement for unity which has sprung out of the Vatican Council and the Old Catholic secession from the Church of Rome. English High Churchism has seen in Old Catholicism a meeting-place with the Eastern Church. The highest historical expression of this longing after unity was the Bonn Conference. But a movement after union which shuts out all who see no evidence for apostolical succession, and sacerdotal grace, and episcopal orders, can never hope to represent in any adequate way the Christianity of the future. However, we who are Presbyterian have as deep an interest as those of the apostolic succession in the historical development of a Christian doctrine, and we give a cordial welcome to the excellent work of Dr Langen. We do not enter into a detailed criticism. If we did, we would be disposed to take exception to the historical truth of some statements. For example, the subordinationism of Tertullian is stated far too strongly. But space forbids us to enter into a discussion. Dr Langen sums up the results of his investigation under eight heads, and we think the best way to give our readers an idea of the book is simply to translate these :—

“1. The New Testament contains the doctrine that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, and possesses the same substance as the Father and the Son. How the Son is related to the procession of the Holy Spirit is not said in the New Testament. 2. The theologians of the third century, inclined as they were to subordinationism, were of the opinion that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, but so that the Son is less than the Father, and the Spirit less than the Son. The semi-Arians used the formula, ‘through the Son,’ as a perfect expression of the thought that the Spirit is the work of the Son—a creature of his, like all other creatures. 3. Athanasius was the founder of the doctrine held in the Greek Church from his time onwards. He taught that the Holy Spirit has his being out of the Father through the Son ; and he binds the energy of the Divine Being, *ad extra*, into closest union with this immanent process. This doctrine he endeavours to establish by a reference to John xvi. 14, which he thus interprets : ‘He shall receive of mine,’ i.e. of what is mine—my substance (*Wesen*), which is also that of the Father. Nevertheless, it was the faith in the equality of substance of the three Persons of the Godhead which alone he laid down as indispensable to all true believers. 4. Marcellus of Ancyra is not the inventor of the *filioque*. His teaching on the procession of the Holy Spirit agrees with that of Athanasius ; but he draws a false inference, viz., that when the Spirit proceeds out of the Father and receives from the Son, it is impossible to distinguish between the Father and the Son. 5. In the West, Hilarius naturalised the doctrine of Athanasius by the express formula, ‘through the Son.’ But he also pointed out the doctrine of the Godhead of the Holy Ghost as the only doctrine regarding him which had been handed down by tradition from the apostles. Marius Victorinus, the African, was the first in the West to use the formula, ‘through the Son,’ as an article of faith, and he used it as directed against the Arians. 6. In the East, the theory of Athanasius, ‘through the Son,’ remains

true, but its symbolical significance is limited to the expression of the Godhead of the Holy Ghost. Now and then, however, the formula is somewhat changed. Didymus, for example, uses the formula, 'The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father out of the Son;' and Epiphanius, 'Out of the Father and the Son.' But the thought is the same in so far as he proceeds out of the Son, as he proceeds from the Father through the Son. In a creed used in the East by candidates for baptism, preserved for us by Epiphanius, the doctrine, 'through the Son,' is formally explained by the words, 'the Spirit receives from the Son.' Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret alone appear as not for, but still as not against, the otherwise universally received doctrine of the Greek Church. 7. In the West, Ambrose was the first to use the formula, 'proceeding from the Father and the Son,' and also the exact words *filioque*, but still only in the sense hitherto understood, 'through the Son.' The mode of expression, 'out of the Son,' was already current in the West through the Latin translation of Didymus. Probably the words '*filioque*' had already been used in the first Synod of Toledo (about 400), in a symbol directed against the Priscillianists. And now Augustine speculatively established the doctrine that the Holy Spirit is the personal unity between Father and Son; also as something not proceeding through the Son, but in an equal way from both. Augustine himself regarded this simply as a theological speculation, in his opinion certainly founded on the Scriptures, yet in the second half of the fifth century the so-called Athanasian was clothed with the authority of an inviolable dogma. Nevertheless, many in the West, as Vigilius of Tapsus, continued to occupy the position of Augustine. Fulgentius of Ruspe, on the other hand, gave out the *filioque* as a well defined article of faith, and the third Synod of Toledo was the first to insert it in the Nicene Creed. 8. While the difference between East and West could still be discussed in a friendly way, Maximus was of opinion that the Latins meant no more by *filioque* than the Greeks did by 'through the Son.' And as the Frankish theologians combatted the formula, 'through the Son,' of the Patriarch Tarasius and the seventh General Council, Pope Adrian I. took this formula under his protection."

We have translated Dr Langen's summary of results as the shortest way to place his conclusions before our readers. Dr Langen is of opinion that there is no essential difference between the Eastern and Western forms of the doctrine. He is willing, on the whole, to give up the *filioque* to promote union, as he considers it also liable to be misunderstood. He conceives that "from the Father through the Son" expresses the whole truth implied in *filioque*. Our readers will find this little volume to be a very trustworthy guide to the early literature of a most vital Christian doctrine.

J. I.

Die Paulinsche Theodices Römer IX.—XI. Ein Beitrag zur biblischen Theologie. Von Dr Willibald Beyschlag. Pp. 79.

This treatise is the expansion of a *Programm* originally prepared by the distinguished author for the University of Halle. It is certainly not one of the least important of his many contributions to Biblical Theology. It is a somewhat ingenious attempt at a critical exposition of Rom. ix.-xi., in which he seeks to solve the question, "What is the theme of these chapters?" He first prepares the way for his own theory by a criticism

of the three views which have been advocated, viz., the *Calvinistic*, the *Arminian*, and the *Mediating*. With these views we are not now specially concerned, farther than to say, that they all proceed on the common supposition, that in ix. the subject treated of is the eternal decree of God with reference to the eternal salvation or perdition of men. Hofmann, who ranks with Tholuck and Philippi among the Arminian interpreters, has abandoned, however, the eternal *terminus a quo*; while De Wette, who, with Baur and Meyer, adopts the mediating view, rejects the eternal *terminus ad quem*. No interpreter has rejected both.

This was the position in which Beyschlag found himself when he set himself to grapple with this *crux interpretum*. He begins his dissertation by affirming that the presupposition that the chapters treat of an eternal decree is the *πρῶτον ψῦδος* of all previous interpreters. The eleventh chapter, he says, declares, as definitely as can be, that neither the gracious call (the *ἰασις*), nor the blinding and the rejection (the *σκληρύνειν* or *παρεῖν*), which are the subjects handled, is irrevocable, and thus reaching into eternity; the former is not, because (although having in view an eternal *σωτηρία*) it can again be forfeited through unbelief (v. 21-22), and the latter is not, because it was from of old in the divine mind to decree it only for a term (*ἔχεις εἶ*, v. 25), and thus not to eternal destruction (*μὴ γίνετο*, v. 11). Thus, he argues, there is no reference here to the admission or non-admission to eternal salvation, but only to the admission or non-admission into the kingdom of God historically manifested on earth—an admission which certainly *will and shall* reach to eternal salvation, but in no way unconditionally *must*, and a non-admission which, existing to-day, might be reversed to-morrow. Thus, undoubtedly, though in an indirect way, the eleventh chapter excludes the supposed eternal *terminus a quo* of the will of God here spoken of—the eternity of the decree of election or rejection. It shews what, indeed, the ninth and tenth chapters already abundantly reveal, that the whole discussion respects not the souls of men individually as such, but the condition of the Jews and Gentiles as constituting the two great groups of men in the apostolic age; the hardening of the former for the sake of the general spiritual benefit of the latter—a hardening which shall, in the future, give place to a like gracious manifestation toward them as toward the Gentiles. In a word, according to Beyschlag, it appears from the eleventh chapter that this whole section of the epistle respects the providence of God, which has its causes as well as its effects in time in the field of history, and not an eternal act of God, but one taking place within the region of history in the actual government of the world. In that, he thinks, is found the simple key to all the difficulties of the ninth chapter, into the exegetical exposition of which he somewhat minutely enters, arriving at the conclusion that it places the reader, not on the ground of eternity, but of history, and therein not in the sphere of the reward of faith and of unbelief, but in that of their origin. While in the ninth chapter the apostle vindicates the will of God (in the government of the world) in its divine freedom, by means of biblical antecedents, by reference to Israel's own history, by the use—not only just, but also long-suffering, and, on its other side, gracious use—which he makes of his freedom to harden

Israel, in the tenth he proceeds to explain pragmatically the present hardening of Israel and acceptance of the heathen, and so to prove the identity of the free will of God with the immanent moral law of history itself, thus its inner conformity to law in saving and in hardening. Finally, he places in view the history of the world in its entire course, unfolds the divine plan pervading it, and shews how the guiding will of God not only manifests favour to the susceptible and hardens the unsusceptible, but also anew draws the hardened to a state of susceptibility, and so in manifold ways and by most opposite means brings all to a state of grace and of salvation. With this dissolving of the judgment of hardening into a correction of saving love, the apostle, in a manner, terminates his theodicy, and we stand in silent wonder in the presence of the deepest, grandest, fullest course of thought which the Bible, which the world, knows.

We have thus presented to our readers, as fully as our space would permit, an account of this novel theory by which Professor Beyschlag thinks to settle all the difficulties of these chapters. We must confess that his arguments, however ingenious, fail to convince us. His exegesis is vitiated by the principle which he holds, that man possesses a real freedom which in its highest determination cannot be calculated upon by God himself (p. 59). How can such a principle be reconciled with the *καρδιογνώστης πάντων*? He must find out some new interpretation also for the 139th Psalm. Essentially, Beyschlag's theory is just a modification of Schleiermacher's doctrine of election, which dialectically solves predestination by the restoration of all things.

M. G. E.

Philosophy without Assumptions. By THOMAS PENYNGTON KIRKMAN, M.A., F.R.S., Rector of Croft. Pp. 352. London: Longmans. 1876.

The writer of this book sets himself to the task of laying a firm foundation for philosophy, by starting from what is absolutely undeniable, and assuming nothing that cannot be certainly verified. Like Descartes, he finds his basis in his own existence; and he is not, like that great thinker, led from that at an early stage of his progress to an *a priori* argument for the existence of God, but makes a resolute and persevering effort to follow the evidence of consciousness as the only sure guide to knowledge; and in doing so, he arrives at the conviction, not only of existence, but of power or will force in the *ego*. This leads him, through the consciousness of resistance to that power, to a knowledge of external things, and to the adoption of Boscovich's theory of matter as consisting simply of force points. Mr Kirkman is thus able to deal some telling blows against materialism, and in the course of his inquiry into the notions of will, cause, and law, he treats his readers to some acute and severe criticism of Mr Matthew Arnold, Mr Herbert Spencer, and Mr John Stuart Mill. The discussion is conducted in a clear and vigorous style, and with a resolute determination to admit nothing that is not clearly understood, and capable of being verified, by being traced back to the basis on which all our knowledge rests. On the whole, the book is worthy of the attention of students of philosophy, and may be read with profit and pleasure even by those not profoundly versed in mental science.

OLD TESTAMENT EXEGESIS.

Messianic Prophecy: Its Origin, Historical Character, and Relation to New Testament Fulfilment. By Dr EDWARD RIEHM, Professor of Theology, Halle. Translated from the German, with the approbation of the author, by the Rev. JOHN JEFFERSON. Pp. 266. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1876.

This little book consists of three articles from the *Studien u. Kritiken*, which have been republished in a separate form in Germany, as the author tells us, mainly because they had been found helpful by many believing theologians to a perception of the compatibility of the historical and exegetical views of the critical school, with a thorough faith in supernatural revelation and the divine authority of Scripture. For the same reason we think the translation of the work into English is very seasonable; and we trust that it may have a similar effect in this country to what it has had in Germany. The English theological public has been familiar, more or less, with two comparatively extreme forms of opinion as to the Old Testament—that of the Rationalists on the one hand, who employed historical criticism in dismembering many Old Testament books, and denying the Messianic reference of many Old Testament prophecies, to the effect of rejecting all supernatural revelation or events together; and, on the other hand, that of Hengstenberg, Hävernicks, Keil, &c., who seek to obviate these conclusions by maintaining absolutely the authenticity, integrity, and purity of all the Old Testament books as we have them. The impression is apt to be produced that there is no alternative between these views, and that to place, *e.g.* Isaiah xl.–lxvi. in the exile, or the latter part of Zechariah before it, or Daniel in the time of the Maccabees, implies a mere naturalistic conception of the Old Testament, and a denial of its divine inspiration. But since this is an entirely unwarrantable assumption, it is of importance to know that there is a class of theologians in Germany, not unrepresented in this country too, who feel constrained to admit many of the critical views alluded to, and yet believe that they can and must hold a truly supernatural and divinely authoritative character to belong to the whole of the Old Testament canon; and it is well that the grounds, both of their critical conclusions and of their believing reverence for Scripture, should be better known than they are in this country. The work before us is well fitted to lead to this result; and, apart from that, its own intrinsic excellence makes it a valuable acquisition to our Biblical literature. It consists of three sections, dealing with three aspects of Messianic prophecy. The first treats of its origin, maintaining distinctly its divine and supernatural character, and shewing at the same time its gradual development in accordance with the laws of the human mind; the second examines its historical character, and shews on what grounds, thoroughly consistent with a believing view of the Old Testament, it is held by men of this school, that there is a certain limitation in the range of prophetic foresight; and the third considers in what sense and in what way the Messianic predictions of the Old Testament are fulfilled in the New. Dr Riehm's discussion of these

topics is exceedingly suggestive, both because of the wide application of the general principles which he establishes, and the light he incidentally throws on the meaning of particular passages of Scripture. The book will, we anticipate, prove a rich treat to the intelligent and believing student of Scripture, and a storehouse of fruitful thoughts to its expositor, and that whether its principles and results be accepted or not. The style is remarkably clear and forcible, free alike from the verbosity and obscurity that characterise many excellent German works; and it seems to be well rendered by the translator. Of the correctness of Dr Riehm's conclusions, either as to general principles or the interpretation of particular passages, we express no opinion; of these the reader must form his own judgment; and on some of them only the opinion of Hebrew scholars is of any importance for others. But it will, we believe, be a relief to many to find so clear a proof that a thorough faith in Scripture as divine can be combined with critical opinions, which are countenanced by great names, and often paraded, both by friends and foes, as destructive of all belief in supernatural revelation. Intelligent Christians, who are no Hebrew scholars, cannot but feel uneasy at the thought that the divine authority of the Old Testament depends on the validity of such learned arguments as Hengstenberg employs for the genuineness of the Pentateuch; and will have their minds greatly established in the faith, when they find that even though these arguments fail, and the Old Testament books be shewn to belong to different authors and ages from those to which they have been commonly ascribed, they can still be proved to be the Word of God, spoken by holy men of old as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. It will be the safety of the Church in these days to recognise that questions of date and authorship, as well as those of translation and application, affect merely the interpretation of the record, which, on any view as to such points, has in it its own internal evidence of being the true word of God—an evidence apparent to the most illiterate saint who is taught by the Holy Spirit, and no less authoritative for the most learned scholar, whatever his critical and exegetical conclusions may be. Firmly persuaded of this, we shall be able also to discuss, with perfect impartiality and freedom, all the critical questions that modern investigation raises; and if the self-evidencing power of the Word of God and the testimony of the Holy Ghost be firmly held by the Church, we may have good hope that in the end all believing students will be led to agreement in true views, even on the interpretation of the record.

NEW TESTAMENT EXEGESIS.

Principles of New Testament Quotation Established and Applied to Biblical Science. By the Rev. JAMES SCOTT, M.A., B.D. Pp. 158. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1875.

The quotations in the New Testament are one of the most remarkable of its features; and form a subject of study that presents considerable difficulties, and has significant bearings on various important questions in theology. The principles of criticism and interpretation, the relation of the Old and New Testaments, and the doctrines of inspiration,

prophecy, and typology are all based to a greater or less extent on the phenomena of quotation in the New Testament ; and must be determined largely by a correct observation and understanding of these. The subject of this little book is therefore one that specially calls for careful scholarly examination and sound induction of principles ; and we are glad to find one of our country ministers giving himself to a branch of study that is still needed, and may be of much service to theological science. He has done a careful and conscientious piece of work ; and some of its results may be of permanent use. The questions in regard to New Testament quotation are chiefly two—Do the writers cite with sufficient faithfulness and correctness the text of the passages they quote ? and do they interpret and apply them in accordance with their true meaning, and not in any false or arbitrary way ? In regard to both questions, while in the great majority of cases the answer is clearly in the affirmative, there are some instances where it is less obviously so, and where accordingly difficult questions of interpretation arise. Mr Scott deals with both questions, of form and meaning, in his work ; and, without entering into a full examination of particular passages, endeavours to ascertain some general principles, that may be applied to explain and vindicate them all. The first part of the work deals with the New Testament quotations in view of their form, and distributes them into five classes in a way that seems very sound and good, and an improvement on Fairbairn's classification, as bringing out better the essential differences of the forms. Then, in a second part, he endeavours to state, in a similar orderly way, the principles of interpretation that guided the New Testament writers in their use of the Old. There, perhaps, he might have more fully explained his meaning and accomplished his purpose had he given more examples and illustrations of the several principles established ; for his purpose at this stage, if we understand it aright, is to shew that these principles are acted on by the apostolic writers, and not as yet to prove their soundness. We are not sure, however, that his plan is as suitable to this as to the former part of the subject ; though any more satisfactory method would have required a fuller consideration of particular passages than fell within our author's design. His third part is a very careful and interesting comparison with New Testament quotations, of the forms of quotation by the apostolic fathers from the Old and New Testaments, of later Christian quotations from Scripture, and of citations of one another by ancient classical writers. Here he shews, with complete success, that analogies to all the various forms of New Testament quotation are found in all these authors. His fourth part is occupied in shewing that all the phenomena that he has noted in New Testament quotation, both as to form and meaning, can be vindicated on sound principles. In regard to the former, he is perfectly successful ; but as to the latter, a fuller and more thorough discussion seems needful for a completely satisfactory conclusion. Lastly, in a fifth part, Mr Scott unfolds the application of his principles to prove the external unity of the Old and New Testaments, as making up the one entire canon of revelation, and the internal unity of the two dispensations to which they belong. While thus the book, as a whole, is valuable, and fitted to be of use to the student of this important department of Biblical science, we must say that its style

is exceedingly cumbrous and inelegant, sometimes even incorrect and obscure. There are also marks of carelessness either in writing or in correction of the press; *e.g.*, "Hoshea" for "Habakkuk," p. 42; "Melchisedec," repeatedly, p. 112, "architype" *ib.*; and a paragraph misplaced in p. 107, and repeated p. 109—blemishes singularly out of place in a work on such a subject, and one which is in substance scholarly and accurate.

Der Lehrbegriff der Apocalypse und sein Verhältniss zum Lehrbegriff des Evangeliums und der Episteln des Johannes. [*The Doctrinal System of the Apocalypse and its relation to the Doctrinal System of the Gospel and the Epistles of John.*] By HERMANN GEBHARDT. Gotha. 1873.

This must be recognised as one of the most satisfactory efforts in an important line of study which German theology has furnished for some time. The author speaks of his treatise as a diversion in the Johannine controversy. While it is replete with excellent and well considered conclusions of various kinds, it is in that train of prevalent discussion that it will be found to be possessed of eminent value. Mr Gebhardt leaves us in no uncertainty as to his object or position. He gives us at once clearly to understand how decidedly he declines to admit Keim's claim to have witnessed the historical overthrow of John. He confesses that he sees no necessity, historical or philosophical, driving him to reject the conception of Christ's Person and mission which is presented by the writings known as those of the beloved disciple. His feeling is, that if the newer defences of the Johannine authorship have effected something, the bolder assaults which have been recently led against it, by Keim and many others, have done even much more to convince him that it is one of the most improbable of suppositions that the traditional account of the origin of the Fourth Gospel should be radically incorrect. He does not, however, look upon the Johannine question as one of very easy settlement. On the contrary, instead of being led by his own investigations to minimise its difficulties, he has been constrained to express himself as increasingly dissatisfied with most of the current explanations on the positive side. Even such apologies as Weizsäcker's seem to him burdened with serious defects, and far from doing full justice to the intricacies of the case. The result of his own inquiries has been the conviction that the key for the determination of these problems must be sought in the Apocalypse. He thinks that we have all the greater reason for regarding this as the right direction to follow, because, at least previous to the new turn given to affairs by ventures made against the credibility of the Ephesian residence, it was generally accepted, even by Tübingen critics, that John was the writer of the Apocalypse. It is, therefore, with the view of ascertaining what light may be shed on these contested questions by a careful examination of the book of Revelation, and a scientific comparison of its type of doctrinal teaching with the modes of thought exhibited in the Gospel and Epistles, that the present composition has been undertaken.

There are some brief, but clear and telling, deliverances on the subject

of the time, place, and circumstances to which the production of the Apocalypse must be referred. Mr Gebhardt has his own theory of the *modus operandi* in seeing and recording these visions. His idea is that John, pondering the riddle of the world and the promises of Christ's coming, while he has the Neronic persecution, the perilous condition of the Church, and his own banishment in his eye, falls into an ecstasy in which he sees in the Roman Empire, and specifically in Nero, the realisation of the prophecies of Antichrist, and that from this centre, history—present, past, and future—comes up to view in a series of scenic representations, all grouping round the Old Testament symbolism of Daniel's beasts. On one point of importance he seems to hold very pronounced opinions. He believes it to be almost as unscientific to look upon the book as written in the ecstasy, or as anything like a mere *précis* or literal reproduction of what was seen and heard in that condition, as it is to suppose it to be the product of natural reflection, or to refer its origin to the sort of art implied in the *Tendenz* theory. He thinks that the writing furnishes indubitable evidence of its own, that its author dealt with his matter in a free and artistic method, working up his impressions and recollections of what he had seen and heard in accordance with the rules applicable in his day to such species of literary composition. He considers chapter x. to be of decisive consequence in this respect. In the thesis, that the book is constructed on a well-understood model, observing the laws of apocalyptic writing, and having its ideas thrown into the form of those Old Testament and rabbinical modes of representation and expression with which the Jews of the first Christian century were familiar in similar kinds of literature, he discovers a solvent for many of the stylistic and linguistic difficulties which have been urged. He is careful, however, not to let his theory be carried to destructive issues. He is far from seeing in the book only a creation of the then regnant *zeit-geist*. While he affirms the fact that the writing is conformable to the accepted principles of apocalyptic composition, he denies that the Jewish cast and Rabbinical garb are the measure of its contents, and holds that through that symbolism, which was then the most appropriate and natural clothing for such ideas, new, definite, and most pregnant truths and prophecies are conveyed.

Before summarising the peculiar apocalyptic contents of the book, he takes up, first, the more remote, and then the nearer, premises, epitomised under the topics of its teaching on the being of God, creation, providence, angels, Satan, Christ's Person and work, sin, the dead, &c. We find many good specimens of independent exegesis in the course of the writer's discussions of these heads of doctrine. It would be easy to single out a few of these as more daring than reliable. But, on the whole, they are successful. The volume is studded over, indeed, with acute expositions of particular texts, and keen criticisms of the interpretative findings of rival schools. In dealing with the difficult twelfth chapter, he is at issue both with Hengstenberg and with Ewald. He cannot see in the vision of the woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, in the red dragon, and the birth of the man-child, the kind of reference so generally claimed to the circumstances of the nativity and childhood

of Jesus. He seeks the explanation in the Old Testament imagery of the Church as Jehovah's spouse or wife, and in the Rabbinical conceptions connected with that formula. The *city*, in the eleventh chapter, he takes to be Jerusalem, but Jerusalem as the representative of the Jewish people; the *saints* or *servants* there are believers, of whatever extraction, Jewish or Gentile. To take the term as a figure built upon the model of the ministry of Moses and Elias, or the law and the prophets, and as indicating a final call to repentance, will, he thinks, best furnish a due sense for the *two witnesses*. He has much to say about the *times*, as constructed on the type of Daniel's, and as a scheme signifying generally a period measured by God, and comparatively limited. He dissents, however, from those who see no sort of historical force in these chronologies. He cannot understand, indeed, how John could have written such words as xvi. 15, if he had had any idea of fixing a date for the Lord's coming. But he believes, at the same time, that there are other passages which he could not have written had he conceived of it as hundreds or thousands of years distant; and concludes, consequently, that John did look upon Christ's advent as near, and that this sense of the nearness of that event was one of the great convictions prompting the composition of this book. He adopts that view of *Harmagedon* which balances it against the Old Testament Megiddo, giving it, however, this turn, namely, that the contrast lies between the *valley* on the one hand and the *hill* on the other—the field of *overthrow* in Josiah's case, and the scene of final *victory*, in Christ's instance, over the kings of the earth. In expounding the title *Lamb*, he would combine all the ideas contained, not only in the *paschal* lamb of the old economy, but also in the lambs employed for the various oblations of purification, and in the distinctive picture of the "lamb brought to the slaughter" in Isaiah liii.

The great interest of the treatise, however, is in its attitude towards the Johannine debate. A very careful analysis of the different books ascribed to John is used as a test of the alleged existence of differences so radical as to make it impossible to suppose these writings to have proceeded from one hand, and most of all from an apostle. The issues to which this pet thesis of free criticism leads are instructively diverse. Baur, on the one hand, uses it as an expedient for proving the Johannine origin of the Apocalypse, and disproving that of the Gospel; a second party, on the other hand, employs it to discredit the Revelation and establish the Gospel; while a third and more recent section presses it to the conclusion of a denial of the apostolic origin of either. The uncertainties of these results may fairly be taken as an argument against the thesis itself. When some of its stoutest assertors allow themselves to speak of the Apocalypse as "one of the literary presuppositions of the Gospel," and others describe the Gospel as a "transfigured revelation," its own advocates insensibly attest its insufficiency. Gebhardt has a keen eye to these inconsistencies in the application of that popular critical principle, subjects the principle itself to the verifying force of a wide and cautious induction of particulars, and ranges himself with those who hold the Johannine origin, direct or mediate, of all the writings.

It is only incidentally that he touches upon alleged differences in lan-

guage and grammar. On these we get some good hints. But for the successful treatment of that side of the question, we must go to men like Ebrard, who have called attention to the strange similarities of diction (such as the use of *καί*, with terms like *ἰσχυρία*, *γνώμη*, *ψῆδος*, *ἀλήθεια*) which run alongside apparent discrepancies, and who have attempted to shew how these variations are explicable as the natural consequences of the distinct *genera* of composition ruling the several books. But if Mr Gebhardt has comparatively little to add to what has been previously accomplished in proving that there is no hopeless chasm between the different writings in respect of style, he has an important contribution to make towards the settlement of the problem on the doctrinal side. Of these researches it is certainly not too much to say with Luthardt ("John the Author of the Fourth Gospel," p. 260-1) that "they serve to reduce to more moderate proportions the common representations as to the irreconcilable difference of the two books."

Among the best paragraphs in this division of the work are those which deal with the *Christological* ideas—the Logos, the Lamb, the attitude of Christ, &c. Hard bested must that criticism be which attempts, at least on this basis, to establish counter-issues, if we find it now ranging the "amiable Jesus" of the gospel against the "severe Christ" of the Apocalypse, again denying that any dogmatic value can be claimed for the symbolical language of the latter book, and yet again admitting the strong *theologic* teaching, and turning it into an argument against the same. These pronounced *theologic* titles assigned to Christ, says Baur, are only so many names externally imposed. We have in them, reasons Scholten, so remarkable an apotheosis of Jesus, that we cannot possibly conceive the Apocalypse to have been composed by a contemporary of Christ. Through mazes like these Mr Gebhardt cautiously makes his own way, and patiently carries us on to the result, that definite views of Christ's Person do lie at the foundation of the imagery and visions of the book; that these views are at once distinctly *theologic*, and entirely harmonious with those given in the gospel and epistles; and that, if in a necessary conformity with the particular objects of the several books the Christ of grace prevails in the latter, and the Lord of judicial power and righteousness appears largely in the former, there are passages enough in the gospel to shew that the idea of the Judge's prerogative is by no means strange to it, and representations in the Apocalypse sufficient to make it plain that the evangelical mission underlies the whole.

Much quietly effective service is rendered in disposing of the so-called anti-Pauline tendencies. Even Keim still believes that an assault on Paulinism discovers itself in the Apocalypse, and others, like Volkmar, think that, if the Gentiles have any standing in the book, it is only by a side admission. Gebhardt gathers up evidence enough to satisfy us of the unreality of this enforced antithesis between the Judaism of the Revelation and the anti-Judaism of the gospel. Should not even great solitary utterances, such as that in iv. 22, disprove this pretended anti-Judaism in the evangelic narrative? And do we not find, as in xi. 8-10, the Apocalypse setting statements of peculiar Jewish priority and

privilege side by side with declarations of the ultimate issues of grace as broad as anything in Paul?

Other points of alleged discrepancy are dealt with in an equally fair and cautious spirit. The difficulties connected with the Eschatology and the doctrine of God are impartially considered. That those great formulæ of the divine nature, *light, life, love*, which are so familiar to us in the other Johannine writings, fail to appear in the Apocalypse, is, of course, admitted. But the beautiful imagery of the throne, the city whose light is the Lord, and many others of these choice symbolisms, are shewn to convey precisely the same conceptions. And while it is allowed that the gospel teaches usually a spiritual advent, and the Apocalypse a literal, it is made clear that they have their unmistakable points of contact, the Spirit of whose coming the gospel speaks being Christ's Spirit, and the literal and remoter coming of Christ which the Apocalypse keeps in view, involving nothing necessarily inconsistent with previous spiritual and preparatory advents.

In a book of such rich and varied contents, the want of a good index is a great defect. It is natural, too, for the author to make too much of some of the elements in the Apocalypse which he fixes on as helping largely to determine the Johannine problem. But he certainly gives us reason enough to consider whether it may not be wise to face that question more decidedly from this particular side than has latterly been the case. The evidence which he sifts and arrays will convince most that gospel, epistles, and Apocalypse, proceed at least from the Johannine circle. It ought to satisfy the majority that, in respect of modes of thought and doctrinal ideas, there is nothing seriously calculated to bar a verdict in favour of the composition of all these writings by the hand of the self-same John, contemporary, eye-witness, and one of the select three among the apostles of the Lord Jesus.

S. D. F. S.

The Kingdom of the Heavens. By FRANCIS JOHN BODFIELD HOOPER, B.A., Rector of Upton Warren, Worcestershire. Pp. 436. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1876.

This is a very ingenious and elaborate investigation of the meaning of the Biblical phrase that forms its title; but its results seem to us to be vitiated by a fundamental mistake that pervades it. Mr Hooper tells us that the received theory of the Jews at our Lord's advent was, that the world had lasted six ages of one thousand years each, after which was to come the seventh or Sabbatic millennium, when the Messiah was to reign on earth with his risen and glorified saints; and he endeavours to prove that this notion was confirmed by Christ, only purified from its grossly worldly colouring, and that the constant teaching of the New Testament is, that the kingdom exists in heaven, and is to be brought down to earth at the second coming of Christ. This was not only expected, but predicted, to take place within the generation of the apostles; but to these predictions a tacit condition was annexed—the faith of a sufficient number of mankind—and this not having been realised, the prophecy remains as yet unfulfilled. This is a theory for which we can see no positive evidence,

and to which there are strong theological objections. Mr Hooper endeavours to make it out by a very careful and exhaustive examination of all the passages in the New Testament that bear on the subject, and in many of his criticisms and comments on particular points we entirely agree with him. He is right, for example, in holding that the kingdom of God is not identical with the Church, either visible or invisible, or with the gospel dispensation ; also, as it seems to us, in his views of *hades* and *paradise*, and in the belief that this earth is to be the abode of the glorified saints. But we cannot accept his notions of a kingdom actually existing already in heaven, with a material city and temple, nor of a twofold resurrection, nor of divine predictions that have failed of their accomplishment because of human unbelief. And we cannot but think that the New Testament is to be understood in the light of the great spiritual ideas of Old Testament prophecy, rather than in that of unauthorised and fanciful theories that may have prevailed among the Jews.

A Chronological and Geographical Introduction to the Life of Christ. By CH. ED. CASPARI. Translated, with additional Notes, by MAURICE J. EVANS, B.A. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 1876.

This is a laborious and learned work that will be found very useful to students of the gospel history. It does not profess to give an exhibition of the life of our Lord in its real historical, doctrinal, or spiritual aspects, but merely to settle those questions of times and places that form the outer framework of his earthly life. It is well known to all students of Scripture that there are many intricate questions as to the chronology of the leading events in New Testament history on which many conflicting opinions have been held, and that these sometimes affect the interpretation we should give to particular passages. This work of Caspari's will be a help to those who wish to attain some definite conclusions on such questions. It contains very full information, presented with considerable clearness, as to the Jewish calendar, and modes of computing days and months and years in the time of Christ ; and the knowledge of these is often helpful to the understanding of Scripture, and of the discussions that have been carried on in connection with it. In some important points Caspari comes to conclusions different from the views generally adopted. He fixes our Lord's birth in 752 u.c., i.e. only two years before the common reckoning, differing from almost all other chronologists in placing Herod's death in 753 instead of 750 u.c. The year of our Saviour's entering on his public ministry he holds to have been 781 u.c., 28 A.D., that being, according to his reckoning, the 15th of Tiberius, though this also is about two years later than the computation of most historians. Another somewhat novel opinion of our author is, that the feast mentioned in John v. 1 was the day of atonement, and thus he agrees with those who recognise only three passovers in Christ's ministry, so as to limit it to two years. His death he places in 783 u.c., 30 A.D., and on the 14th of Nisan, the day when the passover was slain, and that before the first feast day. A point of later chronology in which also Caspari differs from

most other authorities is, that he thinks Paul's conversion took place in this same year, 30 A.D. We have thus indicated the leading results of Caspari's chronological investigations, without attempting to discuss their correctness, which may be open to some doubt in several instances. His views are uniformly supported by learned references, especially to Jewish sources of information, on which, indeed, he seems sometimes to lean too much. We could have wished that he had made more reference to views differing from his own, held by able and learned writers, and were occasionally less confident in the correctness of his results, for really on some of the points above noted it must be admitted that no certainty has as yet been attained. We are surprised that he takes no notice of Zumpt's researches as to the census of Quirinus, and adopts what really is an utterly impossible rendering of Luke ii. 2; also, that in order to solve the difficulty as to the hour of the crucifixion, he takes refuge in the very ill-supported and improbable reading *sixth* for *third* in Mark xv. 25.

In regard to the geography of the scenes of our Lord's ministry, there are also some doubtful and disputed points on which Caspari gives his opinion, with its grounds. He identifies Capernaum, not with Tell Hum, but with Ain Mudawarah, further south, and maintains the existence of two places called Bethsaida. In regard to the topography of Jerusalem, he believes in the truth of the traditional site of the holy sepulchre, though here, as on some other points, he does not deal so fully with the views of others as we might have desired and expected. The work seems to be well translated, and reads smoothly in English.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Studies: Biblical and Oriental. By Rev. WILLIAM TURNER. Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black. 1876.

The first study, two parts of which are a reprint from the "Journal of Sacred Literature," and the third part written for the present work, contains a full, lucid, and accurate account of the marvellous patience and ingenuity whereby the cuneiform inscriptions were deciphered, and our knowledge of the remote past so greatly widened. Mr Turner begins with the beginning, and after a short account of the nature of cuneiform writing and of the difficulties of its interpretation, he traces the progress of its discovery, from the rude efforts of Niebuhr through the labours of Grotefend, Rask, and Burnouf, until almost simultaneously and independently of one another, Lassen and Rawlinson were able to construct an alphabet, and the long-lost secret was laid open. We cannot follow here the various steps in the long tentative process, nor stay to appraise the great results already won. We refer our readers to Mr Turner's book, which they will find a true and trustworthy guide. The third part of this essay recounts shortly what has been achieved during the last ten years. And in this part Mr Turner, in reply to the Rev. Dr Kay, who in the "Speaker's Commentary" on Isaiah had said, "that for the present and (probably for a long time to come) the decipherment cannot be held to furnish the materials of authentic history," proceeds to test the trustworthiness of the

results, and is able, we think, triumphantly to shew how worthy of all confidence the results of cuneiform decipherment may be shewn to be. He thus sums up what may be commended as a model of fair controversy:—

“In regard to the bearing of these discoveries on the interpretation of the Old Testament, it is not necessary to say more than a few words. It is evidently important that another has been added to the comparatively small group of known Shemitic languages, and a new tongue recovered, which is sister to the Hebrew and Aramæan of the Jewish records. There has thus been brought within our reach a new and presumably a fertile source for the illustration of grammatical forms and phrases, and for the determination of the meaning of the words; and even a few specimens given above are sufficient to shew that results of value are beginning to be obtained. Still more important than the interpretation of the words is the interpretation of the facts of Scripture; and it is unnecessary to dwell upon the obvious truth that every considerable increase in our knowledge of contemporaneous and related facts must be greatly helpful in enabling us to set those of revelation in their true light, and in guiding us to a full comprehension of their significance.”

The next two papers, on “Berosus,” and on “Nimrod and his Destiny,” contain an interesting and valuable discussion on the critical, historical, and ethnological questions which cluster around these names; while the fourth paper, on the “Geography of the Exodus,” gives a full exposition of Brugsch-Bey’s theory, expounded at the International Congress of Orientalists held at London in 1874, regarding Israel’s exodus from Egypt and passage through the Red Sea. The theory of Brugsch-Bey is shortly this—that the sea referred to in the description of the final encampment “between Migdol and the sea,” is the Mediterranean; and that Pi-hahiroth there mentioned is a descriptive name of the “Serbonian Bog,” before which they encamped, and through which they were pursued. The evidence is stated fully by Mr Turner, and to the theory he gives a qualified assent, holding that, while the contributions of Brugsch-Bey are so valuable as to form an epoch in the literature of the subject, yet there remains a good deal yet to be done ere the matter can be held as settled.

Our perusal of the other parts of Mr Turner’s volume caused us to turn with peculiar zest to his treatment of the Book of Job. For the interest of that wondrous book is perennial. Whether it be the literary form of the book, or the light it casts on human life and social customs removed far from us in space and time, or the enduring nature of the problems of life and destiny which were discussed between Job and his friends, certain it is that there is no order of mind but has felt the fascinating power of that great drama. The interest of many in the book of Job is of the same kind as they feel in “Hamlet” or in “Faust.” But to Mr Turner it has a deeper value far. Not only does he feel the literary power and dramatic force of the Book of Job, but the human interest is deepened by the conviction that Job and his friends were real persons, and the thrilling events and speeches were events and words that were transacted and spoken in the land of Uz far back in human history. It is no mere dramatic fiction. It is “the inspired record of an interposition by God in a particular scene of human life.”

"It shews us men, in their human weakness, darkness, sinfulness, doubting, groping, struggling, rashly accusing, and rashly repelling accusation, involved in blind amazement and alarm, or in equally blind self-confidence and pride; and it shews us God arranging, regulating, overruling the whole action, so as to make it, as here recorded, a source of permanent instruction to the whole world."

The scene is laid in two worlds. There is a mundane and a supra-mundane problem to be solved. The mundane is that regarding human suffering, and the relation in which this stands to God and to this righteousness. But this is not the only thing which is of interest in the action of the book, though it does form the main theme of the controversy between Job and his friends. This part is fully and graphically set forth by Mr Turner, and then he turns to the other or supra-mundane action. This is the question as to the possibility on earth of implicit faith in and disinterested love to God. It is Satan's question—"Does Job serve God for nought?"—which is the hinge on which the action in the invisible turns. Are piety and love based on calculation and on selfishness? Is it possible for Satan to say to the Almighty—"Thou has withheld Thy grace from me, and I continue Thy adversary; but at least I am Thy adversary, open and declared. Surely better than Thou hast made of those men, Thy favourites, to whom Thou shewest partiality of kindness, whom Thou hast bribed to be Thy servants, yet whom all Thy bribes have failed to win from my side, and have only changed from enmity open and honest to enmity secret and fawning; who have not ceased to be true servants of mine in becoming pretended servants of Thine. And from more grace, what fruit will spring but a more deep-rooted and calculating selfishness? What can be expected from the bestowing of fresh and richer bribes, but that those who flatter Thee to Thy face will say in their hearts, Let us continue in sin, that grace may abound? No doubt religion will luxuriantly flourish when religion pays so well. Treat me as Thou treated Job, and I will serve Thee too?"

Such is Mr Turner's paraphrase of the question, Does Job serve God for nought? If Satan's accusation be true, then religion is impossible. If it be true, then the very greatness of the Eternal dooms him to be for ever without a friend, and to dwell with his creatures all around him in eternal solitude and utter loneliness. Looked at in this light, the subsequent action of Job under trial shews that religion is possible. The trial of Job was the trial of the possibility of disinterested love to God, and his triumph is at once the triumph of the power of redeeming love and of man's love to God. Thus the Book of Job has its own peculiar place in the order and progress of God's revelation. Having stated the problem in its mundane and supra-mundane aspects, Mr Turner, in conclusion, draws four inferences, which we shall mention. 1. The narrative describes real events; 2. The action here narrated occurred during patriarchal or pre-Mosaic times; 3. The book was written in pre-Mosaic times; 4. It was essential to the function of this book that it should be communicated to the Israelitish race, and thus come to the world through the chosen medium of supernatural revelation. Mr Turner is aware that the great weight of modern authority dates the book at the time of Solomon, or subsequently; but notwithstanding he holds the

opinion stated above, our readers should refer to his pages to see what can be said for the older or the traditional view.

The paper on the "Israelitish Economy" is the most valuable in the volume, from a theological point of view. In it many of the gravest Apologetic questions of our time are touched on, and their solution indicated. Its value is great at the present moment.

The papers on "The Invasions of the Land of Israel," on "The Death of Judas Iscariot," and on "The Tenses of the Hebrew Verb," make up the remainder of the volume, and are of much value in their respective fields. We take leave of Mr Turner by saying that we have found his book refreshing and stimulating in no ordinary degree, and we are glad to find men among our Presbyterian ministers capable of producing work of so satisfactory a kind.

J. I.

Grace for Grace. Letters of Rev. WILLIAM JAMES, of Albany, U.S.A.

With Introduction by D. L. MOODY. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1875.

This volume has gained some notoriety of late in consequence of the publication of a correspondence regarding it between Lord Shaftesbury and Mr Moody. We cannot but regret that Lord Shaftesbury should have pronounced an interdict upon the book, for, though the probable result will be that it will be more largely read than it would otherwise have been, many will read it with the feeling that they are to criticise it and search for errors rather than to gain from it the help and stimulus it is well fitted to afford. The fact that the author refers to certain well-known writers, whose works thoughtful men will read, whether they are thoroughly evangelical or not, is surely not sufficient to destroy his usefulness, especially when it is considered that he discusses, very fairly on the whole, their errors and defects. No doubt the book is not one for young converts, and we are not aware that any one has alleged that it is; but for well-grounded Christians who desire helps and hints as to growth in grace, we believe it may be exceedingly useful. It consists of a collection of letters written by an American clergyman to private correspondents who had sought his advice. These letters consist very largely of the personal experience of the author himself detailed in the freedom of confidential friendship. They are not arranged in order of time, but grouped under certain headings, which, to a great extent, obliterates the marks of progress, and introduces a slight confusion. The author being, as a biographical notice informs us, of mixed Irish and Dutch descent, is of an unusually emotional temperament, and rises at times where colder natures cannot follow him. But certainly the end he set before him deserves, if anything does, the name of "the higher life," and the path by which he sought it is the only one that will lead to it. Starting from a firm trust in the love of God revealed in Christ Jesus, and securing in him our complete salvation, he seeks to gain for himself, and to help his correspondents to gain, such a knowledge and sense of the fulness of that love, that it shall more and more thoroughly "constrain" them, and be the moving principle

of all their lives. It seeks to see, and to lead them to see, that love making all things—even trials and shortcomings and failures—work together for good, for carrying out God's gracious purpose with them.

Numerous interesting extracts might be given to shew the character of the book. Probably the most interesting in present circumstances will be some that refer to "Perfection." "I think we ought to be on our guard against being unduly influenced by those books where the writers, in laying out all their power in explaining the immediate and secondary agencies upon which the spiritual life depends—the agencies of the human will—unintentionally, to be sure, but often too effectually, impair the symmetry of the great scheme of grace. I have often felt in reading these books how desirable it was to connect more closely with such views of creature agency and the necessity of holiness the doctrines of total natural depravity, of regeneration wholly by the Spirit (not by truths, but by power), and of justification, entire and unchangeable, by faith in its simplest form." "The truth is, there are two kinds of perfectionists—those who truly want *holiness*, and those who only want *rest*. The latter, tired of incessant conflict, get rest from it by assuming that the law does not require quite as much as they had been taught to believe, and that perfection consists in doing the best they can. The other class, not so much tired of conflict as sick of sin, without changing their theoretic views, only make a more thorough application of them to their own individual conditions. They are determined to enter into life. Allured by the wonderful love of God in justifying them freely—the love of sin having received a mortal blow from what is called a sight of the cross, or, expressed more practically, from a thorough conviction of the design of Christ's death, they are determined that sin shall not live in them. This leads them to discover its existence in secret, subtle, but most powerful forms, which, perhaps, they had never suspected, to which, at anyrate, they had been so vitally attached, that to part with them was like parting with life. Upon the surrender of these, they find the sanctifying process become a matter of such sensible consciousness, that if the intellect is not as clear and discriminating as the heart is warm, they will be likely to consider it their first experience of holiness; or, if they are very uninformed by previous reflection in the system of the Bible, they may adopt for a little while the fancy of perfection, from which, however, their experience will soon dislodge them." His own experience in this direction the author sums up thus—"I find that just in so far as I yield to the gospel persuasion, that on God's part all is love, free and unconditional, my selfish bonds are broken, my response to that love becomes more distinct and certain, and whatever there is of self-life remaining (and who can describe its tenacity), my jealousy like a powerful flame searches it out and consumes it. I have learned at length that seeking to know how far purity may be attained is the same as asking to what extent we may get rid of self-righteousness. The more we get rid of self-dependence and truly depend upon Christ, the more purity shall we attain."

Memoir of the Rev. John Macfarlane, LL.D. By WILLIAM GRAHAM.
 Liverpool. Edinburgh : William Oliphant & Co. London : James
 Nisbet & Co.

This is a delightful memoir. It is full of interest, sweetness, and beauty. Mr Graham has a bright and well-stored mind. He has poured some of its most precious treasures into this book. None who knew Dr Macfarlane can fail to appreciate the portrait he has executed of him. The subordinate portraits are equally well drawn. Some of them are exquisite.

Mr Graham has well exhibited the whole of his splendid career, following him minutely and interestingly through his preparatory course, and depicting vividly "his public life, with its three divisions—Kincardine, Glasgow, and London." In all of these three places the doctor was eminently successful. In Kincardine, where he ministered with abundant acceptability, he fought and won, on a small scale, the battle of the Church's independence.

" 'A steeple,' he records, 'was elevated on his church in the summer of 1832 ; cost £180.' But a steeple without a bell is an incompleteness, and a bell without a tongue one more so ; not to be used is one still greater. So in the course of building this steeple, an interdict was served upon the minister, elders, and managers, at the instance of the Rev. Andrew Bullock. The interdict has, oddly enough, the signature of Mr Bell, the procurator of the Church. The principle which it was intended to establish, was the exclusive right of the Established Church to the use of bells for intimating the time of public worship. The case latterly was allowed to be withdrawn, the parish minister, however, being found liable in all expenses. Of course this was the great event for the time in Kincardine. Nor was the young minister one on whose tongue it was easy to place an interdict. The sound of that bell went far and wide ; and often in after days, with laughter and complacency, he told the story of his early triumph, in having secured a hearing for the first dissenting bell in Scotland."

In Glasgow he reared, from "small things," one of the most magnificent congregations in it ; the new church erected for him significantly receiving the name of Erskine church. His pious eloquence soon "filled the house," and kept it filled. There he nobly and manfully bore his part along with his great contemporaries. He had no special adaptability for the business of church courts, because, as his biographer truly says, "of an irrepressible element of his method of working, he could not, as must be done in such assemblies, follow, in order to lead," nor was he addicted to public controversy ; nevertheless in the vital controversies of his time he was profoundly interested.

"When the Disruption came, he hailed it as Ralph Erskine would have done ; and from that day to this, amidst all temporary alienations and permanent scars left by blows in old fights between men who were, after all, really on the same side, and a shyness to interfere, lest over-sympathy should rouse self-respect and pain sensitiveness, none have felt like the old Seceders, with the same intensity alike of sympathy and admiration as towards brothers of the same home, for the martyr-like struggles and victories of the Free Church."

In the union between the Secession and Relief Churches, Dr Macfarlane took a special interest, not only because of his warm attachment to his old friend Dr M'Kelvie, who was the chief promoter of the movement and Convener of the Committee to carry it out, but because of his love of union as a principle and a privilege. No more cordial or satisfactory union ever took place. In these days of union negotiations, it is timely to say so. The one which has been so happily consummated in England between the English Presbyterian Church and the English division of the United Presbyterian Church, not only did he with his keen eye foresee, but he took a constant and fervent part in helping to bring it about. It is not too much to hope that it will prove the fortunate forerunner of union on a much more extensive scale.

In 1855 he was called to preach the London Missionary Society's sermon. This evinced that his reputation had "become British and catholic." "Perhaps his most felicitous public appearance was on this occasion. He was guided well in choosing his theme, that of giving to promote the Master's work; also in putting the theme into one word lent him by the heavenly worshippers. His text was, 'Worthy is the Lamb to receive . . . riches;' and again he was happy in the title of the published discourse, 'Altar Gold.'" Then he had his place established among the notabilities of English dissent, and received from them that praise which was his due.

At length he came to England finally, and heroically served his church in the great metropolis. His course in Trinity Presbyterian Church, Clapham, is but recent; and to most, if not to all of our readers, well known, hence there is the less need to enlarge on it. Suffice it to say that there he not only attracted around him a large and influential congregation, which shewed its appreciation of his eminent labours by giving him the largest stipend ever enjoyed by any minister of his denomination, but, though a very heavy debt rested on the magnificent church premises, he left them free. Truly his career in Clapham, while laborious and trying, was splendid. All admired and venerated the picturesque, powerful, and popular preacher of Trinity Church.

Dr Macfarlane was the author of a number of books, the chief of which was "The Life and Times of Dr Lawson," the famous Professor of the United Secession Church, and as Mr Carlyle has styled him, the "Scottish Socrates of the period." Perhaps, however, his favourite work was his "Night Lamp," which touchingly and interestingly details how darkness was dispelled from the death-bed of his beloved sister. Testimonies of good derived from this book he received from far and near.

Dr Macfarlane "did not live his life in vain." He built up enduring monuments for himself in large and devoted congregations, as well as in the hearts of many multitudes, to whom his memory will ever remain green and fragrant.

Notes on the Earlier Hebrew Scriptures. By Sir G. B. AIRY, K.C.B.
London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1876.

These are brief remarks by a thoughtful and vigorous mind on the leading passages of Scripture history, from the beginning as far down as the

time of Solomon. The author does not profess to be a Hebrew scholar, but he has made use of the means of information afforded by modern research, and applies to the interpretation of the narratives a knowledge of ancient history and geography and a good deal of ingenuity. His view of the subject is in some respects peculiar, and not likely to satisfy either believers or unbelievers. He holds the first four books of the Pentateuch to be the production of Moses, but Deuteronomy to be of much later date; while to some parts of Genesis he ascribes a much earlier origin. Yet he dogmatically rejects all that is supernatural in these narratives, and explains the apparently miraculous occurrences as simply natural events. Thus, the account of the Flood is the description by an eye-witness of an unusually high inundation of the Nile: the burning bush, the pillar of cloud and fire, and the phenomena attending the giving of the law at Sinai, are all explained by supposing that that mountain was then a volcano in a state of eruption. We had thought that such naturalistic explanations had received their death-blow from Strauss, but that critic's work has apparently to be done over again. We need only say that there is no ground whatever for this theory, except the assumption that a supernatural interference of the Creator with the universe he has made can never take place. Since in Sir G. B. Airy's opinion Moses, as a patriot towards his own people, as the introducer of a pure religion, and as the author of a legislation, pure, merciful, and just, stands above all other men (p. 97); we see no reason why these qualities should not be traced to special revelation from God, and his gracious hand be recognised in the establishment of the Hebrew religion and law. While thus doing justice to Moses, the author of these notes manifests great unfairness of judgment in his estimate of the moral character of the prophets, and especially of David. The book seems to us chiefly valuable as shewing how much can be said even from such a naturalistic point of view in favour of the Mosaic authorship of the earlier books of the Pentateuch.

The Son of Man: His Life and Ministry. By G. S. DREW, M.A.
London: Henry S. King & Co. 1875.

Mr Drew has succeeded in presenting an aspect of the life of our Lord on earth, which, as far as we know, has not yet been signalised, but which is of considerable importance. It has been usual to speak of the earlier part of his earthly career as almost entirely unknown, having been spent in the obscurity of private life at Nazareth; but it is shewn in his little book, that it is not so entirely unknown as has often been supposed; and an effort is made, with much success, to bring out what can be discovered about it. The means employed by Mr Drew for that purpose are partly the information we have as to the conditions and circumstances of Jesus' private life, and partly the application of the principle that the same general features must have marked it as are to be traced in his public ministry. By the indications thus given, the life of Jesus is traced in his earlier days in the family, in the community, in the nation, and in the Church. Then this same private life is followed out as it flows like an under current,

through his public ministry on to his death and resurrection. Mr Drew expresses strongly the opinion that it was first at his baptism that our Lord became fully conscious in his human soul of his divine nature and sonship; and we would not condemn that view as absolutely inconsistent with the true doctrine of his person. On such a mysterious point, and in the absence of any direct evidence from Scripture, it is wisest not to dogmatise. But we would suggest, whether it is not more consistent with the unity of his person, to believe that from the time when he had a human consciousness at all, he knew himself to be, what he really was, the Word made flesh and dwelling among men. The view given here of the suffering and death of Christ is also somewhat defective, though true so far as it goes. But, on the whole, the book is a valuable and suggestive one.

The Religion of our Literature: Essays upon Thomas Carlyle, Robert Browning, Alfred Tennyson, &c. BY GEORGE M'CRIE. Pp. 359. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1875.

It is a remarkable feature of the literature of the present day that, even in works of imagination, religion is not ignored; and the writers are not content with merely providing for the amusement of the public, but, in poetry and fiction, come forward with great earnestness as teachers of moral and religious truth. This is, in one aspect, a favourable and encouraging sign, shewing the influence of Christian feeling; but at the same time it is not without its dangers. For as it could hardly be expected, that in so general an attention to religious subjects, all who write upon them would be guided by true and Scriptural principles, there is a risk that many of the popular expressions on the subject may be defective, if not perverted and false exhibitions of the religion of Christ. Sensible of this, Mr M'Crie, in the work before us, has undertaken an examination of the works of some of the most gifted and influential of modern writers, partly applying to them literary criticism, but mainly aiming at an estimate of their principles and tendencies in relation to evangelical Christianity. In this he is perhaps rather too apt to judge by external standards, and to apply the strict rule of theological orthodoxy when, especially in dealing with those who are not professed theologians, the spirit should be regarded rather than the letter; but it can hardly be doubted that the serious defects and errors that he points out are really to be found in the several writers that come under review in these essays. Possibly Mr M'Crie's literary criticism has been unconsciously influenced to some extent by his sense of the religious shortcomings and aberrations that he has to notice; but he is surely justified in saying that much of our modern poetry is marred by artificiality and want of truth to nature. The criticisms, whether they commend themselves as just or not, are those of an intelligent and accomplished student, who thinks independently, and expresses his thoughts boldly. While we do not agree with all his criticisms, we regard the book as on the whole good, and fitted to be useful; and must protest against the disparagement and contempt with which it has been received in certain quarters.

Songs of the Christian Creed and Life. Selected from Eighteen Centuries, and Translated by HAMILTON M. MACGILL, D.D. London: Pickering. 1876.

This is a welcome and valuable addition to the selections of hymns that have been already given to the Christian public, and is marked by certain features of its own that give it a distinctive character and place. It embraces hymns from all the ages of the Christian Church, and from its Latin, Greek, and Protestant divisions, though, in respect of language, it is limited to those in Greek, Latin, and English, excluding hymns in German and other modern languages. Each hymn is accompanied by a translation from the compiler's pen; those in Greek and Latin being rendered into English, and the English ones into Latin, after the manner of the mediæval hymns. There is also prefixed a very interesting series of biographical notes on the writers of the various hymns. The selection is well made, in a catholic spirit, and with a due appreciation of the devotional and literary merits of the various hymns. It is an excellent plan to give the original of the Greek and Latin hymns along with a translation in English verse; and these renderings are, on the whole, exceedingly well done, faithful to the originals, yet smooth and freely flowing. We are not so sure of the propriety of the translation of English hymns into the accented and rhyming Latin metre of the mediæval singers, though it is a harmless and scholarly ingenuity. Notwithstanding all that Trench and Dr MacGill have said, these forms seem to us barbarous and uncouth; and it is in spite of them that we admire the devotional fervour, beauty, and frequent sublimity of thought in the hymns of the middle ages. If there is to be any rendering of English hymns into Latin, it would surely be more in accordance with good taste to attempt at least such an approach to the classical metres as is made in the hymns of Ambrose. On the whole, however, this little book has given us much pleasure, and will, we are sure, be a treasured acquisition to many.

The Eastward Position, Unscriptural and not Primitive and Catholic. By JOHN HARRISON, D.D. London: Longmans, Green, & Co 1876. Pp. 176.

This little work, by the author of "Whose are the Fathers?" and other works against the Ritualist party in the Church of England, discusses with learning and ingenuity one of the small points of ceremony debated between that party and their adversaries; and to those not immediately interested in that controversy, its chief interest lies in the proof he brings from ancient authorities that the Presbyterian practice of the communion table being placed between the minister and the people was the ancient one, and in customary use until the middle ages. Dr Harrison also discusses the doctrines held by Ritualists to be symbolized in the priestly position of the minister at the Lord's Supper.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW.

OCTOBER 1876.

ART. I.—*Schleiermacher Interpreted by Himself and the Men of his School.*

1. *Aus Schleiermacher's Leben.* In Briefen, 4 Bde G. Reimer, Berlin. 1860–64.
2. *Dr D. Schenkl. Fr. Schleiermacher: Ein Lebens-u. Charakter-bild.* Friderichs in Elberfeld. 1868.
3. *Kahnis. Der innere Gang des Deutschen Protestantismus.* Leipzig, 1^{te} Ausgabe.
4. *Strauss. Charakteristike u. Kritiken.* 1839.

FOR those who can admire genius severed from truth, Schleiermacher will ever stand forth as one of the most eminent objects of their veneration. He is a perfect magician and master of spells, casting glamour over the greatest minds. It proves him not only to have had an element of mysticism derived from the Moravians, as he often avows, but to have been a thoroughly-practised mystifier; that the work which the most out-and-out rationalists, such as the low Socinian Schenkl, to whom Christ is a mere man, and not even a perfect man (Schenkl, p. 490), have accepted as the most triumphant vindication of their own scheme; should fifty years later have kept the orthodox Lutherans in play with the question, whether its phraseology could not admit of a sound interpretation; till the victory was decided, and the work had obtained a right of citizenship among Christian authors. It was not till the private

correspondence of Schleiermacher was published, in four ample volumes, recording the inmost and real sentiment of the man, that the deception could be fully dissipated. So late as 1860, Kahnis treats this question as still in the balance so far as respects the "Doctrine of Faith," were it not that his dialectics so plainly reveal a Pantheist of the purest water, that he is constrained to admit (p. 197) that Schleiermacher's theology had ploughed with the heifer of his philosophy. If he could turn a dark side to the orthodox, it must have been on the maxim *qui vult decipi*, for to his own party all was clear gain and exultation from the first. David Strauss at once hailed him as his own; and Schenkl justly accords him the distinction of being the first who made a complete application of the new theological principle (viz., that there is nothing supernatural in religion) to the scheme of Christian doctrine in all its particulars. We may justly designate this a new revelation which promulgates a faith in the name of Christ in every point diametrically the opposite exhibited in the Scriptures of truth. It was thought that Kant effected a revolution in philosophy, for while others disputed how the laws of thought were produced in the mind by the operation of natural causes, he maintained that these laws are attributes of the mind itself; it was plain that Schleiermacher attempted a no less thorough revolution when he derived the substance of religion, not from revealed truth, but from certain devout sentiments observed to exist in the mind of the church. To illustrate this state of things, we shall enter somewhat minutely into his doctrine of God, and of the person of Christ, and of the grace or benefit which Christ confers; after which some explanation must be attempted of the partiality which such men as Neander and Tholuck always evinced for one standing in such evident opposition to the testimony of Jesus.

His design was no less than to foist the God of the Pantheists upon the Christian Church, in place of the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ revealed in the Word. That this was the God acknowledged in his own breast to the end of his days can be proved beyond dispute. No doubt he professed to differ from Spinoza in excluding all the antagonism that is at work in the world of finite being, the dualism and opposition of thought and volition, from the idea of the infinite.

Hear the unprejudiced verdict of Chalybaeus concerning this deity of Schleiermacher's :—

“It is not so much to be feared (p. 228) that the *absolute substance* of this system should exercise such a preponderance in the world as to become itself the soul of all operation in it, and thus annihilate human freedom, as that it would on the contrary have the semblance as if finite objects would subordinate and subject this characterless substance, and by virtue of their intelligence treat it as an inactive substratum. . . . Schleiermacher could, according to his system, allow of no influence to be exercised by this fundamental substance upon the forms and oppositions of finite life, even the existence of the world has only a negative dependence upon it . . . the absolute is only the postulate, apart from which the higher and more concrete principles can have no existence or operation . . . which is in fact to involve in it nothing but matter or substratum.”

His God is nothing but the King Log of the fable, and is a much less respectable being than the meanest creature possessed of any measure of intelligence and moral sensibility. It would have been at once subversive of his design to profess openly his purpose of introducing Spinoza's platform into the Christian Church, and for this reason he omits altogether to treat of God in his theology. It was a bold move to propose a scheme of the faith without delivering any doctrine concerning God. The substitute for it is, that certain divine attributes are treated of in different places as impressions which are irresistibly made upon men in their devout experiences, but to which we are not to suppose that there is anything corresponding in God. Of him we may neither say that he is holy as hating sin, nor righteous as having zeal against iniquity, because sin for God has no existence—it is a nullity which is finally to be blotted out from the universe. In a letter to Jacobi, in 1819, much about the same time when he published his theology, he declares his real opinion :—

“Because you see no intermediate position possible, and you are resolved not to deify nature, you deify your own idea ; but the one is just as much a deifying as the other. Can you have any better conception of God as a person than you have when you contemplate him as *natura naturans* ? Must not a person necessarily become something finite if you attempt to endow it with life ? Infinite understanding and infinite will, are they aught but mere words, as understanding and will begin to limit each other as soon as you attempt to distinguish them ?”

This, then, was to be the God of Christianity ! a limitless, teeming, weltering nature without holiness, wisdom, or re-

solve—a *natura naturans*, only different from the *natura naturata* as the profundity of the ocean does from its rippling waves on the surface, with less of real life and beauty than the creatures that emanate from it. This was the God whom he had preached fifteen years earlier, when he exhorted his hearers :—

“Strive here on earth to annihilate your own individuality, and to live in the One and All . . . and when you find yourselves thus dissolved, and united with the universe, and thus a larger and holier longing is awakened within you, we shall speak more at large concerning the hope with which death furnishes us, and of the eternity to which we shall in this way be certainly elevated.”

On which occasion one of his admirers wrote to him, “Whether you mean to make God nature, or nature God, we cannot make out,” but declares his resolution to be guided by him in either case. This aversion to the truth of the divine personality his adherents interpret as originating in the sublimity of his religious conceptions, “not for want of religion, but owing to his religious consciousness he resisted every attempt to give any account of God” (Schenkl, p. 689). Out of religiousness this man purposes to blot out the name of God! God proclaims his own name to Moses, “I am that I am,” and further, “The Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty,” and declares that this is his name and memorial for ever! It is in this name his people rejoice, and which is to be great among the Gentiles from the rising to the setting of the sun, for the glorifying of which Christ prays (John xvii.) as the great end of the mission of the Eternal Son upon earth! By this name his saints pray, “Save us by thy name.” What is it but bombastic and foul hypocrisy when a man claims to be a teacher in the Christian Church, and pretends from very religiousness not to be able to ascribe to the Lord his glorious attributes!

Yet the perilous character of this attempt lies in its hypocrisy. Schleiermacher was by no means disposed to place himself on the same form with Spinoza, nor bear his reproach, whom he had in his earlier years confessed as “the holy outcast (*der heilige verstossene*) Spinoza.” When assailants proved that the doctrine of his theology was

Spinozism, he set himself with all his ingenuity to repel without denying the imputation. He challenges them to prove that he had given utterance to any of the distinctive propositions of Spinoza, such as, that God is extension and thought. But, as Strauss rightly remarks, "these positions might all be very well held by the theologian Schleiermacher without being expressly advanced in his works" (p. 171), when it is proved by all his main propositions regarding the divine Being, *e.g.* that God and the world are as magnitudes of equal extent, except that the former is the absolute and undivided unity, and the latter that which is cleft and divided: that we may think of nothing like freedom in God without at the same time considering it as necessary: that God's will for the creation of the world is not severed from his willing his own existence: that evil is only for us and through us, but for God has no existence: nay, his original position that all religion consists in the feeling of pure, simple dependence: in short, that all the chief positions in the first part of Schleiermacher's theology are nothing but a free translation of the Latin formulæ of Spinoza. Without denying the identity of his sentiments with the famous Pantheist, Schleiermacher had the effrontery, in the face of the whole theological world, to ward off the attack by defying them to produce any sentence in which these sentiments were distinctly and unambiguously taught. These tactics were so successful that it was long considered erroneous to charge his work with that pantheism which pervaded it from beginning to end, till a comparison with his other writings, especially his posthumous letters, brought it to light in the most bare and undisguised form. Strauss is inclined to ascribe this behaviour of Schleiermacher's, not to conscious deception practised on the public, but to an unconscious moral obliquity. But when we remember the sentence Schleiermacher wrote of his *Criticism of Moral Systems* (*Kritik der Sittenlehre*)—"It will be quite a good book, and so artificially constructed, that my best friends won't be able to guess by it at my own system"—we cannot doubt that the same spirit actuated him in the composition and defence of the theology where he had so many more reasons for yielding to it. It is easy after we have got hold of the clue to follow it up, and to see

that he had surrendered himself to this corrupt system with all its consequences in their full extent.

We have no hesitation in impeaching him of the design to smuggle in the teaching of pantheism into the Christian Church by means of muffled phrases and subtle treatment and expression. The prejudices of the times favoured him in one bold step essential to his enterprise, viz., that of shaking himself clear of the whole Old Testament record. It did not ruin his credit in Germany, as it would have done in England, roundly to avow that for him the Old Testament had no authority whatever. It is remarkable that even Spinoza found it practicable to accommodate the language of the New Testament to his scheme, which would not have been possible with the Old. The reason is, that in the Old Testament the barrier was decisively erected against pantheism for all time, and the New Testament was never destined to supersede, but only to supplement the Old. It was against the underlying pantheism of the human heart, as well as against the exuberant polytheistic efflorescence on the surface, that Jehovah declared his name to his people. How loftily did the Son of God speak of the Scriptures in which this name was proclaimed. "Search the Scriptures." "The Scripture cannot be broken." What shall we say of men assuming to be ministers of Christ, and to speak in his name, who yet cast out these Scriptures, the precious testimonies of the Holy Ghost, pregnant with the thoughts of the eternal God, redolent with the promises of Christ, shining with the light of the divine judgments; and revealing on the one side the beauty of heaven's truth, and on the other the corruption of man; and fling away all these records of heaven's communications and revelations of divine love as if they were rubbish, or old effete histories as no longer worthy to see the light! For him there was nothing holy but the confused paralogisms of the Jew Spinoza, and the ideal universalism of the Grecian Plato. Towards them he was the admiring disciple, and sat at their feet; towards the Holy Scriptures he was the master, and took them to task with the arrogance of superior wisdom.

As has appeared in the case of Lessing, pantheism is the inevitable result in the speculative mind when the voice within us has ceased to testify of a holy and righteous judge,

and a standard of morality by which men are to be tried. In perfect keeping, therefore, with Schleiermacher's view of God, he appears before us, from first to last, whether as teacher or as private individual, destitute of any worthy conception of morality. Even those who are disposed to treat him with fond partiality, as Hundeshagen (p. 189), find his definition of sin inadequate. What a difference between Schleiermacher's definition of sin as the "shortcoming and weakness of the divine consciousness in comparison with the claims and power of the sensual consciousness," and the severe but (when the subject is rightly considered) too true position of the Heidelberg Catechism, "man is by nature inclined to hate God and his neighbour." Schleiermacher affirms and admires the definition as a profound one, that "the sense of sin does not consist in the sense of certain actual unrighteousnesses, but rather in that of general infirmity, of subjection to the man's own sensual will, so that his devout intention is too feeble to penetrate and pervade all the processes of life, and to regulate his whole world-plan" (p. 225). This sounds very imposing; but if it were the true view of sin, it would be difficult to account for the description given of sinners in the Scripture as "wicked," "ungodly," "enemies of God." His disciple, Schenkl, is more open on the question than his master, and renders Schleiermacher's riddles in plain language. He tells us (p. 494) that Schleiermacher's view had cleared up that gloom of mystery—

"which, according to the dominant theology, rested on the history of the race. Evil, or the cause of the moral conflict that is found in man, is no longer to be considered as the consequence of an entirely inconceivable event such as brings all thought to despair, and therefore must be without foundation, the so-called Fall of man which is ascribed to the agency of Satan, or a supernatural evil person that had become evil in his entire being before the beginning of time; but it was made to appear as something quite conceivable by the mind, and was only this, that man had from the beginning been labouring to realise in his conduct that ideal of perfection which is originally impressed on his mind, though for the present unsuccessfully, owing to the temporary disproportion between the preponderant sensual element in his composition and that higher consciousness which has not yet attained to its proper strength. The whole mystery of sin consists in this, that man is partly a sensual being as belonging to this world, and supersensual or spiritual as related to God; and the due harmony between these opposite sides of his nature can only be achieved in the way of free moral development."

As corollary to this, we must conclude that what the Bible says as to the original state of perfection of the first man is no real history, but that the first Adam, or Adams, as Schleiermacher somewhere in his letters expresses himself, "were from the first in the same moral condition as their posterity." In this way sin becomes only physical infirmity, implanted in man by nature, an essential part of his constitution, the design of which is to exercise and train his moral powers in conflict with the pravity of sense. If this be so, sin is of course a non-entity in the sight of God, as he himself appointed it, as well as the process of its abolition. Sin is in this view only a premature development of the understanding which gets the start of the will or moral purpose, and this is all that is meant by the opposition of flesh and spirit, sin and grace; the whole mystery is thus dispelled from the existence of sin and its treatment, but the mystery settles over that which we are wont to consider as the book of God. What can we do but hear the account the Scriptures give, and judge whether their explanation of the facts of the case or that of these men be more according to truth. Look at the world, and its surface will declare whether the Scriptures or these theorists best understand its case. The Scriptures teach us that "by the law is the knowledge of sin," that the nature of sin is to blind the mind; so that, the greater his sin, the more does the man's perception of guilt become enfeebled. Human nature is a much more complex subject than the above theory supposes, and the human spirit is a moral labyrinth which none but the God that formed it can penetrate. "I, the Lord, search the heart." According to Scripture, man, under the power of moral obliquity, is able to disguise the character of his own acts even from himself; and the murderer or thief or adulterer is each able to cheat his own conscience. In conformity with this moral law, it is susceptible of the most ample proof that if immorality of any description has been fashionable in any country or class of people, it loses all its horrors, be it theft as among the Spartans, or exposing children as among the Chinese, or parents among the barbarians of South Africa, or adultery called gallantry among the French under the Bourbons, or assassination of landlords among the Roman Catholic Irish. Under the power

of this dark and depraving law the whole world had fallen into a moral stupor consequent upon immoral practices, when God, in separating Israel to be a peculiar people for himself, committed to them that transcript of his own holy will and character by which their moral judgment was to be corrected and quickened, and preserved from that obliquity which is the infallible consequence of corrupt practice. His law was to instruct them in the knowledge of sin, and thus to be a schoolmaster to lead them to Christ. The law gives a very different view of the nature of sin from that of Schenkl or Schleiermacher, representing it as being the thing that God hates, as entailing the curse of the Almighty wherever it is found. This law is necessary for all men equally with the Jews, being addressed to and adapted to the constitution and present condition of human nature. The same subtle corruption of the heart which originally obscured the moral judgment and made the law necessary is at work still to take off the point and edge of the law, and set men at ease in their sins, so that the first work of the Lord Jesus Christ, in his Sermon on the Mount, was to free it from the glosses of unfaithful teachers, and set it on the throne of authority over the heart in its primitive lustre. It is no wonder that those who have discovered such a nostrum for dissipating the whole mystery of sin should regard with disgust the prophets and their writings, which treat sin as an unfathomable mystery; when rational beings can be brought to call good evil, and evil good, and to defy the God that made them, and reject his offers of life and favour. But if they loathe the Scripture, it equally repudiates them, and charges against them that they *know not* sin.

Schleiermacher, the Pantheist, allows of no law or revelation from heaven. To him the world was the only perfect revelation of God; and, speaking more generally, it was only what every man had or might have in his own breast.

“The truly religious man,” he writes (*Discourses on Religion*), “is a compendium of humanity; his own personality comprehends in a certain sense the whole of human nature, which is only one’s own individuality infinitely multiplied and externalised in its minutest variations. He who is thus religious is in need of no Mediator to give him the knowledge of mankind, but, on the contrary, will be himself a mediator for many! . . . If such a one becomes conscious in himself of an original new view of the universe, and of its inmost life, that is for him a revelation.”

“To the law and to the testimony” calls the Word! Look to the intuitions of your own heart, teaches Schleiermacher; these are your revelations, and they will make you a revealer to others.

The inquiry is irresistible, What was the character of the life that was based on such principles? It was in the first place a life that gave great scandal to his best friends. His paternal well-wisher, Sack, felt at last constrained to write a formal expostulation against the very objectionable and discreditable circle with which he associated. But Schleiermacher was ready to push his principles to their practical consequences. One principle which he openly avowed was, that whenever there was an unsuitable marriage, it was more virtuous to annul it and form another. He went so far as to approve the sentiment, “love is a tie of a higher order than that which has a high name of which it is unworthy.” When one of his most intimate Jewish friends, the daughter of Mendelssohn, acted on this principle, left her husband and lived with his dissolute friend Schlegel without any pretence of marriage, Schleiermacher kept up his friendship and correspondence with both as if they had been virtuous persons. It is our bounden duty to inquire into the life and manners of those who profess to bring a higher revelation and holier morality than the gospel! We may be sure that Mahomet’s principles will never be separate from Mahomet’s practice. Yet for all this it does shock us, and discloses the abyss prepared for all who put contempt on Jehovah’s law, when we read a series of love letters between Schleiermacher and the wife of a brother minister, Grunow, which went so far that she raised a suit for divorce with the purpose of marrying Schleiermacher. This vile project was only hindered from being put in execution, when Schleiermacher was already congratulating himself in letters to all his friends as on the eve of attaining his most coveted object, by the woman being seized with remorse at the last moment, and refusing to proceed. His letters after this disappointment represent him as sunk in despair, not for his crime, but for the frustration of his purpose, so that he describes himself as having no longer any object worth living for.

But the act of Schleiermacher’s life which his friends find most difficult to defend, even more so than the wickedness

referred to above, was his writing a book in defence of Schlegel's profligate romance, *Lucinde*, a work which even Schenkl characterised as "the religion of sensuality, sensuality put forward as religion;" in it altars are set up and incense burnt to lust, which is encircled with all the meretricious attractions of art, and with all the embellishment of poetic language. For this infamous book, which revolted the far from scrupulous taste of Berlin society at that time to such a degree that every one was ashamed to own that he had read it, and every parent with any regard for decency excluded it from his household, Schleiermacher, to please his friend Schlegel, and at the urgent solicitation of his concubine above referred to, had the wickedness to write a series of letters purporting to be written by females; he undertakes to justify its obscenity as being "nothing more than an artistic exhibition in words of a naked Venus," and, like another Mephistopheles, seeks to browbeat the manifestations of delicacy by describing it as an outbreak of corrupt prudery, that was only disgusted because its appetite for coarseness had not been sufficiently gratified. Of these letters Kahn's remarks, "They cast a shade upon Schleiermacher's character which no apology can remove." The wife of the Rev. Mr Grunow had a share in these letters. As Schleiermacher never retracted this defence of vice, it stands forth as a specimen of pantheistic morality. It shews us the theologian arriving at the same conclusion on his territory as the man of the world and the dramatist on theirs (See Goethe's *Wahlverwandschaften*), that marriage is no divine ordinance, and is no longer to be respected than the inclination suggests. It is the natural terminus at which men arrive when divine law is set aside, and morality has no other rule than the sentiments and opinion of each individual. Throughout his life Schleiermacher never shewed any true sense of sin as a transgression of the divine law—as the manifestation of a heart apostate from God, and at enmity with him. His definition of sin is nothing but a paraphrase of platonic opposition between the λογιστικόν τῆς ψυχῆς and the ἀλόγιστον and ἐπιθυμητικόν, in which the victory was to be gained by the cultivation of the mental and intellectual faculties. For him the whole mystery of God's dealings with and dis-

cipline of a peculiar people for 2000 years, which were to prepare Israel and the race for Christ, was a blank of which he had no comprehension. In him the German Protestant Church reaped the full consequences of having cast aside that law which has the unchangeable property of making wise the simple, and enlightening the eyes of men. The whole church consented in doing violence to that law, in expunging the second and fourth commandments as if they had never existed, not considering that they thus abrogated the authority of all the others as soon as any one was bold enough to draw the inference in practice. We have seen how summarily Schleiermacher dealt with holy matrimony, a point in which he never changed, for in his celebrated sermon, which he preached late in life, discouraging divorce, he counsels all manner of caution and patience, but never charges wrongful divorce as a sin. The same loose pantheistic morality appears in all the transactions of his life. Strauss, his own companion in arms in the pantheistic field, writes of him :—

“ When further on in life he had settled down on the soil of Christianity, and his object was to get for his theology a certificate of Christian character, he made an attempt to reconcile his earlier opinion with that of a later date, and for this purpose published an edition of his *Discourses on Religion*, with notes. But instead of honestly confessing a difference between his earlier and his later views, he only admitted this on points of secondary moment. This jealousy for the reputation of the youthful Schleiermacher, discovered by Schleiermacher grown aged, when he made the attempt to explain away the wild utterances of his youth as if they meant nothing, raises a feeling of disgust ” (p. 24).

In the same way Kahnis writes of his answer to the kind remonstrance of Sack : “ Schleiermacher answered him in that subtle and evasive way of his, of which we have such a deplorable specimen in the notes to his discourses ” (p. 160). Schleiermacher’s morality was, in plain words, as shewn both by his life and writings, that a man should exert himself to the utmost for the cultivation of his own mind, and for the benefit of his reputation, of his friends, and his country ; and if a man have no better rule and guide, those fruits of the heart specified in Matt. xv. 19 will not be far to seek. In reading his voluminous correspondence and works, the impression irresistibly made is, that truth is the fundamental want throughout. For Schleiermacher there

was no truth in history, no truth in religion, no experience of God's people, no word of God from above. From his youth his moral sense was fatally perverted; this appears in the fact that, even when he was attempting to work himself into a compliance with the religious experiences of the Moravians, he was supplying himself surreptitiously, and that at the age of eighteen, with all the infidel works, as Hume and Kant, which were proscribed by his teachers, and involving others as his accomplices in this deception.

Nowhere in his numerous letters is there a word of regret for any portion of his life. On the contrary, in 1819, looking back on his whole life, he writes: "There I stand! With my intellect, I am a philosopher, and with my feelings quite a devout man; ay, more than that, a Christian, *and have laid aside all that is heathenish, or rather never had anything heathenish about me.*" Yet in almost every letter there is an expression like: "So fate orders it." "My cursed removing." "By God! no." "May the Gods dispose." "I will write a preface (to a proposed work) as the Holy Ghost prompts." Poor man! his whole morality was heathenish.

When sin is made of so little account, we should not expect a very exalted view of the Redeemer from sin. Yet there is one thing in Schleiermacher's system which seems to outweigh a thousand faults, viz., the prominent unconditional acknowledgment of the personal, historical Christ as the Alpha and Omega for the salvation of the world. In this he differed from Spinoza, who wrote: "It is not necessary for your salvation that you should believe in Christ according to the flesh;" and requires only faith in the eternal Son of God, i.e. in the eternal wisdom of God, which is manifested in all things, but especially in the human mind, and most of all in Jesus Christ. Doubtless this decisive adherence to the Lord Jesus has endeared him to many who knew more of Christ than himself, and it is a question with many whether this should not avail to redeem all his other mistakes. On the ground that he is said to have invited his family to join him in singing a hymn to Jesus, Dr Hodge expresses an opinion that he is finally to be classed among believers—possible as it unquestionably is to err even in very important points and yet by faith in the person of Christ to be resting on him as the sure foundation.

In that intellectual and religious crisis in which Schleiermacher stood, he was a singular phenomenon, as in literary and scientific respects confessedly on a par with Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, Goethe, Schiller, Jacobi, Fries, and the whole phalanx of the Titans of infidelity, if not in pure acumen superior to them all, with one foot victorious over the waters of philosophical strife, and the other on the carth, with a full and fervent confession of the truth of Christianity, or rather of Christ's person, as the one true, certain revelation of God for the salvation of men. It is a fact most abundantly attested that numbers who had come to the persuasion that Christianity was an untenable, feeble superstition by which the human spirit had been too long cramped, were brought round by Schleiermacher's resistless advocacy to a reverence for Christ, and to find in him a harbour for their shipwrecked faith. But how then do men like Schenkl hold him as chief? The Christ of Schleiermacher was a mere man as distinctly as in the scheme of Praxeas, Noetus, or Socinus; but it was not his way to say this, or even to admit it. There was a gorgeous drapery of incomparable attributes and functions thrown around him for the benefit of those who were content not to look further than the surface, and a filmy veil of subtle and glozing expressions to prevent offence on the part of such as were willing to be deceived. He does not scruple to allow something supernatural and superrational in the manifestation of the Son of God. But this is followed up by the remark that all is superrational and all rational. "For certainly as Christ was man, there must reside in human nature the possibility of taking up and taking in the divine, just as it was in Christ. But although it is only the possibility that resides in human nature, and consequently the actual implanting of this divine in it can only take place by a divine, *i.e.* an eternal act; yet, when this act comes to light in time in a particular individual, it must be regarded as an action that has its foundation in the original constitution of human nature, and for which the way was prepared by all that preceded, consequently as the highest development of its spiritual energy."¹ Thus the Lord Jesus Christ is reduced to be "the man who as historical

¹ Schl. *Christliche Glaube*, vol. i. § 19.

individual was at the same time the ideal man ;" or further, "like all men by virtue of the identical human nature, but different from all in the efficacy of his divine consciousness, *which was a proper being of God in him.*"

Yet Jesus Christ of Nazareth is distinctly set forth as the Redeemer of men, in whom alone the perfection of the race is attained, and that impediment set aside which had kept men apart from God, and in whom a true union is effected with the Most High. In Jesus alone the idea was realised which was in the divine mind when he implanted in man the aim after perfection. In him the union with God appeared for the first time in its full and perfect power ; he is the Mediator, the Head of the renovated race to all futurity.

Of such a Mediator it must be inferred that his person is peculiarly constituted, and distinguished from all other members of the race. His character must be in harmony and keeping with this high function as the Redeemer. Schleiermacher designates this distinction as being archetypal, as embracing in himself the true, full idea of humanity, so that what is in every man in idea, was in Christ as reality. This Christ is no mere imagination or phantom, or being invented to explain the origin of the Christian Church ! On the contrary, had no such a one lived in Jesus of Nazareth, it could never have been invented ; and the origin of the Christian Church would be an inexplicable mystery.

But we must remember that with Schleiermacher the words supernatural and superrational meant nothing more than what cannot be fully explained. By his definition of miracles every event is a miracle, so that we must not be deceived by his well-sounding words. The miracle in Christ's birth is only, that he is in one respect different from all other men. His distinction is, that the ideal of moral perfection and his historical manifestation in his case coincide—in his person there is no sin. For this exceptional, peculiar being of God in humanity, Jesus is the singular original place ; in him alone is there a proper being of God ; *in him alone was the self-consciousness in every moment of life constantly and exclusively determined by that which was divine.* Whereas in all other men the divine consciousness was constantly kept in check by the disturbing

influence of an inferior nature, we must suppose in Christ a perfect indwelling of the Most High, as constituting his peculiar being, and his inmost self. It is only by the aid of Christ, by virtue proceeding from him, that the self-consciousness of man is transformed into a being of God in human nature, and thereby the sum total of the forces of finite being becomes a being of God in the world. Christ alone has become the Mediator by whom all being of God in the world is diffused. He sustains in himself the whole new creation, containing as it does, and manifesting the full might of the divine consciousness. This could only be by an original divine communication, by virtue of which he is *à priori* separate from all that influence of former generations by which sin is propagated, and the divine consciousness in men impeded. As human nature was universally and ever subject to sin, it could not of itself have produced a sinless one, therefore the manifestation of Christ has the nature of a specific miracle. He is to be conceived of as invested with the attributes of perfect sinlessness and perfect blessedness, as an original fact of human nature severed from the continuity of the past.

Schleiermacher's admirers consider it as the weak point in his system, that Christ is represented on this pinnacle of singular and unapproachable dignity and glory. It looks so like divinity that he appears seated on the throne of a splendid mediatorship, as the centre of all blessing that can ever be developed in his church, as the sole and perfect link between eternal self-caused Deity and the human race, as invested with exclusive and absolute authority over that church in which the hopes of humanity are inclosed! Schleiermacher was wiser than his disciples, and understood the significance of the *θεος παρ στω*, as few comprehend it, for good or for evil. He knew well that if permitted to withhold from the Lord Jesus Christ the attributes of proper, original, essential divinity, and to describe him as being *ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων*, he could afford to yield all else in the way of dignity and glory; and if permitted to exclude from his work a true vicarious satisfaction, he might ascribe to him all other benefits. It was very highly gratifying to Christians at a time when orthodox doctrine was at such a discount to have this most eminent of theologians testifying to a "true being of God"

in the Lord Jesus Christ. They were not curious to inquire whether he could not, according to his pantheistic views, predicate nearly the same of every man living, and whether it was only true of Jesus in an eminent sense, because he had *arisen on earth with the consciousness* of standing in the most intimate and indissoluble communion with God, and with the other consciousness of having in himself the call and destination to impart this same unity with God to the rest of the world. It was hailed by many as a triumph that such an eminent authority in the intellectual world made any concession to the doctrine of the Trinity, when he professed to grant all that is essential to it by teaching that God is united with humanity in Christ, and with the church in its corporate form, and equally in both of these manifestations; and they were not anxious to reconcile it with the other doctrine, that this all-glorious Christ (in whom is a true being of God) should be restricted in his authority to the kingdom of grace, and should have none whatever in the world, except in that portion which has been subjected to his doctrine. It was thus that Schleiermacher presented a plausible side in his formal exposition of doctrine, while in his letters to friends he could jestingly boast, "My dithyrambic on Christ is said to be rather a good production;" and, on another occasion, describe how he imposed on his pious sister when she took his "apotheosis of Christ" for orthodox sentiment, and certain expressions of sadness for "true contrition for sin." That all such statements were purely delusive could not be more certainly proved than from the fact, that in one of the last letters he ever wrote to his wife, he rebuked her for teaching her children to pray to Jesus instead of to God. Yet it must be admitted that his followers are right in their assertion (which is also their complaint), that Christ the Mediator is more prominent in the system than the Godhead itself, and that in effect Christ appears as the only God. This is no doubt to be traced to the influence of his early Moravian education, from which he had derived the impression, that where the Trinity is speculatively held, it will result in the worship of the Son alone. It is a well-known sad fact that among the Moravians the name of the Father is almost never mentioned, that the Saviour is all in all; so that it is a common and deserved

reproach that among them God the Father has been deposed: There is no reason to question that Schleiermacher was acting upon this observation when he calculated, that if his system offered such a Christ as was worthy to engross the admiration, love, and gratitude of the church, as the Mediator, Reconciler, and Saviour, with his historical work (though not his word) left intact, he was in reality depriving them of nothing which they hitherto enjoyed; for in the judgment of his unregenerate heart all the divine beauty, excellence, and glory of Christ were chiefly, if not wholly, the reflection of the sentiment which the church had gradually come to feel for him. To this feeling he was willing to make all concessions. Christ may grow as high as we please, if he be only earth-born. Schleiermacher presents the world with his real opinion in its naked form in De Wette and Lücke's theological journal (No. III.), what he kept sedulously involved in ambiguities in his theological system, viz., that the Son of God before his incarnation did not exist, *κατ' ἰδίαν οὐσίας ἀπεργαστήν*, i.e. was nothing but an idea in the mind of the Father, in the same way as all other creatures, and declares himself, as also in his church history, on the side of Sabellianism, according to which the One Divine Being is revealed under three different aspects, as Father in the creation (when, be it remarked, he admits no creation), as Son in Christ, and as Holy Spirit in the church; differing from Sabellius probably in this, that the phenomena in Christ and in the church are merely various exhibitions of the eternal energy of the original *natura naturans*. Fact it is that Schleiermacher's disciples in the church are actually raising up a race of Sabellians throughout the country, whose creed is that the one God of the creation was manifested in Christ, and is now equally energetic and present in the church, some of whom have come to the perception that they are in effect Jews acquainted with the one God, but with no atonement for sin.

The keystone of this system is determined by the nature of the benefit which Christ confers, and its application. The archetypal character of Christ requires that the benefit he confers on his disciples should consist in the appropriation of that distinction which he possessed. As he was the first in the history of the race in whom the consciousness of

union with God truly and perfectly overcame that of separation from God, the benefit which his people obtain from him is, that the original sense of separation from God is set aside, and they are introduced by him into that condition of felt union with God in which his own blessedness consists. Towards this attainment nothing is necessary but faith—not even fruits as evidences of faith. On this point Schleiermacher is peremptory as ever Luther was; and we see how he caught the Lutherans; and adheres to the strictest side of orthodoxy, that faith alone is the condition of this salvation. The issue is, that as soon as a man's eyes open to the perception of the fact that the church calls us to consider and feel ourselves at one with God, this is the high calling of humanity. Thus Christ is made an Apostle of God, to call all men to follow up the principle of Lessing's and Schleiermacher's theology, or anthropology, that the perfection of human nature is to cast away all fear and bondage under any sense of sin or law, and press forward after that imaginary perfection that lies before them.

But it is not in these terms Schleiermacher expresses himself; we must see that we do him no wrong. His own terms are, that Christ makes his disciples partakers of his own sinlessness and blessedness. The blessedness is a mere corollary, with the argument, that if we are once at one with God, evil ceases to be evil, and suffering is of no moment. The term "sinlessness" is studiously chosen in conformity with his system to declare only the devout feeling of the Church. The great doctrine of the Reformation is, that the perfect righteousness of the surety is imputed to his people, giving them peace of conscience, and freedom from all guilt in the forum of heaven. But the sinlessness meant by Schleiermacher is nothing like this, but an appropriation of the sinlessness of Christ in a measure in their experience, a conformity to the character of Christ to which they are always approximating, but which in its perfection none will ever fully attain. On the question of the vicarious suffering and atonement, Schleiermacher departs from his usual placidity and calm security, and discovers a hostility that cannot be suppressed, though even here his wonted address does not forsake him; every care is taken to thrust the great question into the obscurest corner, to isolate it, and

hide its bearings on the universal scheme of salvation, but touched it must be, to have the semblance of victory over it, and when he does so, a gleam of that ferocity breaks forth with which every natural mind revolts from this central truth of the gospel. There is no special *locus* accorded in this theology to the consideration of the meritorious work of the Redeemer; it is, to use the laudatory language of De Wette, one "of the ends gathered up round a central truth." He chooses to deal with it under the head of Christ's high-priestly office, and we can discover why. If we take the high-priest, and especially on the day of atonement, as the type of Christ, there appears nothing in him corresponding to the dedication of himself to an atoning death. Christ as suffering has to be identified with the victim. This, as sustaining a purely passive character, having no spontaneity in its sacrifice, could only point to those elements of the passion of Christ which did not depend on any forthputting of his will, and which, therefore, cannot be imputed to him as of a meritorious kind. Christ, considered as the sacrificer, is indeed spontaneously active; but here the suffering is of a subordinate kind, consisting in sympathy with the sin of others, as in the case of the high-priest on the day of atonement. Holding fast the distinction between the active and the passive obedience of Christ, which is still strictly kept up in German theology, it is maintained that the latter as well as the former extended over his whole life, and is not to be restricted to its closing scenes. All his life work was accompanied by suffering, owing to the contradiction of those around him, and therefore there could be no active obedience without suffering, nor *vice versa*. Thus, it is argued, redemption can neither be ascribed to his active obedience alone, nor atonement to his passion, but both equally to both. Of Christ's active obedience, he insists that the ground of our relation to Christ lies in the entire singular conformity of his life to the will of God, that his life alone purely and perfectly manifested the authority of the fear of God in human nature. In the acceptance of this truth, he says, consists all that is peculiarly Christian. Hence it follows that no human being apart from Christ can ever be just or acceptable to God, but only as animated by his life. After the pattern of Israel's

high-priest, Christ presents his people as pure and holy before God in virtue of his own perfect observance of the divine will. By this community of life in Christ and his people, Schleiermacher boasts of furnishing an unassailable defence of the much-impugned doctrine, that Christ's obedience forms our righteousness, and is imputed to us. The meaning of this is, as he further explains, that as we are only involved in Adam's condemnation when we sin in like manner, so we are only justified by the obedience of Christ when the principle at the root of Christ's perfect obedience becomes the animating principle of our life, and we obey as he. In consistency with his view, he objects to the expression that Christ fulfilled the *law*, or that he did the will of God in our stead. After all the phrases about community of life, his doctrine stands revealed as the bare Socinian tenet, that Christ conducts us to obedience by his example. As to Christ's passive obedience, it is simply this, that as all suffering is punishment of sin, and yet no man endures exclusively what is due to his own personal sin, every man in a sense bears the sin of others. As Christ, therefore, had no sin for which to suffer, all that he endured must have been in behalf of others. Throughout his life he ever entertained a sympathetic sense of the sin and culpability of the race, culminating in the inspiration which carried him through the highest act of the work of redemption. As this issued in a victory over sin, and the connection between sin and suffering is henceforth annulled, in this sense it may be admitted that the penalty of sin has been done away by the sufferings of Christ, since suffering itself is no longer considered as punishment in those who are Christ's. Thus he complacently concludes that he has exhausted the sense of this peculiar tenet of the gospel, taken off the point from the current objections to the truth, that Christ, by his willing sacrifice of himself, satisfied divine justice, or that attribute "which has established a link between sin and suffering." With this explanation he is willing to conform to the fashion which he does not altogether approve, of ascribing the virtue of Christ's redemption to his sufferings, because in these his self-denying love was most eminently and signally manifested, and thus God was seen in them reconciling the world to himself. Before leaving this subject, however, he turns

to combat with vehemence the notion of proper vicarious suffering. That God should have discharged upon the head of Christ the wrath due against the sin of man, or that Christ should resigned his life by any free resolve on his own part, he declares to be inconsistent with right conceptions of the divine justice, and at variance with Christ's true human consciousness. Here he quotes, with much approbation, a theologian who joins him in affirming that Christ did not quote the awful words in Matt. xxvii. 46, in reference to his own case, and then proceeds to the absurd and so oft-reprobated assertion, which he probably obtained from Priestley, or some of the English Deists, that Christ's surrender of his own life by a positive resolve would form a justification of suicide! Thus, to the dark mind, even when most highly gifted, that which to the believing soul is a sanctuary, is made a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence.

This "sinlessness," then, under which word the benefit of Christ is described, is nothing like the imputation of righteousness, since Christ neither fulfilled the law in place of men, nor bare their iniquity. Neither is it any radical change of nature, such as regeneration. For it is very plain that Schleiermacher will know nothing of the Holy Ghost, the agent by whom the new creation is effected in the soul. Without any distinct deliverance as to the personality of the Holy Ghost, he warns us in another part of his work, that the spirit of the church (corporate spirit) of his system is not the same spoken of in Gen. i. 2, nor the spirit by which extraordinary powers are conferred (Exod. xxxi. 2-5), nay, nor that to whose operation the incarnation of Christ is ascribed (Matt. i. 18; Luke i. 35), *at least so far as any physical operation is imputed to him*. Further, he distinguishes the Holy Spirit of the Christian Church from that which inspired the prophets, as it would not do to identify the church spirit of the Jewish theocracy with that of the Christian dispensation. Slightly as he treats Scripture when opposed to him, he seeks to make use of all that sounds in his favour; and on this head John vii. 39 serves him as a stronghold from which, with an appeal to John xiv. and xvi., he denies that the Spirit of truth, whom Christ there promises, was one who had formerly been known, or that this promised Spirit is ever to be

met anywhere but in the Christian Church. He will not allow that the gift of miracles is derived from the Holy Ghost, though he cannot deny that it is so represented in Scripture. He sums up his view in the significant positions:— 1. That the operations of the Holy Ghost are nowhere apparent save in the voice of the Christian Church ; 2. That the spirit and acts of the church are not determined by any influence of a higher nature than the human ! He argues, that, on the contrary supposition, the life of believers could no longer be conceived as flowing in human continuity. He further insists that the Holy Ghost or church spirit is not to be supposed to exercise any influence over our minds *ab extra*, as this would contradict the unity of human consciousness and self-determination. The boasted “ sinlessness ” cannot therefore be a gift of the Holy Ghost. It seems to dissolve before our search into an insubstantial vapour, bringing neither acquittal from guilt nor renovation of heart. In fact, he illustrates the benefits received from Christ by those conferred on barbarous nations when civilised by some wise and benevolent lawgiver, as Solon or Confucius, whom they were subsequently inclined to look upon as a divinity.

Such is the insidious system which, according to the opinion of its able disciples as emitted fifty years after its publication, is destined to introduce a new, glorious future for Christianity, and to effect “ the moral and social renovation of humanity by the Christian Church spirit ” (p. 511). Schleiermacher’s system is so compact and well-rounded as to commend itself to acceptance, and almost to defy assault. It is neither to be mastered hastily, nor to be criticised by making extracts from it. He boasted that he had propounded an enigma to the theological world which few would be able to read. But with this dark side towards those who sought to refute it, all was transparent as crystal to those in whose favour it was designed. It is not enough to say, Schleiermacher is a Pantheist, or rejects the inspiration of Scripture, or does not believe in the Holy Ghost ; his is a system, and must be dealt with as such. It is so completely a work of darkness, a monstrous imposition, that it is but slowly that an honest mind admits the conviction that this constant mystery arises from the author’s professing a creed in which he has no faith. His object is to make out that the church

can have all in which real religion consists without revealed truths, or an authoritative rule of faith; and that all religion, not merely subjective devotion, but the whole substance of religion, consists in sentiments and impressions generated in the soul itself. There is to be nothing henceforward of any importance to religion but what arises from each individual's immediate intuition. Religion is to be a business of the heart, to shake itself free of all responsibility for those awkward and offensive questions about creation, providence, redemption, and resurrection that provoked the hostile assaults of speculative minds. She is not to make any pretensions to teach, but to rest content in the sphere of devotional emotion, and leave research and speculations about truth to philosophers, while in the quiet temple as of old neither axe nor hammer is heard. This principle is carried out persistently through a continuous analysis of the whole. But Strauss himself allows that, after we have attempted with unspeakable toil to follow the author in his circuitous track which professes to keep far from all philosophy, we are forced to the conclusion that the same results are much more easily arrived at in the way of regular logical demonstration; and that the author himself, who leads us such a roundabout, had reached the point by the shorter philosophical cut. Strauss shews irrefragably that such positions as this—that divine causality is perfectly represented in collective finite being—"could never have been gained in the way of pure feeling, but must be attributed to a speculative origin. The devout sentiment rests contented when, rising from all that is finite to God, it perceives the dependence of all upon the Supreme Being;" but it is only speculation and not devotion that prompts the mind to turn from God to the world, and to infer that the fulness of the Divine Being is exhaustively exhibited in the sum of finite things. This is only one example of a thousand, but a distinct one; for all our acquaintance with human nature teaches us that it is the tendency of the devout mind to recognise in the Divine Being an immense distance above all that is revealed of him in the world, and it is a later speculation that raises objections to this. But one distinct example would be enough to shew that the whole scheme is a hollow forgery, though a clever and original one, to

give a systematic and stable standing to that maxim of practical ungodliness, that it matters not what we believe, if only the heart be suitably disposed. But Strauss adduces two other positions, that are just as unquestionably deductions of the understanding—one, which is fundamental to the system, that our self-consciousness is entitled to be taken as the representative of finite being or the world; the other, that because we feel ourselves dependent on God, both in doing and in suffering, therefore this opposition or dualism of states has no existence in the Deity. There is a certain respectability in the case when a theory which has taken possession of the whole mind is forcibly commended to the conviction of others, as when Berkeley advocated the non-existence of a material world; but it excites only abhorrence when a theory, which has only been invented to cover an assault on the faith of the world, is propped up by all manner of dishonest expedients and shifts, such as to any eye, and much more to that of the experienced metaphysician Schleiermacher, are seen to be fatal to the whole theory. This scheme is not what it would seem; but Schleiermacher makes the attempt to persuade us that we have by intuition views which he himself clearly reaches only by a work of the understanding. The insufficiency and untruth of the fundamental principle on which the whole system rests is evident. Some demonstration being necessary of the axiom, that the essence of devotion consists in feeling, devotion, he argues, tends by its nature to unite men in a communion, whatever designs to associate men together must have either the character of knowledge, or of action, or of feeling; but religion is neither knowledge nor action, therefore it must be feeling. This last assertion he proves by a *reductio ad absurdum*. If knowledge were the essence of religion, then the man that knew most about it would be the best Christian; if it were works or acts, then the man that performed most religious deeds would excel; both of which suppositions are admittedly false. But the same *reductio* applies to feeling. There is nothing more certain than that, as men are constituted, it is possible for them to take the greatest delight in religious feelings, aroused and excited either by appeals to the senses, or even by some eloquent display of religious truth, while heart is unchanged and the feeling of a spurious

character, just as a diseased state of sentimentality leads multitudes to weep over painted distress in novels, who never put forth a hand to help the afflicted in real life under the impulse of genuine moral sympathy. This is just the false state of the heart against which the Epistle of James is directed. We utterly deny that religion consists entirely in feeling; aye, it is for the enlightenment of the understanding and the conviction of the conscience, the arousing of the sense of danger and the conversion of the will. From Holy Scripture we have as much ground for asserting that the first stirrings of religious life are by giving light to the understanding as by the moving of the affections; nay, that the whole man in the work of conversion, or when the soul becomes religiously affected, is simultaneously in all his faculties quickened so as both to perceive and feel aright. We deny that religion has its seat among the mere intuitions. It pervades the soul, and every faculty and feeling has a work to perform. This is a most important *petitio* in Schleiermacher's scheme, by which his whole end is at once gained. By this one concession he is at once emancipated from dependence on the Word of God, if faith no longer "cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God." For he then turns round and claims for this intuitional experience or feeling the name of faith—but a faith which comes without hearing and without the Word of God. Religion is, in Schleiermacher's sense, a direct intuition, and its organ faith. Thus he anew exalted *faith*, and became the restorer of the doctrine of faith. But there is more assumed in that seemingly harmless axiom which has been generally conceded to him without opposition, viz., the all-essential principle that there is no difference in the quality of religious feelings, as if all difference were found in their relative strength or weakness. It is certain, however, that there are forms of human religion where the sense of dependence on God pervades and controls the whole life, where the man, under a slavish fear of God, does nothing but think of God, and realise his dependence on God day and night, but where, as in the case of the pious Rabbinical Jew or Mahomedan dervish, this sentiment being only one of dread and bondage, the whole constitution of the heart and of the devotion that springs from it is repugnant to the divine nature. If feeling

alone were the barometer whose rising or falling determined the amount of religion, then the religion of the Jew or the Mahommedan would in many cases be superior to that of the devout Christian. But as this, according to Schleiermacher's system, is inadmissible, there must be some element of truth or knowledge, something which is *not* feeling, to elevate its character and make the difference. We believe, however, that it is quite in accordance with all Schleiermacher's principles, that there is no such specific difference in the essential character of the religious sentiments of the Christian and other faiths, as he knows of no Holy Ghost from whom any change of nature could be derived. How could we, with the light of revelation before us, allow that devotion is adequately defined as the simple feeling of dependence upon the Deity! The dark Mahommedan fatalist may doubtless live on under the permanent and absorbing sense that God is over him at every turn of life, giving vent to the utterance, "Allah is great," but our higher revelation has taught us that it is no devotion worthy of the name till the heart is quickened by the knowledge of the love of God to turn and yield itself to the service of God with all the strength of the understanding and will.

The favourable moment seemed at last to have arrived for rending the treasure of sacred Scripture out of the hands of the church, and robbing her of that chart by which she had for thousands of years sped her perilous but glorious course over the ocean of life. The Word of God had been so thoroughly discredited in the eyes of the German nation by more than one generation of profane theologians, even the best of whom put in but a timid plea in its defence, that it seemed to require only one bold and ingenious effort to overthrow its authority altogether over the faith and life of the people, and remand it to a place among old records, where none would converse with it but the curious antiquary. In all this no change was proposed in the elements of the traditionary faith. This was to continue as ever propagated, in the living communion of the church, in the fresh and devout sentiments of the congregation. All that was designed was the abrogation of the law of dogmatical definitions, the removal of that yoke of thorny truths which oppressed the church in the form of an inspired letter,

and proved a perpetual *fomes* of controversy, and occasion of hostility and assault to all thinking men. It could not be averred that the books of Scripture were essential to the life of the church, as the church had been in existence, in full operation, before the Scriptures had a being. Instead of the Scriptures being the fountain of truth and life for the church, it was the church that had clothed the Scripture with the authority which had been pushed to such excess. The Scriptures only expressed the experience of the early church, which was subject to correction by the growing light and maturer judgment of subsequent generations of the body of Christ. The spirit of Christianity was to be considered as deposited, not in a frigid letter, but in the heart of the church, to be spread abroad in ever increasing purity. Sufficient provision was made for this in the form of Christ set like the sun in the heaven of history, ever transmitting the same beams of his spiritual influence which had given birth to his work of salvation, for the maintenance of this benefit to all coming generations. It was amazing infatuation in Schleiermacher not to perceive that whatever benefit Christianity had conferred upon our race in the past, had been by the instrumentality of that book of God as the source of truth and life, which he was now endeavouring to depose. Another notable infatuation was his not discerning, that although all demonstration of the genuineness and authenticity of Scripture is imperfect for the carnal understanding, as indeed are all proof and demonstration even of the being and attributes of God himself, yet the Scriptures have always carried their own evidence as not only adapted to meet the spiritual taste of the children of God, and to command the recognition of all born from above, but also to awaken, and convert, and bring together to God all his elect, convincing their understanding, renewing their will, and discovering to them the glory of God in the face of Christ.

There are circumstances of incomparable subtlety, of artful insinuation and skill, and of masterly calculation connected with the whole of Schleiermacher's career, and especially with his last work, which impress the character of the serpent upon this enterprise of his against the gospel, and create a certain sense of awe in contemplating it. Other assailants delivered formidable and open assaults, and

were beaten off in succession. But it is comparatively easy to deal with the open invader, even when his fury and resources are great. The most appalling danger is when some alien insinuates himself into the confidence of the people, and when he has got the reins of administration into his hand, employs the resources of the nation for its destruction. It was the greatest humiliation of God's ancient people when the Edomite Herod, by subtle policy and God's mysterious dispensation, seated himself on the throne of David, and united himself to the heiress of the priestly Asmoneans, in order to carry on his selfish and anti-Israelite designs. While heathen persecutors would in vain have attempted to thrust heathenish ways on the Christian Church, this was done by apostate ministers within her bounds. Should not the church then view it with apprehension that the highest authority as a teacher in the church should be accorded to a man who has assailed, not one article of belief, but has emblazoned on his banner, though in hieroglyphics which his followers alone understood, "Raze, raze it to the foundation." It is surely time for alarm when a false prophet, to whom his disciples attribute the distinction of forming a new era in religion (Schenkl, *passim*), and by whom not a single truth of the gospel is left unassailed or unchanged, finds such confidence and favour with those who profess to adhere to the gospel as to be compared only with Origen (so Hundeshagen) and Calvin, and those who have been the greatest benefactors of the church.

The false Messiah set up by Schleiermacher only differs from the false Messiahs about the time of Christ—the Theudas and Barcochbas—as the nineteenth century differs from the first. The Christ of Schleiermacher is not the Christ of God and the Gospels, the seed of the woman, the revelation of the mystery hid from the foundation of the world, heir of all the promises of whom Moses and all the prophets spake; but a projection of the rationalist Church of Germany in the eighteenth century upon the plane of theology. Schleiermacher maintains that Christianity has no more connection with Judaism than with heathenism. All the claims of Jesus on the ground of prophecy, all his appeals to Moses and the prophets are so much empty

rhetoric, so much influence of Jewish notions foisted into the genuine records of the gospel. . Jesus was not the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world, did not make his soul an atonement for sin, nor effect any righteousness to be imputed to the sinner. Men did not die in Adam, but Adam was at his creation a sinner as his descendents; for temptation could have elicited no sin out of his nature had it not previously existed in him. Therefore there is no curse upon sin, no need of an atonement; for God has in reality no abhorrence of sin—for the Deity sin has no existence. Sin is but an infirmity due to the unequal development of the understanding and of the will; and the redemption from it is by such an example, and by aid of such moral advantages, as conduct to victory over it. Death is not the consequence of sin, but man's nature; nor is there any certainty conveyed of deliverance from death, only the divine phenomenon of Christ has encouraged the expectation of an existence beyond the grave. The essential dignity and the work of Christ are to be taken as commensurate, and we are to be as careful not to attribute to the Saviour a dignity beyond what is requisite for the discharge of his office, as the contrary. The term employed, "a true being of God in Christ," proves to be a high-sounding deception when we discover from other parts of his work that there is a being of God in every man. Schleiermacher scrupulously guards against using the expression, "Christ's divine nature." To him Christ is no true prophet, for there is neither word nor spirit to reveal, nor will of God (except that manifested in the order of the world) which needs to be revealed to us for our salvation. Christ is not a true priest, for there is no sacrifice in virtue of which he should intercede for us. Christ is not a king, for it is only by his example he rules. There never were miracles nor prophecies except such as may be referable to a "high intensity of animal imagination or of natural sagacity." There is no importance to be allowed to the resurrection, ascension, or future coming of Christ to judgment; for though Schleiermacher seems disposed in one place to accept the possibility of the first, he considers them all as immaterial to the sustenance of the devout sentiments of the Church. The formation of the new personality or new

creature is expressly made dependent on Christ's personal influence and denied of the Church spirit. The sanctification of the Church is carried forward by the mutual activity and receptivity of all its members.

The more this system is understood, the more distinctly does it stand forth in profoundly-planned antagonism to the scheme of redemption by the Lord Jesus Christ, and characterised by Paul as the great mystery of godliness. Bengel foretold from his acquaintance with the word, that audacious as the ungodly were in his day, they were but botchers (*Stümper*) in their trade to those that would arise in the future. His words have been verified in our age.

The acme of this Antichristian enterprise does not, however, appear in the mere sum of direct contradictions to the doctrine of the Lord Jesus Christ, but in the integument of subtle method and artful disposition and dialectic treatment in which the whole issues forth to fulfil its destination in the world. It is not in the usual form of hostile assaults against the Christian defences, a hideous missile enveloped in flame and noise; but it is the serpent carrying livid poison under its shining colours and noiseless gliding, before which the stoutest heart may well be seized with consternation. Throughout Schleiermacher's work all the terms of Christian orthodoxy are used with as little appearance of constraint as if Calvin himself were the author. Though accepting no creation, nor fall of Adam, nor divinity of Christ, nor satisfaction for sin, nor Holy Ghost, nor change of heart, the work treats of all these in the most dispassionate way; and after the usual sense of the church has been set aside, employs these terms as if the orthodox sense were also his, so that without strict attention we might easily forget that he differed from others. It is but rarely that any truth is flatly denied, the purpose being attained by saying, "It is not essential to feed the devout sentiments of the church," and by the suggestion that the evidence for it in Scripture is unsatisfactory. As a specimen let us take the way in which he deals with the doctrine of the Holy Spirit: "The Holy Spirit is the union of the Divine Being (pantheistic!) with human nature under the form of a corporate spirit that animates the collective life of

the faithful. This is the *doctrine* of the Holy Spirit." He does not say whether the Holy Spirit be a person in the Godhead or no; but "this is the *doctrine* of the Holy Spirit." Yet though there be plainly for him no Holy Ghost by whom alone the work of regeneration and the application of the benefits of redemption is effected, this does not hinder him from minutely discussing and defining regeneration, conversion, repentance, as well as justification and faith. With much unction he condemns heresies and heretics as if he were the most faithful adherent of tradition—Manichæans, when there is denial of the capability of redemption; Pelagians, when of the need of redemption; Docetæ, when of Christ's essential resemblance to man; Ebionitism, of the pre-existence of Christ! with the remark, "the systems that avoid these offences are Christian." Even the Socinians are most gravely condemned by him for their insufficient view of the Lord's Supper, though it could scarcely be made to appear how Schleiermacher, to whom Christ is a mere man, could have a higher estimation of his presence in the Supper. A skilful use is made of the creeds and the church doctrine, and there is scarcely any head of doctrine on which some awkward expression of some esteemed theologian, or Schleiermacher's skilful interpretation of him, is not made use of to secure a semblance of sanction for the views he puts forth. Thus Osiander is pressed into the service to shew that Schleiermacher does not stand alone in making our justification dependent, not on the vicarious sufferings, but on the participation of the perfect righteousness of Christ. Though directly condemning the doctrine of satisfaction for sin, he speaks freely of the atonement as a permanent benefit in the church.

One fact to be prominently kept in view is, that Schleiermacher, from the day he parted company with the Moravians as dissenting from the truths of the divinity and atonement of Christ, never changed his sentiments. What he afterwards commends in the Moravians is their impressive ceremonies, *e.g.* meeting at Easter in the churchyards, and congregational order, but never their doctrine. Not only his biographer and eulogist, Schenkl, but Schleiermacher himself uniformly looks back on his rupture with the Moravians

as the day of his spiritual regeneration, when he became a new man. From that day he set himself with all the decision of a strong nature to follow out to the full his own idea of life. Persuaded that the method of the Moravians was a weak superstition, a delusion in its central truth, he set about the formation of a faith or scheme for himself. He never felt himself wholly without ground for hope. In a letter to his father he says: "Many who believe are manifestly not freer from faults than others, but the contrary; and I see many unbelievers who are the best of men. Even according to my present views I have always sufficient motives to please God more."

The principles which pervade his work and his life amount to subtle identifying of self with the interests of the universe; and the only immortality he allows is that which is enjoyed in the present moment by an intense appreciation of all that is noble and great. But in all the varied experiences of his long life, in all his multiplied and lengthy correspondence, there never occurs an expression of dependence on the Lord Jesus Christ, of anxiety about his own spiritual state, or the hope of salvation by mercy. Once he speaks of having been visited by the fear of death, but thinks if his wife had not been absent it would not have occurred. In later life he became more cautious in his expressions, but never changed his views; and in his last years boasts "that he never had anything heathenish about him." No doubt the singular and entire pre-eminence of the Christian church above all other religions was made latterly more decidedly the centre of his system; but this perception did not lead Schleiermacher, as it has done Jews of a philosophical temper, to conclude that he from whom this church originated must be more than man, and truly divine.

Truly, if Schleiermacher had ever been converted to Christianity, as some suppose, there was very much to confess and retract, though in another way, as in the case of him who fell into the hands of the Manichæans. The man who, as a minister of the gospel, gave utterance to such sentiments as these—"A religion without God may be better than another with God," in opposition to the truths of the Bible; "the world must be the teacher, for the whole world is a

gallery of religious views ;" " the holy Scriptures have been converted into a bible by their own might, but they hinder no other book to be or become in like manner a bible, and whatever is written with similar power, they would readily associate with themselves;" the time will come " when there will be no further need of a Mediator;" " I would be glad to stand on the ruins of the religion which I revere ;" " that Christianity sets up no claim to be the only true religion;" " it contemns this despotism it would be glad to see other and more juvenile forms of religion rise up around it"—such a man had surely cause for a free and ample retraction.

There remains before us the startling problem to account for the tenderness with which the author of this attempt to supplant the gospel of the grace of God, and that by virtue of the name and authority of Christ, is treated by men of the highest standing in the Christian republic. They even award him a high place, as having rendered eminent service to Protestantism. Hundeshagen writes (p. 189):—" Fr. Schleiermacher was, on the one hand, the pupil of the Moravians, and on the other, of Plato and Spinoza. It was this union of qualification which enabled this extraordinary man to exercise so decided and reforming an influence upon our theology. He was a *τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος* as having, moreover, the liveliest interest in the political regeneration of our nation." In another passage he threatens to class all who venture a word against Schleiermacher with the monks who attacked Origen. Schneckenburger treats him on all occasions as a chief of the Reformed section of the church, and (what doubtless Schleiermacher reckoned on) criticises each separate feature of his system instead of taking a review of it as a whole; *e.g.* " It must be regarded as quite absurd if Schleiermacher's theory of the Redeemer be pronounced to be essentially divergent from the Reformed Church systems, as being reducible to the view that man becomes an object of divine complacency by his communion of life with the archetype of humanity" (p. 221, vol. ii.). " On the contrary, this," he adds, " is sound Reformed doctrine." Kahnis expresses only the prevalent sense of the theological world when he writes: " Schleiermacher nevertheless made approaches to positive Chris-

tianity" (p. 160). Instead of any other testimonies, we subjoin the words of Tholuck so recently as 1873 :—

"All philosophical terms and definitions, all physical investigations, all theses whatever which could not be derived by strict inference from the profound feeling of sinfulness and the certainty of redemption were excluded from the theological system of Schleiermacher. The consequence of this was, that a great many of such were now won for Christian piety as had felt an aversion to the incomprehensibilities of the old dogmatical system ; while not a few among the orthodox Christians, slightly modifying their creed, began to take an intermediate position between the two contending parties—a position that found particular favour among the highest circles in Prussia. Although Schleiermacher continued to have his adversaries, among whom at the outset I was counted myself, yet it is due to him to own that his influence gradually made religion respected by scoffers."

So much by Tholuck concerning the man whom Strauss claims as his own, and of whom Schenkl, in an elaborate work, proves that he annihilated the faith in everything supernatural in religion, considered sin as a mere temporary hitch in the development of man's moral nature, and made Christ a mere man, and the church an assembly of those who, in Christ's spirit, and by his example, were pressing forward without the aid of any divine Spirit or inspired Scriptures in the race of moral perfection, to which their nature leads them to aspire. We confess we had scruples about coming forward with our views in opposition to such respectable names, till we saw every position borne out and re-advocated abundantly in Schenkl. It is in its first aspect a perplexing problem, but by no means insoluble, for those acquainted with the circumstances of the case. First of all, there was the surpassing genius of Schleiermacher, which enabled him to lay the yoke of his influence just upon minds of the first order and highest enthusiasm. Although many of these afterwards came to some more worthy conception of the gospel and its author, yet the original partiality with which they were inoculated continued to operate in his favour, making them indulgent to his views. We know the invariable propensity to presume *à priori* in favour of gifted men, whose thoughts and sayings have alighted on us in power, that they also must have perceived the highest truth, that of the revelation from heaven. The child that, in her impassioned admira-

tion for Garibaldi as a patriot, expressed her persuasion that he was a converted man, revealed the nexus which determines more mature minds to presume well of the moral and spiritual state of men of genius. It is one of the greatest mysteries of the gospel that the Father reveals his truth not to the wise and prudent in preference to babes; and although reverence for our Saviour's solemn declaration has effect to a certain extent in England to prevent extravagant aberration, yet it is but natural that in Germany, where that word has a more limited sway, the Humboldts and Goethe, and a thousand men who in their lifetime despised the name of disciples of Christ, nay, avowed themselves heathens, are canonised, and have their place assigned them in funeral sermons among those who are now beholding the face of that Lord whom they never confessed, whose truth they could not, "from very greatness of intellect," perceive while on earth. But this is only a part, though an essential one, of the explanation. We must add that German theologians in general are themselves infected in no slight degree with the errors which Schleiermacher only systematised and carried to their legitimate consequences. There are, doubtless, theologians and preachers in Germany who are, in heart and soul, devoted to Christ and the essential doctrines of the gospel. But Schleiermacher quite cut away the ground under their feet with the body of the people. That one axiom of his, that religion stands in no need of doctrine and rigid precepts, or of revelation from another world—that certain pious and devout sentiments towards God and Christ are all that is necessary for salvation, was well calculated to carry along with him the majority of those who still inclined to have a religion at all. By this one move he was sure to draw multitudes on his side in a country where the Word had already been depraved. On the other hand, it was no ways disagreeable to Schleiermacher to be numbered on the side of orthodoxy; this was part of his plan as far as it could be attained, along with the decided though ambiguous statement of his own views. So much did this form a part of Schleiermacher's character, that his eulogist, Strauss, in referring to his taking the communion on his death-bed, when he states that this did more than anything else to establish Schleiermacher's reputation with religious

people, does not exclude the idea that this intention was before his mind in partaking of the ordinance.¹

So far was the credit of the gospel sunk at that time with the educated classes of Germany, that its real friends were glad to avail themselves of the support of any name that carried weight in such a circle. The central truth of Schleiermacher's system, that Christianity was the way of salvation for mankind, and Christ the archetype to whom all were to look, and from whom all were to derive spiritual life, seemed an immense concession of which much might be made; and they were willing to make common cause with the man who seemed to have wrested this point of advantage from the infidels, without scrutinising his further projects minutely. But even great theologians in this perilous crisis were wilfully blind, and unwilling to perceive that all Schleiermacher asserted was in the interest of *his* Christ and *his* Christianity. Besides, the landmarks of truth had been so thoroughly swept away that Christian men were glad to recognise all as being for them who did not in terms declare against them. Last, not least, the point must go into the scale, which Hundeshagen records in Schleiermacher's favour. No one unacquainted with Germany can conceive to what a degree it counterbalances a thousand faults to be a hearty and zealous patriot, to be forward for the unity and honour of the nation. The critic of David Strauss' last work, in which he renounces all allegiance to Christ, and openly blasphemes the whole Word of God as a book of evil tendency, after administering sundry temperate rebukes to the author, closes with the eulogium that after all there is one thing apparent in his work which atones for all faults, that Strauss is a hale-hearted patriot. The same credit has, doubtless, subserved the interests of Schleiermacher's system with many. While the orthodox are quite shelved within the walls of their own lecture-rooms, and the limits of their own congregations, the teaching of this anti-christian prophet goes forth over the length and breadth of the land, wherever there is so much traditional reverence as to make men inclined to pay a lingering regard to the name of Christ.

¹ We mention this only to shew how his character was estimated, not as adopting the opinion.

From this fatal Pandora-box whole clouds of spiritual maladies have spread over the land. Christianity is no longer *truth*, but devout feeling; as a natural consequence no man will listen to an argument or proof in behalf of the necessity of salvation. This is a sore evil, that every advance made to man in behalf of the truth is forestalled by the prejudice that religion makes no profession of being aught but a devout sentiment. An easy corollary from this is, that religion, devotional feeling, though useful for women and children, is not necessary for men. It thenceforth becomes a truth that men of genius and learning, nay, every educated and thinking man, has, *eo ipso*, all, and a great deal more, than religion can bestow upon others. Pantheism entails necessarily the worship of genius, and sets greatness in the place of goodness and holiness. Carlyle can make even a Danton a hero. If Tholuck and his compeers still choose to delude themselves about the nature of Schleiermacher's teaching, his proper disciples, as Schenkl, have no difficulty in reading the lesson contained in his words. His adherents among the clergy are acting out the plan and practice of their master, and employing all the terms of Christianity to imbue the minds of their hearers with the heathenish views they preach, of a Trinity which is nothing but the same divine energy which appeared in the creation, as coming forward again in the person of Christ, and then equally in the Christian Church. They are raising up, in the first instance, a race of Jews; as we could give instances where Christian girls under such teaching testify that they have become virtually Jewesses, with a natural sense of sin, and no Redeemer but one who is a mere man.

Let Schenkl's full-length demonstration of the character of Schleiermacher's published opinions as initiating a pantheistic social democratic revolution in Christianity, when God is a mere name and man all in all, be set alongside of the above extract from Tholuck, and no other conclusion will be possible than that Tholuck himself is deeply entangled in the delusion that the truths and facts of the faith are of secondary moment, and that Christianity on the whole is satisfied with certain devotional sentiments, from whatever source they arise. Tholuck is doubtless as able to read the

true sense of the "Glaubenslehre" as Schenkl, and must therefore suppose that one who sets aside the deity and atonement of Christ, the inspiration of Scripture, and the being of the Holy Ghost, may still be classed among the bulwarks and advocates of the Christian faith. There is no more lamentable evidence of the success which this foul scheme has already attained than the measure of homage which continues to be paid to its author by teachers on the orthodox side. It is all his followers need, if it be granted them, that the points of difference are non-essential. But this goes further than Germany. In Dr Hodge's *Theology*, the influence of Tholuck's opinions appears in the partial and tender treatment of Schleiermacher's errors. From a report that had reached him that Schleiermacher used to invite his children to sing a hymn to Jesus, he feels justified in expressing a hope that Schleiermacher was converted before his death, yea, goes so far as to establish his conviction by a quotation from Scripture. We would rejoice in corroborating this expectation if there were a word extant from Schleiermacher in which he had confessed his sinfulness and expressed his need of a Redeemer, or his dependence on the blood of Jesus. There is none such extant. There is a rebuke administered to his wife for teaching her children to pray to Christ; no word of a contrary tendency. What passed between Schleiermacher's soul and the Lord, *in articulo mortis*, or how he stands before the bar of the great Judge, we have no call to determine. But as far as we have words or expressions to judge by, there is no more evidence of his conversion than of that of Balaam or of Simon Magus. There is every proof that he, to the end of his life, celebrated his separation from the Moravians in rejection of the atonement and divinity of our Lord as the day of his new birth, of which he never repented.

We would have all men to be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth; but we deprecate such an utterance as that of Dr Hodge as a concession to the pantheistic spirit that seeks to make a separate door for the gifted and learned, by which they may find a cheaper access to the presence of Christ and salvation. This is all the more to be avoided, that this dreamy, hazy spirit is threatening to overspread all lands, and with its pestilential breath to quench all

spiritual earnestness. It has so far done its work in the land whence it emanated, but it is by no means disposed to stop there. The man who did more than all others to circulate Schleiermacher's sentiments in the higher regions in Great Britain was the late Chevalier Bunsen, who was an out-and-out disciple of Schleiermacher, and in his great *Bibel-Werk* has interpreted the whole of Scripture in the sense of that system. The character of this pernicious work may be judged by those who cannot examine it for themselves from the fact that a mercantile man who lives for the diffusion of deism (for as to Scripture, pantheists and deists make common cause) at once ordered ten copies, expensive and voluminous as it is. As far as Bunsen's influence extended, it was devoted to the spreading of Schleiermacher's principles. The same mischievous principle breathes in the works of Wordsworth and other popular poets. Coleridge tells how Spinoza was the object of the admiration and constant conversation of the poetic circle in the neighbourhood of Bristol in the days of their pantisocratic dreams, sufficient traces of which transpire in some of their works. Witness Coleridge's tirade, "Other-worldliness;" witness passages Wordsworth wrote, which might be a transcript from Schleiermacher, *e.g.*:—

" Well pleased to recognise
 In nature and the language of the sense
 The anchor of my purest thoughts, the nurse,
 The guide, the guardian of my heart and soul,
 Of all my inmost being."

Such sentiments float on the wings of numbers and song, like the thistle-down on the wind, and find easily a connatural soil wherever they alight. It needs some labour and preparation of the soil to extirpate them, and make room for divine and saving truth on any spot. But woe worth the day, and woe to the people, when the ministers of the word take to spreading and cultivating such weeds in place of the word, which alone has the promise of eternal life.

DANIEL EDWARD.

ART. II.—*The Apologetic Function of the Church in the Present Time.*¹

I HAVE selected as the subject of this opening lecture, “The Apologetic Function of the Church in the Present Time.” The subject is one which, while naturally suggesting itself to one in my position, as having charge of the Apologetic department, and corresponding to the initial place assigned to Apologetics in the theological course, is peculiarly appropriate to the state of opinion on religious matters in the age in which we live. That age is characterised by an immense amount of mental activity on the subject of religion; and, unhappily, the current of opinion in cultivated circles runs with powerful tide in a direction contrary to the creed of Christendom. The time-spirit is theologically antichristian; some think that it is so ethically also, and has begun to sigh after the jolly gods of Greece, and, tired of the austere morality of Christianity, to look back with longing to the free, sensual life of paganism, regulated by æsthetic rather than by moral law. Prophets inspired by the time-spirit confidently predict the speedy advent of a new era, when the Christian religion, as hitherto believed and practised by the church, will be a thing of the past. “An inevitable revolution,” saith the apostle of culture, Mr Matthew Arnold, “of which we all recognise the beginnings and signs, but which has already spread, perhaps, further than most of us think, is befalling the religion in which we have been brought up.” Another apostle of the new era, of grimmer humour, the late Dr David Strauss, in that last book of his, *The Old and the New Faith*, speaking in the “prophetic strain” that befits “old experience,” remarks that “the religious territory in the

¹ The following paper was delivered as a lecture at the opening of the Free Church College, Glasgow, on the 2d November 1875. It is given here in the form it originally assumed, and with little alteration in the substance, the only portion that has been recast being that which refers to the sermon of Principal Tulloch on “Religion and Theology.” The retention of a reference to a fugitive publication in a paper appearing at this date may seem to demand an apology, and my apology is that the sermon in question supplies a convenient illustration of an injurious tendency of which my subject leads me to speak. I trust nothing objectionable will be found in the spirit of the reference.

human soul is like the territory of the Red-skins in America, which, lament and condemn the fact as much as we please, is from year to year becoming more and more contracted by their white-skinned neighbours.”¹ We Christians are the Red Indians of Strauss’ parable, and we see what we have to expect from the white-skinned children of culture who are rapidly taking possession of the land.

In some respects the discouraging comparison made by the veteran champion of modern unbelief is quite true. Believers in Christianity in these days are pressed and hemmed on every side, and almost if not altogether as sorely beset as were Christians of the early ages, when the apologetic function of the church was called incessantly into play by the fierce antagonisms of conflicting systems of religious belief and philosophic opinion. We are confronted with rival theories of the universe, or in German phrase, *Weltanschauungen*, all subversive of the very foundations on which the Christian faith is built. First, there is atheistic materialism, which tells us that no God is needed to account for this universe, nothing but the primary elements of matter, atoms with their essential properties. Out of these inanimate atoms eternally existent, sprang at a given time, amid favouring circumstances, not by creation or miraculous act of some fancied deity, but by natural law, the primordial forms of life ; and out of life once given in the rudest germ, sprang by a slow, insensibly progressive development, all higher forms of animated existence, till the process of evolution terminated in man. In this way does modern materialism, assisted by modern science, undertake the construction of the *Kosmos* without a God. Not that modern science is in itself atheistic in spirit or tendency, though a German philosopher of last century, Jacobi, said that it was the interest of science that there should be no God. The statement is true only in the sense that science cannot allow the idea of a God or a Creator to be interposed as a barrier in the way of its pursuit of natural causes. In this view science has certainly no interest in proving the existence of a God ; it leaves the divine existence to look after itself, and confines itself to its proper work, the investigation of the laws of nature. But

¹ *Der alte und der neue Glaube*, pp. 141-2.

neither, on the other hand, is science, as such, impelled by any atheistic *animus*. It does not propose to itself, as its chief end, or even as a subordinate end, to expel God from the universe, but simply takes the liberty of pursuing its own proper end, the ascertainment of natural causes, without inquiring at every turn; how does this result square with existing theological opinions? But it is nevertheless true that science, prosecuting its investigations in this spirit, has made discoveries, and still more, has invented hypotheses, which have been welcomed by materialists as enabling them to make out an extremely plausible case in behalf of their theory of the universe, which, excluding creation and providence, leaves nothing for God to do, and therefore dispenses with his existence altogether. If any one desires to see how the discoveries and hypotheses of modern science, including the now famous hypothesis of Darwin regarding the origin of species, and of man in particular, can be made to serve the purposes of atheism, he has but to read the book of Strauss already referred to, where the materialistic view of the world is expounded with all the clearness and idiomatic terseness of which its author was a master.

Side by side with materialism, and kindred in its results, though opposed in its starting point and philosophic method, stands pantheism,—an airy, intangible system, protean in its varying forms, and difficult to define. Unlike materialism, pantheism speaks of a God, speaks much of him, indeed, or, of *it* rather; seeming to make God all in all—the universal substance, as in Spinoza's system; the absolute, all-pervading spirit, as in more modern systems. But the God of pantheism is no being in particular, distinct from the world, and existing before a world was. God is simply the ideality of the world, and the world is the reality of God. It is therefore absurd, from the pantheistic point of view, to speak of the personality of God. There are neither personality, consciousness, nor will in God, except in so far as God attains to these in man, in the course of the great world process. The aspect of the world does not require us to ascribe to God such attributes. There is, indeed, an objective reason in the world, manifest in all those adaptations of organism to environment, and of the various parts of an organism to each other, from which old-

fashioned theists drew those evidences of design which constituted their staple argument for the being of a God. There is also a moral order observable in the world, which presents the appearance, on a large view of history, of a moral government bent upon bringing about a correspondence between character and lot in the experience of nations, and to a certain extent of individuals. But though there is an aspect of design, there is no designer; though there is a moral order, there is no orderer. The reason in the world is unconscious, the moral order of the world is blind. It is a mere power in the world, not ourselves, making for righteousness; that is all we know of it, and that is all we have for a God. Such is the phrase, and such the theology of Mr Matthew Arnold, who, in his *Literature and Dogma*, devoted to the advocacy of such a theology, may be regarded as the populariser for English tastes of German pantheistic philosophy; as in the view of the Bible enunciated in the same work, he may be regarded as the populariser of the doctrines taught by Spinoza in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*. There is, says this gifted writer, a power in the world, not ourselves, making for righteousness, and this power he calls God; just as Fichte, using a different form of expression to convey the same sense, said, "God is the moral order of the world." But we are given to understand that this power is not a personal power, endowed with consciousness and will; and we are further informed that it is an entire mistake to imagine that the authors of that Hebrew literature called the Old Testament meant to teach the existence of any such personal power exercising a Providence over human affairs. This is not the place or time to enter into any discussion of Arnold's views; though I cannot help remarking, in a passing sentence, how strangely the idea formed by this brilliant though flippant *litterateur* of the Bible doctrine of God conflicts, I do not say with the instinctive impressions of the multitude, but with the opinion of at least equally competent judges, such as the author of *The Creed of Christendom*, to whom it appears self-evident that the God of the Hebrews was "specially personal, concrete, and anthropomorphic;"¹ or the author of *The Old and the New Faith*, who tells us that to

¹ *The Creed of Christendom*, third edition, Introduction, p. xx.

the Jew "God was before all things a Being, who manifested himself as a Person."¹ But this by the way. My present object is simply to indicate the nature of Arnold's views, as those of one who may be conveniently taken as an English representative of a pantheistic mode of thought on the subject of religion, thoroughly antichristian in spirit and tendency.

A third theory of the universe, not less antagonistic to Christianity than the two foregoing, though to a superficial view not so obviously so, remains to be mentioned, viz., that which goes by the name of modern speculative theism. This scheme of thought concerning God and the world in their relations to each other is better known on the Continent than in this country, though Theodore Parker, of America, may be referred to as one of its best known expositors in the English tongue, and in this country Miss Cobbe, and with a certain hesitancy Rathbone Greg, for he has no consistent speculative position, and even ostentatiously proclaims his incapacity for philosophic speculation. Speculative theism believes in a living, self-conscious, self-determining God, the absolute personality in whom the world has its unity and ground. But the God of this theory is "immanent in the world," has no existence apart from the world, has no activity beyond the fixed order of the world. Without a world there were no God, and outside the unbroken adamantine chain of natural causality there is no divine action. The world is eternal, and its order inviolable. It never had a beginning, and never will have an end; and its continuity cannot be broken through by miraculous interference. There never was, never will be, never can be a miracle in the strict sense of the word—no miracle of creation, or of providence, or of grace, or of virtue; even the ideal humanity ascribed by Schleiermacher to Christ is inadmissible in this system, because it is a breach of the world continuity, a perforation of the system of the universe by a moral miracle. God, in this system, is a prisoner in the world, has been a prisoner from all eternity, and to all eternity must remain in his prison. He is a shell-fish, with the universe for his shell; only that there is no opening for him to get out, and how he got into the shell, or how the shell came to be there, no man can tell.

¹ *Der alte und der neue Glaube*, p. 107.

No one possessing any insight can fail to see that all these theories of the universe are utterly subversive of catholic Christianity, which is based upon a belief in a free gracious interposition of a living God in the world's history, in fulfilment of a redemptive purpose, by means above the plane of nature. All these schemes of thought are characterised by thorough-going naturalism; in all the supernatural, the miraculous, is inexorably excluded; in the first two, for the simple reason that there is no living God distinct from the world; in the third, because the divine vitality and activity are restricted to the course of nature, and exhaustively expressed therein. There can be no word in any of these systems, as their honest, straightforward, thoroughgoing expositors frankly avow, of inspiration, except in the sense in which all genius is inspired, of revelation by miraculous deeds, of incarnation by a free act of divine self-emptying, or even of a perfect man. The Socinian theory of Christ's person is excluded not less than the orthodox, and the Saviour descends to the level of a religious genius, possibly the greatest that has as yet appeared, but not the greatest conceivable, taking his place as *primus inter pares*, along with Sakya-muni and Socrates, and other world-famous religious geniuses, and working in the world savingly, just as they did, by precepts of wisdom and a life of sanctity. Hence any of these theories being accepted, it is all over with the Christian religion; and it can only be owing to a lingering feeling of attachment to a venerable name if the advocates of such theories decline, with Strauss, to answer in the negative the question, "Are we yet Christians?" And of course it is all over with the claims of the Bible to be a supernatural revelation, the record of a divine interposition in the history of the world for the redemption of man. The materialist, the pantheist, the modern speculative theist, might save himself the trouble of examining these claims, and simply say, "Such pretensions on my philosophy are absurd, the thing cannot be."

But such a summary method of procedure would make the speculative source of unbelief too apparent, and therefore the *à priori* reasoning must be backed up by a critico-historical inquiry, designed to shew that, as a matter of fact, the sacred books of the Christian religion are historically untrustworthy, and that both they and the doctrine they contain are the

products of a natural process of evolution, which can be explained, and to a certain extent historically verified. This part of the work fell to be done by the late Dr Baur and his followers, who together constitute what is usually designated the Tübingen critical school; and it must be acknowledged that the task assigned to them was performed by these scholars, and especially by the leader of the party, with consummate ability, with immense learning, and with hearty goodwill. It is now forty years and more since Baur began that learned labour, the fruit of which was the publication of a series of works of a critical, historical, and historico-dogmatic nature, devoted to the great end of applying to Christianity the principles of Hegelian philosophy; and since then there has taken place in Germany, even among theologians of the advanced school, a reaction from the extreme opinions therein advocated towards older and more conservative views regarding the origin, authorship, and historical value of the New Testament writings. But it is only of late years that the echo of Baur's powerful voice has begun to be heard in this country. We are just at present in course of being made familiar with the Tübingen theories by the medium of translations, and by an anonymous work entitled *Supernatural Religion*, which was ushered into the world, a year or two ago, with the universal applause of the critics, but which is now beginning to find its proper level as pretentious in its scholarship, and passionately partisan in its support of an extreme negative tendency that is out of date in the country where it took its rise.

Such are the foes, philosophic and critical, with whom we have to fight. They are many, strong, and stern, uncompromising, bent on a war of extermination, jubilant in tone, confident of victory; the shout of triumph is in their camp, and they march forth, like the Russian host at Inkermann, to drive us into the sea. The first feeling of the believer is one of dismay and consternation, as if it were all over with the faith dear to his heart, and defence of Christianity in presence of the advancing battalions of philosophy and science, criticism and culture, were no longer possible. But the issue of that famous combat to which allusion has been made helps to assure us by reminding us that the battle is not always to the strong. Desperate as the situa-

tion may appear, there are some aspects of it fitted to rebuke despondency. In the first place, the radical, thoroughgoing character of the opposition is in itself a cause of satisfaction. The war is avowedly concerning fundamentals—concerning the very idea of God. The avowal is made with the utmost frankness; as by Mr Arnold, who tells us that it is “the axiomatic basis which must go,” the assumption with which all the churches and sects set out, that there is “a great Personal First Cause, the moral and intelligent Governor of the universe.” Some, who have an interest in concealing the real issue of the controversy, may lament such outspokenness. I for my part am profoundly thankful for it; for I am persuaded that Strauss, and Baur, and Arnold, and the author of *Supernatural Religion*, by their extreme frankness in setting forth the true state of the question, have done good service to Christianity, by shewing clearly what is to be next when it is got rid of, and so summoning to decision those who halt between two opinions. The honest avowal therefore of the radical nature of the strife is not a thing to be sorry for. Neither is the fact that the strife is radical—about fundamental, not about details, even about the Christian conception of God. It is always satisfactory to an honest mind to be engaged in a controversy that has a broad issue. It gives dignity to character, and elevation to thought, to take part in a mighty spiritual conflict, which calls us away from narrow, belittling disputes about questions of casuistry or minute points of doctrine, that do not concern the interests of catholic Christianity, but only those of a sectional orthodoxy, to engage in a nobler fight, *pro aris et focis*, for those great fundamental truths which constitute the common creed of Christendom. Then, may we not hope that the momentous nature of the struggle, once clearly understood, will have the effect of making Christians feel the insignificance of dividing distinctive beliefs, in comparison with the truths held in common by all, and so prepare the way for a healing of these divisions which have done more harm to Christianity than all the assaults of infidelity combined? The fierce assaults of recent unbelief will do more good than harm, if they help to develop in the church the feeling of catholicity, and to teach her the wisdom contained in the counsel of Hermocrates the Syracusan,

to the Siciliots, in view of the Athenian invasion, to cease from their tribal enmities and petty strifes, and combine together in resolute resistance against the common foe.¹ One other benefit we may hope to reap from the present crisis in the fortunes of the faith. The onslaught of the enemy may help to make the faith assailed more precious to our own hearts, by compelling us to reconsider the ground of our beliefs. We in these lands have been in a profound dogmatic slumber, from which we are now being rudely awakened. We have held the faith, and been thoroughly sound, and very confident and self-complacent in our orthodoxy; but we have at the same time been to a large extent ignorant of what has been said either for or against our creed; and that creed has been to us just what all things which cost little trouble are apt to be to their possessors—a thing to be talked about, rather than a thing of unspeakable value, for the sake of which we would gladly part with all. And now this trial of faith is coming upon us for our spiritual discipline, to expose our hypocrisy, to rouse us out of our indolence, to waken us up

“ To the higher aims
Of a land that has lost for a little her lust of gold,
And love of a peace that was full of wrongs and shames,”

and make us so behave ourselves in the crisis that we shall be able to say:—

“ We have proved we have hearts in a cause, we are noble still ;
And myself have awaked, as it seems, to the better mind.”²

The need for apology being so urgent in these times, how is the church to discharge her apologetic function? I do not think a better answer could be given to the question, than one based upon the counsel of the apostle Peter to Christians summoned to answer for themselves before heathen tribunals, and on the words spoken by the same Peter in his disciple-days at a certain crisis in the history of his Master. The counsel of the apostle runs: “Be not afraid of their terror, neither be troubled; but sanctify the Lord Christ in your hearts, and be ready always for apology to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you; but with meekness and fear, having a good con-

¹ Thucydides, Book iv. 59.

² Tennyson, *Maud*, vi. v.

science.”¹ The words of the disciple, spoken at a time when many were forsaking Jesus, and in answer to the question, “Will ye also go away?” were, “Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life; and we believe, and are sure, that thou art the holy one of God.”² Christian apologetic, according to apostolic precept and example, should be conducted, *without panic, with modesty, and yet with the decision and firmness* of men who know what is at stake, and “realise the alternatives.”

Panic is apt to overtake even a well-disciplined army when it is surprised by a sudden and vigorous attack of its foe. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if the church militant should sometimes be panic-stricken in presence of an unusually formidable assault on the faith, bursting suddenly upon it from some unexpected quarter. Such a visitation of panic overtook the religious world when Strauss' *Leben Jesu* appeared in 1835. Many a one, now well established in faith, can remember the sensations of horror and despair which seized his heart when, with the hunger of a student, he devoured that tremendous book, finding intellectual gratification in its clear trenchant style and rigorous logic, and possibly deriving a certain furtive pleasure from its sceptical tone; only however to exchange the sweetness in the mouth, while the pages were being turned over, for intense bitterness in the inward parts, when the work had been perused and its drift realised. Such panic in the individual breast, or in the community at large, for at least a short space, is perhaps in such circumstances inevitable. But it does not become the Church of Christ to give way for any length of time to panic. She should sanctify the Lord Christ in her heart, sanctify Christ as the Lord; and possess her soul in patience and peace. For that Jesus is the Lord is the one thing about which she can always be sure, and that certainty carries a great deal along with it. Believing and being sure that Jesus is the holy one of God, she has got in that one truth a firm footing for her creed; in his

¹ 1 Pet. iii. 14-16. The approved reading in ver. 15 is, *Κύριον δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν ἀγιασάτε ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν*, and before *μιστὰ πρᾶντης καὶ φόβου* should be an *ἀλλὰ*.

² John vi. 68. Instead of *ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ* of the received text, critics are agreed in adopting the reading, *ὁ ἄγιος τοῦ Θεοῦ*.

perfect character a miraculous breach in the wall of naturalism, which insures the conquest of the citadel. For that miracle can never stand alone; it is a fact which forms a part of a system; in proof of which it is enough to say that the unbelief which begins by assailing the inspiration of Scripture, or the miracles, or the historical reliableness of the gospels, or the doctrine of redemption, or the resurrection on the third day, often ends by assailing the character of Jesus, with a view to shew that he was not, what naturalism cannot allow him to be, perfect in wisdom and goodness, but an ignorant, erring, sinful, though on the whole wise, good man. And this is a conclusion which the heart of Christendom will always find it morally impossible to accept. Her attitude towards censurers of the character of her Lord, will always be, "We believe and know that he is the Holy One of God." And occupying this attitude with all her heart, and with a good conscience, she will be incapable of fearing overthrow. She will be convinced that whatever is bound up with the maintenance of the sanctity and Lordship of Christ, whether as presupposition or as logical consequence, will turn out on due investigation to be true, and will not be shaken in mind by confident assertions of the kind so rife in such a work as *Supernatural Religion* :—"It is now proved," "all scholars agree," "no rational man can doubt," that Christianity as a supernatural religion is exploded, and that none but knaves or fools can any longer believe in it; or by regiments of citations marched past in foot notes, to intimidate simple readers by a formidable array of hostile authorities. And it is very necessary that the Church should preserve this attitude of calm confidence. It is the best defence against two vices of opposite character, to one or other of which panic-stricken men are prone—the vice of overdone antagonism, on the one hand, and that of a spirit of surrender on the other. The cause of truth has suffered greatly from both. From the one cause has proceeded the defence of many an untenable position, as *e.g.* when Protestant theologians allowed themselves to be carried by their zeal against the Romish doctrines of tradition, into so exaggerated a view of the infallibility and inspiration of Scripture, as to maintain that the Hebrew vowel points were inspired, and that the text of Scripture had been preserved

absolutely incorrupt. From the spirit of surrender, on the other hand, has proceeded too often the abandonment of really vital truths, and the virtual giving up of the cause as lost. The cry has been raised, "A confederacy! a confederacy! let us unite with this party in order to beat that other," and the effect has been simply to substitute one form of unbelief for another, and to gain an apparent victory which was a real defeat. These remarks apply to the conduct of the defence against deism in the last century, in which Christianity was conceived of, in the deistic manner, as a body of instruction communicated on such topics as the immortality of the soul, rather than as a great fact—the fact of redemption achieved; the effect being that the soul of the system defended was sacrificed, and the fight was maintained over its dead carcass.

Modesty also becomes the Christian apologist. Ready always for apology, but with meekness and reverence (*ἀλλὰ μετὰ πραύτητος καὶ φόβου*), is the apostolic rule. This rule involves these two things at least, respect for the position and arguments of opponents, and moderation, sobriety, and candour in the statement and defence of our own position. No one is at all likely to be an effective apologist who is not keenly alive to the difficulties of faith, and qualified by his own experience to understand the possibility of honest doubt, or even of emphatic passionate denial, on the part of honourable truth-loving men. As little is good service to be looked for from him who is dogmatic in tone, and conceited in spirit; not only fully persuaded in his own mind concerning essentials, but presumptuously confident in regard to accessories and inferences; not prepared to allow that there can possibly be error in anything which he believes, or that any question on which he has made up his mind can stand in need of reconsideration. The wise defender of the faith will stand only on the essential presuppositions of Christianity, and take good care not to allow any position of subordinate importance, even though he himself believe in it, to usurp the place of a fundamental. He will stand upon the reality of a divine revelation, for example, and upon the Bible as the reliable record of that revelation as made by divine words and deeds; but he will not allow *à priori* inferences, from the idea of a revelation to the literary history and character-

istics of the record, to be of the essence of the question at issue, but will consent to treat these as simple questions of fact. In regard to the gospel records, for example, so unspeakably important in their substance and in their bearings on the truth of the Christian religion, the great aim of a discreet and gentle apologist will be, not to construct a harmony unmarred by a single discrepancy, but to demonstrate the broad position, that the gospels as a whole are not mythical but historical. In all things he will aim at being strong rather than at being extreme; and by his moderation and discrimination in argument, will make the impression that he has such a good cause in hand that he can afford to make concessions. Of this meek and reverent style of apologetic we have an admirable example in Bishop Butler, who, in his attitude towards unbelief, presents a striking contrast to the great mass of apologists in his day, whose whole style of argumentation was that of bullies and hired advocates, retained by a fee for the defence of the Christian religion. Of Butler it has been well remarked, that his merit lies, "not in the 'irrefragable proof' which Southey's epithet attributes to his construction, but in his shewing the nature of the proof, and daring to admit that it was less than certain; to own that a man may be fully convinced of the truth of a matter, and upon the strongest reasons, and yet not be able to answer all the difficulties which may be raised upon it."¹ It is because this is true of Butler that his *Analogy* remains a classic to this day, almost the only part of the apologetic literature of the eighteenth century that has stood the test of time; and it is by an apologetic conducted in the same spirit of sobriety and candour, with the "meekness of wisdom," that the church in our own day will at length overcome in the contest which awaits her.

But the "meekness of wisdom" is not to be confounded with uncertainty, or to be regarded as incompatible with decision. The requirement of modesty may be, and ought to be, combined with the firmness of one who knows what is at stake, and has clearly realised the alternatives—seen, that is, what is involved in the Christian position, and also what is involved in abandoning it. The Christian religion has its

¹ "Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688-1750," by Rev. Mark Pattison in *Essays and Reviews*, p. 306.

own peculiar *Weltanschauung*, its own theory of the universe, its own idea of God and of the world, and of the relation between God and the world; and the apologist ought to have a clear understanding what the Christian theory of the universe is, as distinguished from, and in certain respects opposed to, the other theories previously described, that he may know when to make a firm stand, and may not commit the fatal mistake of giving up points which form the key of his position. The Christian theory, for example, while believing in the divine immanence in the world, yet conceives of God as so independent of the world that his existence and perfection are no wise conditioned by the world, and would remain the same though the world were non-existent. There is room, therefore, in the Christian theory for the doctrine of creation, the doctrine, that is, that the world had a beginning in time, a doctrine excluded both by the pantheistic theory, and by that of speculative theism, in both of which it is an axiom, "without a world no God." Again, the Christian theory, while believing in a Divine Providence acting in conformity with and through the ordinary fixed course of nature, has such a conception of divine freedom in relation to the established order as involves the possibility of miracle, also denied both by pantheism and by speculative theism, which both assert as an axiomatic truth that the world-continuity cannot by any possibility be broken. On such questions as these, therefore, a spirit of compromise or concession on the part of an apologist is simply suicidal. And yet, a disposition to yield has often been manifested in just such directions. A certain school of apologists, actuated by a legitimate desire to go as far as possible in satisfying the demands of modern science and philosophy, and giving to Christianity an aspect of rationality, have conceded one thing after another, till the faith has been reduced to little more than that nucleus of truths which constitute what is called natural religion. The author of *Supernatural Religion*, speaking of this school, represents it as characterised by "a tendency to eliminate from Christianity, with thoughtless dexterity, every supernatural element which does not quite accord with current opinion, and yet to ignore the fact, that in so doing ecclesiastical Christianity has practically been altogether aban-

done ;” and he graphically describes the distinguished men who head this tendency as endeavouring “to arrest for a moment the pursuing wolves of doubt and unbelief, by practically throwing to them, scrap by scrap, the very doctrines which constitute the claims of Christianity to be regarded as a divine revelation at all.” The description is as just as it is graphic, and the picture ought to be steadily kept in view by all who, in an apologetic interest, strive to discriminate between “religion and theology;” meaning by the former that which is comparatively certain and intrinsically valuable, and by the latter all that has been the subject of doubtful disputation as between theologians and men of science, or as between the different theological schools within the church. That religion and theology are to a large extent separable, and that the former may be in a thriving state when there is much uncertainty concerning many subjects embraced within the latter is a fact, and a fact for which we should be thankful. At the same time, while insisting on this distinction, we must be careful lest we create the impression that almost everything may be given up, and that it would not make much difference to religion. Such an impression is a very false one where-soever it may be entertained. For the truth is, that while some sort of religion may remain whatever our theological opinions may be, the quality of our religion corresponds to our theology, and every religion has its own system of theological conceptions, the Christian religion not excepted. Herbert Spencer has his religion, but it consists simply in a feeling of speechless awe in presence of the unknowable substratum of all phenomena. Strauss has his religion, but it consists simply in a feeling for the *universum*, in which “pride is blended with humility, joy with resignation;” but no place is found for worship or personal relations. Matthew Arnold has his religion, but it consists simply in the earnest recognition of the fact that there is a neuter impersonal power not ourselves making for righteousness; to call that power personal, and so ascribe to it personal qualities, and to aspire to have personal relations with it, being in his opinion *Aberglaube*, extra-belief, superstition. Rousseau had his religion, but it was a religion without prayer, because a religion of purely naturalistic theism. How different from

all these religions that set forth as embodying the simplicity that is in Christ in the sermon preached in the parish church of Crathie, 5th September 1875, by a distinguished dignitary in one of our Scottish universities, and published under the title "Religion and Theology," as a sermon for the times;¹ and how different the theological postulates involved—postulates repudiated by the writers just named, but held in common by all believers of the catholic faith of all schools and sects, by Protestants and Romanists, by Arminians and Calvinists, by Clement, Origen, Chrysostom, Tertullian, Augustine, Cyril, Erasmus, Luther, Calvin, Frederick Robertson, John Newman. The writer of that sermon for the times speaks of a fallen life to be restored, and of a higher life of divine love and sacrifice willing and able to restore and purify this fallen life; of the grace and sacrifice of God on behalf of man; of a supernatural religion and a supernatural sphere, and of "the living personal character" of the power that makes for righteousness, and of personal relations with this power as indispensable to religion; of "a living righteousness and love far more powerful than our sins." This is religion, this is the simplicity that is in Christ; but it is theology also, theology perhaps in its expression characteristic of a school, that of Mr Maurice; still theology on the catholic foundation, theology rejected scornfully by Strauss and Arnold, and to a large extent by theists, like Theodore Parker, and Miss Cobbe, and Rathbone Greg, who will have nothing to do with the supernatural in any shape or form; theology which, if admitted, carries along with it a great deal more in every mind that follows out its beliefs to their legitimate conclusions. That being so, is it wise to emphasise, so strongly as the writer of the sermon referred to has done, the comparative unimportance of theology? or to include among the questions of subordinate moment such a question as, "What is the divine nature?" As if that question were not involved and answered in the assertions that God is personal, that he is love, that he is righteous, that he sent his Son to save the lost, as if these assertions were not the very things now in dispute when the nature of God is under discussion, as they were the things connected with the Christian religion which the

¹ By Principal Tulloch, of St Andrews.

heathen philosopher, Celsus, assailed in the second century. It is not such vague talk about the difference between religion and theology that is to help men through spiritual perplexities in these critical times, but rather earnest endeavours to shew what theological postulates are essential to the Christian faith, and, while treating other positions as matters of comparative indifference, the resolute defence of these against all comers.¹

While such vague generalities give no help to the perplexed, they fail still more signally to satisfy thorough-going unbelievers. Though so much of the creed is thrown to the wolves, too much is retained for the sacrifice to silence their howling.

Accordingly, nothing is more noticeable in the recent literature of unbelief than the howl of dissatisfaction directed against the men of compromise. Miss Cobbe in England, Pecaut in France, Strauss and Schwartz in Germany, are all down on the mediation school, as admitting too much for the consistency of their own position, and too little to meet the demands of their opponents. Strauss, in his minor publication, *Die Halben und die Ganzen* (the half-way men and the thorough-going men), with Schenkel in view as the representative of the former, characterises theologians of his type as utterers of false coin, and says it is high time some one were appointed to look after them, and meantime promises without any appointment to do his best to detect and expose their practices :

“ I wait not till some one has appointed me ; there am I, I need no outer, I follow my inner calling. I cannot be everywhere, but I will do what I can. When I go to the market, when I pass by a money-box, I

¹ In what the distinction between religion as the certain element, and theology as the uncertain, is apt to end, we may learn from the recently published work of the late Lord Amberley, on the *Analysis of Religious Belief*. In Lord Amberley's hands the distinction assumes the form of one between belief and faith—belief signifying the uncertain opinions of mankind concerning God, man, and the universe ; and faith the vague undefinable sense of the unknown and unknowable Somewhat which underlies all creeds. In the person of Lord Amberley Christianity has to meet a new foe who utilises the results of the recent science of comparative theology to divest her of her claims to be a revealed supernatural religion, and to degrade her to the position of one among many, in some respects like, in some respects better, and in some worse, than other religions.

keep my eyes open. With false pence I do not trouble myself, for it were then impossible to overtake the work ; but when a leaden thaler, or counters in place of ducats turn up, there is business for me, I will not let the offender go till I have handed him over. I will not, I am aware, make myself loved thereby, I will receive thanks from none, but from truth only, whom I serve. Did he earn thanks who turned the merchants and money-changers out of the temple ? 'The zeal of thine house consumes me,' is a beautiful watchword, and such a sacrifice pleases God better than oxen and goats."¹

Turning from Strauss, the atheist, to Carl Schwartz, of Berlin, the speculative theist, we find him in his interesting work on the recent theology of Germany, equally dissatisfied with Schleiermacher and Rothe, because, after making extensive concessions to naturalism, they still retained some remnants of supernaturalism, as *e.g.* in their Christology. These two distinguished theologians recognised in Christ, not the Incarnate God of the church's creed, but simply the ideally perfect man. But even such a Christ Schwartz objects to, as incompatible with the theory of immanence, as a departure from the principle of world-continuity, and the introduction of the principle of world-perforation, in short, as a *miracle* ; and he seems at a loss to comprehend how two such philosophic minds could be guilty of so unphilosophical a procedure. So far as Rothe is concerned, the inconsistency might be jocularly accounted for by a physical peculiarity of which I have heard from friends, who, when students, attended his lectures. It seems that the outer corner of one of Rothe's eyes was turned down, while the corresponding corner of the other eye was turned up, and that the students used to call the one eye reason, and the other faith. The physical peculiarity was an emblem of a mental one ; for Rothe had as it were two minds, a believing mind in affinity with the Moravian brethren, and a sceptical mind in sympathy with rationalism. A similar statement, indeed, might also be made in reference to Schleiermacher, of whom Strauss remarks that he ground down pantheism and Christianity to powder, and so mixed them that it is hard to say where pantheism ends and Christianity begins. But the true explanation of the inconsistency animadverted on by Schwartz is this : the reluctance felt by every devout mind to give up faith in the moral perfection of Christ.

¹ *Die Halben und die Ganzen*, p. 64.

Driven from every other position peculiar to a supernatural religion by a desolating naturalism, the devout mind makes a stand here, and at the expense of its own consistency sanctifies Christ as the Lord. And this only serves to shew how inevitably religion reacts on theology, so that given a heart sympathy with evangelic religion, with "the simplicity that is in Christ," an element of supernaturalism must enter into the theological system. It is only a pity that in men of such eminence and worth as those named, the reaction should be so long of setting in—that men so well-fitted by their endowments to put to flight the wolves should run so far before turning round upon their pursuers. If their concessions to unbelief proceed from apologetic policy, the result shews that the policy is mistaken. They get no thanks, but only abuse and insult for their pains. The only wise policy is to make no concessions except to truth, to be faithful to personal convictions, and fearlessly consistent in the working out of first principles.

Thus far I have spoken of the spirit in which the church should discharge her apologetic function in conflict with the opponents of the common faith. I have left myself time only for a very few words on the attitude of the church, in the exercise of the same function, towards those who are training for the ministry, and towards those who are subject to her discipline. Towards the former the feeling of the church should be one of generous sympathy. When the spirit of doubt is in the air, young men, and especially those whose professional studies bring them into contact with the religious tendencies of the age, cannot fail, with the susceptibility of the youthful spirit, to be more or less infected by it. It is a fact to be acknowledged, and to be treated very much as a matter of course, on the one hand not to be reprobated with pious horror, on the other not to be regarded with too much apprehension, as if the malady of doubt must necessarily end in the death of faith. It must always be borne in mind that many of the most distinguished Christians in every age have passed through severe trials of this kind, and come out of the trial stronger men; that, in fact, as Richard Baxter, himself well acquainted with such experiences, remarks: "Nothing is more firmly believed than that which hath once been doubted." At the same time it is

also to be remembered that a time of doubt is always a time of spiritual peril, and that it is the duty of all who are well-established in faith to help their younger brethren by kindly sympathy, wise counsel, and such assistance in the solution of difficulties as their experience enables them to supply. On the issue of the spiritual discipline through which our young men have to pass, much depends. The church will require in her pulpits, more and more as time advances, men well acquainted with the antichristian currents of thought, and at the same time thoroughly whole-hearted in the faith for neither ignorant men nor semi-sceptical men will do the service that is needed. But it is not easy to combine the two requirements. It is easy for pious ignorance to be fervent; but it is anything but easy to unite enthusiasm with deep thought, or with wide knowledge of the thoughts of others. Hence perhaps may be explained a fact which is occasionally remarked on, viz. the lack of fervour in preaching characteristic of the younger generation of ministers compared with the older generation. I remember a conversation I had some years ago with a respected minister of another church on the subject. He remarked that the older ministers were better preachers than the younger, and wondered what might be the reason. I said in reply, "They believed more than we do, we are a sceptical generation." At this date, I still think there is something in the explanation. The younger ministers know a great deal of the sceptical literature of the age, and the spirit of scepticism has entered more or less into their own blood; and they speak coldly because they only half-believe what they speak, though of conscious insincerity they are entirely innocent. This is manifestly an unsatisfactory state of matters. We want men in our pulpits who believe with their whole heart and soul, and who, believing intensely, can speak emphatically, vehemently, yea, on needful occasion, with volcanic force: we want such men, just because the spirit of the age is so sceptical. But that which creates the need also causes the difficulty of obtaining supply, and the church must bestow both prayers and pains for the great end of rearing such a ministry.

The relation of the apologetic function of the church to the discipline she claims the right of exercising over her

members is a difficult and delicate subject, on which, perhaps, it might be prudent not to enter at the end of a lecture already too protracted. I will simply say that, while acknowledging the legitimacy and in some cases the necessity of discipline in connection with doctrinal aberrations, I am inclined to think that in some respects it might be an advantage were the *disciplinary* function to a large extent merged in the *apologetic* function. In these days, when knowledge runs to and fro, and periodical literature teeming with all manner of religious speculations is universally perused, it may be assumed that when a religious teacher broaches opinions of doubtful orthodoxy, he does so as the mouthpiece of a tendency pretty widely spread in the religious community. In these circumstances the exercise of discipline meets with little sympathy, and increases rather than diminishes the evil which is the cause of anxiety, viz. alienation of heart from the faith of the church. Apology, defence of the faith against prevailing error, would not create the same prejudice, while it would tend to fortify the minds of the community against perverting influences. Then, were apology to take the place of discipline, it would greatly help to remove one cause of weakness besetting the church as a defender of the faith against outside assailants, that arising out of imputation of unworthy motive. Apologists are apt to be regarded as men bound by their position as members of a church with a jealously-guarded creed, to defend the faith as traditionally handed down to them. The author of *Supernatural Religion* never uses the word "apologist" without a sneer, which means, "of course, we expect nothing else from you; who knows what you would say if you were free to speak your mind." Perhaps liberty to gainsay the faith, and utter the contrary opinion, freely conceded to all, or tolerated at least in the church, would be too great a price to pay for immunity from such suspicions in connection with the exercise of apologetic functions, or even inconsistent with the very idea of a church as having a treasure of truth entrusted to its keeping; but I am sure at least of this, that credit for purity of motive is a very necessary thing for effective defence of any cause. Hireling or compulsory advocacy, or advocacy believed to be such,

goes for nothing. It is indeed conceivable that days may come when the faithful representatives of catholic orthodoxy shall find themselves in a position, when the question will no longer be, whether they are to tolerate free inquiry, but to be tolerated themselves—a minority in a community the greater number of whose members have fallen away in the belief of their hearts, if not in the confession of the lip, from the faith embodied in the creeds. Such a state of things has been before, and it may be again. In some respects it would be an unhappy thing to live in such a time. But every state has its compensations. If faith would be rare on the earth at such a period, it would be of purer quality than it is apt to be when orthodoxy is in fashion, and tempted in its strength to use carnal weapons in the service of the truth. Many then would “be purified, and made white and tried,” and in them faith would be found associated with the heroic virtue which is the main source of its power to propagate itself. And wherever this combination exists, ultimate victory is sure. For whatever formal apologetic may do for the faith, far more effective service is rendered in its behalf by the graces which are its legitimate fruits. The best apology for Christianity is Christianity itself professed by men living saintly, noble lives. Through such professors truth works as a leaven, slowly but surely leavening the whole lump. May the God of all grace multiply the number of such in our time, for they are the salt of the earth, and while they abound the cause of the faith once delivered to the saints is secure. A. B. BRUCE.

ART. III.—*Romanism in the United States.*

The Fortnightly Review, March 1876. Article: *The Catholic Peril in America.* By FRANCIS E. ABBOTT.

THOUGH the Americans have had but three short chapters in their history—Puritanism, the Revolution, and the Civil War—they have existed long enough to discover for the world the life a nation must live to be truly happy without

failing to be truly great. The first discovery of their country widened the limits of human thought, by taking commerce out of the narrow paths of the Mediterranean; and its subsequent greatness quickened the general movement of society, by the spectacle of a few English settlements growing with almost magical swiftness into a vast population with an enormous capacity of material progress. To the success of the Reformation, the discovery of America was an essential condition, for it opened its arms to the refugees just when reactionary Romanism was putting forth all its strength to drive Protestantism out of Europe; while it is the Protestantism of the United States—so instinct with evangelical vigour, and so free from Anglo-Catholic reactions—which now establishes a sort of equipoise between the Popery and the Protestantism of the world. It is needless to say that the cause of liberty has been everywhere helped more or less by the success of the great experiment in the science of government presented by a Republic guaranteeing the amplest freedom to a people bounded by two oceans, and by distant parallels of latitude stretching across a continent. The constitution of the United States, notwithstanding its very serious defects, breathes the very spirit of Gothic architecture—grand, complex, unlimited; and though it has been sorely tried for fifty years back by slavery, by immigration, and by the excess of the commercial spirit, it has developed an immense moral force from being so thoroughly national. It has widened the area of man's capacities, and given variety to his political speculations. It is no wonder, then, that to many of us American life should appear at heart so very fresh and vigorous, so full to excess of physical energy and ever-scheming ingenuity, that we can hardly believe its bounding pulses can be checked by any speculative extravagance, any moral anomaly, or any political reaction whatever.

There are reflective thinkers, however, who are beginning to ask, in the suggestive phrase of Grün, the German socialist, whether America has not almost come to the split that has gone through the heart of the Old World, with its wars and war debts, its religious agitations, and its strifes of classes, rocking society to its foundations. It has escaped many dangers. Its citizens have shewn a rare capacity for self-government, and betrayed no tendency to that radicalism

that would lift the world off its hinges ; mainly because the practical English mind is everywhere in action, and for the most part predominant : but is it so certain that they have reached a position in which they can firmly define the limits within which popular institutions are safe and practicable, and the power of numbers may not be brought to bear effectively against the authority of government and the welfare of society ? There is a tendency in nations to relapse at some point from the standard of truth and right, and to fall back in the height of moral ideal. Is this tendency not manifest in the States in the corruptibility of public officials, in the charlatanism that is the price of political power, in the tyranny of vulgar public opinion, in the hatred of all personal eminence, in the attempt to reduce the manners, attainments, and aspirations of all men to one mean, commonplace level ; all going to shew that the characteristic tendencies of democracy are none the less manifest because they are resisted by many and more elevating influences ? But the true mischief of this debasement of American public life is seen in the fact, that in the degree that the nation loses in moral tone, it loses its enormous assimilative power, by virtue of which it has hitherto absorbed whole nations and races without injury to its own individuality or vigour. Variety of race enriches a new country, if the various elements combine readily ; but if they remain separate, they are a weakness rather than a strength. Now the people of America are sprung from forty different nationalities ; and it has been their peculiar glory hitherto that, with a great organising vitality in their social action, they have preserved a predominating influence in the mixed nationality over which they preside, so as to bring all the immigrant races into the adoption of their customs, principles, and ideas. The question is, whether they have not reached a point at which the assimilative process has received a check from the rapidity, the variety, and the heterogeneousness of the later immigration. For patriotic Americans are now gravely asking the question, whether constitutional or legislative provisions are not imperatively needed to wrest out of the hands of Romanists, Mormons, Chinese, not to speak of barbarous Indian tribes, the control of education, and of social and political life, in those vast Rocky Mountain territories and states that are soon to teem

with an enormous population. The question is, as the *Princeton Review* lately expressed it, whether the nation should not at once take action to prevent what have hitherto been unassimilated warts and wens, which disfigure without destroying the body-politic, from developing into malignant cancers that shall eat into its vitals.

Our readers will be able to appreciate the drift of these observations when we proceed to consider their bearing upon the position and prospects of Romanism in the United States. The *Tablet* has said: "There is nothing in the history of the world like the progress of the United States, and nothing in the history of the United States like the progress of the Catholic Church." Indéed, the rapid progress of Romanism, as seen in a growing Catholic population, in their influential hold upon politics, in the enormous accumulation of church property in the hands of the Catholic bishops, in the rapid increase of monastic and conventual institutions, and in the large sums of money contributed by European societies to sustain the well-organised machinery of the Catholic dioceses, may well fill the minds of devoted Romanists with splendid imaginations of victory; while Protestants have been led to fear that Romanism, having lost its footing in a great measure in the Old World, is destined to flourish under new conditions, with an endless career of expansion and power in the New World. They see that it has its eye upon the great valley of the Mississippi, the future home of a hundred millions of men; but they are reluctant to believe in the possible triumphs of the Papacy, or in the subjugation of that spirit of individualism which is characteristic of the English race in every land, and which has nowhere asserted itself more vigorously than in the United States. The election of Archbishop Macloskie, of New York, to the cardinalate is a proof that the statesmen of the Vatican have begun to prize the resources, hitherto undervalued or barely understood, of the vast organisation over which he presides, in the expectation that, perhaps a century hence, the Western Continent will outweigh in wealth and power the divided societies of Europe that are either undermined by scepticism or shaken by discontent, and the dominion of the younger civilisation compensate for the loss of authority over the old empire of the church. We see in the act the new tendency of the Vatican to study popular movements as care-

fully as it once watched the policies of courts, as well as a sufficient guarantee that the new campaign in the West will be pushed forward with an energy, subtlety, and perseverance that are ever at the call of Rome.

Let us try, in the first instance, to ascertain as carefully as possible the exact position of Romanism in the United States as to numbers and organisation.

It is difficult to ascertain the precise number of the Roman Catholics, because the decennial census of the States takes no account of the religion of the citizens, but only of their church accommodation. The Roman Catholics themselves claim to be nine millions—that is, about one-fourth of the whole population of the States; and, according to Mr Abbott, the author of the article in the *Fortnightly* named at the head of this paper, they have been boasting for years that they will be able to elect their own President in 1900. But the third revised edition of Professor Schem's *Statistics of the World for 1875*, estimates the number at six millions; and the *American Annual Cyclopædia for 1875* estimates it at more than six millions. A distinguished American philosopher and divine has favoured the writer with the following estimate:—

“In regard to the number of Roman Catholics in this country, the best informed persons judge it to be from five to six millions. The Papal priests speak loosely of it as amounting to seven or eight millions. This however is the guess-work of partisans, not the result of any close enumeration. Probably they are about one-seventh of our population, and just now exercise a political influence in still greater proportion, because they go *en masse* to whatever party will bid highest for their support. This however is rapidly forcing an issue, which is likely to shew them their place.”

The most probable estimate, then, is, that the Catholics of America number six or seven millions. Mr Abbott is greatly affected, not so much by their numbers, as by the rapidity of their increase; and imagines that this increase will be maintained, if not greatly accelerated. It is true that within the great immigration period (1847–1870) the Catholics seemed to increase faster than the Protestants; but the relative increase is more apparent than real. Taking a longer range, we find in 1801 there were two millions of Catholics in the United States, and five millions of Protestants; but at present the Catholics are—say six and a-half millions, and the Protestants are thirty-two and a-half millions. The proportional

increase is thus vastly in favour of Protestantism ; for while the Catholics increased more than three times in seventy years, the Protestants increased more than six times.¹

Mr Abbott estimates the relative growth of Protestantism and Catholicism by the statistics of church property. The table we give below will shew the exact state of matters from 1850 to 1870 inclusive.² Mr Abbott says : "The Catholics

¹ According to the census of 1870, the foreign-born population was 5,474,734, and the native-born, 32,640,907, making a total of 38,115,641. But this return decides nothing about the religion of the immigrants. A large proportion of the foreign-born must be Protestants from England, Scotland, Ulster, Germany, Holland, Denmark ; yet, on the other hand, the thirty-two millions of native-born citizens must include the children of Catholic immigrants, who will naturally follow their parents' religion. According to the same census, between 1820 and 1870, there arrived in the United States 2,700,493 immigrants from Ireland. The numbers from France, Austria, Belgium, and Italy are inconsiderable. There were 2,267,000 from Germany. But a large proportion of the Irish immigrants were Protestants from Ulster ; while, as we shall presently see, a very considerable body of Irish Romanists have been absorbed into American Protestantism. On the whole, these figures, though by no means decisive in any way, seem to us to favour the lower estimate of the Catholic population given in the text.

Mr Abbott appeals to the statistics of "Church Accommodation" as decisive upon the greater proportional increase of the Catholics :—

No. of Sittings.	1850.	1860.	1870.
Protestant .	13,567,002	17,724,314	19,674,548
Catholic .	667,823	1,404,437	1,990,514

Here, says Mr Abbott, the increase during the first decade was, for the Protestants 30 per cent., and for the Catholics 110 per cent. ; and during the second decade, for the Protestants 11 per cent., and for the Catholics nearly 42 per cent. This only proves that the Catholics, being originally far behind the Protestants in the proportional number of clergy and churches, had made great efforts to supply the deficiency. The falling-off in the Catholic increase during the second decade does not indicate a diminution in the number of Catholics, but that the deficiency of clergy had been nearly supplied. The figures represent a race, in which, of two runners who do not start together, one must put on a mightier spurt to overtake the other, whose pace does not need to be greatly accelerated.

Churches.	1850.	1860.	1870.
² Methodist . . .	\$14,825,670	\$33,083,371	\$69,854,121
Roman Catholic . . .	9,256,758	26,744,119	60,985,556
Presbyterian . . .	14,543,780	24,227,359	53,265,356
Baptist . . .	11,620,855	19,799,378	39,229,221
Protestant Episcopal . . .	11,375,610	21,666,698	36,514,549
Congregational . . .	8,001,975	13,327,511	25,069,099
Reformed (Dutch) . . .	4,116,280	4,453,820	10,359,255
Lutheran . . .	2,909,711	5,385,479	14,917,747
Unitarian . . .	3,280,822	4,338,316	6,282,675
Universalist . . .	1,718,316	2,856,695	5,692,325

had in 1870 already distanced all their Protestant competitors, with the single exception of the Methodists ; and they will soon distance the latter too (if they have not already done so), provided the past is a satisfactory index of the future." We have already explained that the rapidity of the Catholic increase is to be accounted for by the efforts made to supply a deficiency originally much greater than that of the Protestants ; and there is reason to believe that the rate of future increase will be diminished rather than accelerated, as it is the opinion of intelligent Roman Catholics, as reported to the late Mr John F. Maguire, M.P., that the supply of clergy and churches had almost overtaken the existing mass of American Romanism. Mr Abbott compares the Catholic increase with that of each of the Protestant bodies ; but we must place the whole Catholic side by side with the whole Protestant increase. According to the return given above, the whole Protestant church property in 1850 was worth 77,743,242 dollars, against 9,256,758 dollars representing Catholic church property ; the figures in 1860 were respectively 144,255,881 and 26,744,119 ; and in 1870 they were 293,014,444 and 60,985,556 respectively. If the Roman Catholics are one-sixth of the whole population of America, they are therefore now almost one-sixth in the value of their church property.¹ But these figures must be taken subject to a considerable abatement. A very large proportion of the so-called church property of the Catholics consists of religious houses, occupied by monks and nuns, and employed for the purposes of secular education. Now, as schoolhouses are not included in the church property of the Protestants, we ought to subtract these monkish houses from the church property of the Catholics, in order to make the cases perfectly parallel. But then comes the important question, Is church wealth any really decisive test of the strength of a religious body ? The power of churches is not based upon their wealth ; for the poorest Catholic Church in Europe is the Irish, which is the strongest ecclesiastically, and the richest is the Austrian,

¹ According to the census of 1870, the number of Catholic church buildings in 1850 was 1222 ; in 1860, 2550 ; in 1870, 3806 ; and the total number of their charitable, ecclesiastical, and educational organisations in 1870 was 4127. The *American Annual Cyclopædia* for 1875 gives the number of priests at 4873. The number of clergymen of all denominations in the United States—of course, including the Catholic clergy—is given as 45,000. The Protestant supply is therefore still ahead of the Catholic.

which is the weakest ecclesiastically. No churches in our day possess anything like the proportionate wealth of the Roman Catholic Church in England when Henry VIII. ascended the throne, and yet in sixty years the mass of the English people went over to Protestantism; nor is there any church now possessing the wealth of the Catholic Church in France in 1789, when the Revolution overturned everything. The real strength of a church lies not in its wealth, but in its power of making conversions; and it is admitted by Mr Abbott, as well as by Catholics themselves, that American Romanism has lost rather than gained by conversions.¹ The *Propaganda de fide* has been for years expending large sums in the United States, not in converting the Indians, but in various self-preserving and proselytising agencies, directed mainly against Protestantism, but also skilfully applied to arrest Catholic degeneracy.² Much of this money has been used in promoting the increase of monastic houses for the purposes of education as well as of proselytism; and when we remember that no less than twenty-four orders of *Religieuse*, male and female, in addition to several orders peculiar to America itself, are there now ceaselessly employed in the service of education and charity, we can see that the directors of the Propaganda fully understand the difficulties of the campaign.³

We thus see the position of Romanism in the United States as to numbers and organisation; and a few words will suffice to explain, not only the cause of its rapid increase, but the character of the evil it seems destined to work upon American

¹ The *Tablet* (1860) says: "We cannot say there is great gain of souls in the United States; for, as yet, there are only reddish streaks of the dawn of a Catholic movement amidst the masses of its heretical and infidel population. We know, unhappily, that there has been a great loss of souls born to the Catholic birth-right of the seven sacraments."

² Last year the Propaganda raised about £200,000, but we cannot assign the proportions applied respectively to the heathen and to Protestantism. In 1854, of the whole sum (£155,015) raised, only £60,000 was devoted to the actual heathen, and £95,000 mostly to Protestant countries, and mainly, we believe, for the purpose of preserving Romanism from decay and destruction.

³ There are no people in the world who make better monks or nuns than the Irish, for they have a fanatical rigour that seems proof against apostacy, and is also fiercely propagandist; and we can well understand the fact, as reported by a Roman Catholic bishop of Ireland, that, in all his travels through the Catholic countries of the Continent, including Austria itself, he found Irish nuns in most of them, and always distinguished by their zeal and energy.

institutions. Mr Abbott says truly that the increase of Romanism is wholly due to immigration. People little think how much of the political and religious history of the world has been made and marred by the slowly acting force of immigration, which has more than once given birth to nations, and shaped their destinies. The same causes that transferred the sceptre of power and civilisation from the banks of the Euphrates and the Nile to the shores of Western Europe we ourselves now see by a new operation transplanting a prodigious population from Western Europe to the plains of the Mississippi, across the Rocky Mountains and along the Pacific slope. The foreign element in the United States was one of its greatest resources, furnishing it with what was most needed, labour, to develop its riches, while being fashioned by the influences that surrounded it, and taking the tone rather than giving it, in an entirely new moral and political atmosphere, it seemed destined to be completely absorbed, while its very variety promised to enrich the character of American civilisation. Had the immigrants for fifty years past been fairly distributed through the native population, the stern and resistless energies of the Anglo-Saxon race would still have enabled it to retain its supremacy; but unhappily the distribution was very unequal, and the Irish especially, who were mostly Roman Catholics, were accumulated in great masses at certain important centres, from which they could not fail to exercise a determining influence in politics, at once spoiling the *morale* of public life, and injuring their own chances of social advancement. For it is a well-known fact where the Catholic Irish herd together they drag each other down, but when they settle singly among others, they usually rise, and acquire insensibly superior habits and ideas among a people of stronger character and better aims. It has always, however, been the object of the American priests to keep the Irish massed together in cities, and to withdraw them from the influences of a new scene and a superior race, so as to retain their national features unchanged, or only slightly modified.¹ Their religious distinct-

¹ The greatest number of the Irish reside in New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Illinois. New York city has the largest number of foreigners of any city in America. Of the more than 805,000 inhabitants (in 1860) more than 383,000 were foreigners, and of these 203,000 were from Ireland. Thus every fourth man you meet in the great empire city is an Irishman.

ness is thus to a great extent preserved, while they can be more easily handled for political ends, as they usually move at command and *en masse*, and wherever they are dominant in local affairs, as in New York city, their sacerdotal leaders invariably contrive to secure an indirect endowment for the Roman Catholic Church.¹ It is the Democratic party which takes its instructions from the Catholic bishops, and debases American politics by its contact with the "Catholic vote."

But the immigration of fifty years has given American Romanism more than the great *prestige* of numbers, for it has supplied it with the very best material for every purpose of ecclesiastical aggression. There is nothing superior to the ponderous body of superstitious zeal represented by Irish Romanism, though in all the countries of the American Continent there is a numerous and powerful Catholic population which has always been signalised by greater or less fidelity to the Popedom. The Spanish-American Republics will never be of much account in the world ; but such as they are, they are generally true to Rome. Except in Brazil, the supremacy of the Papacy has nowhere been threatened as it has been in every part of Europe. The descendants of the French settlers in Canada and Louisiana have, till lately, been tolerably loyal ; but they are quite useless as allies.² None of

¹ The city of New York gives large appropriations yearly for the support of a whole host of Catholic institutions. The great Catholic cathedral of New York, now in process of erection in Fifth Avenue, occupies ground worth a million of dollars ; yet the late Archbishop Hughes got it for one dollar a year for ninety-nine years, under a lease renewable for ever at the same rate. In the appropriations made last year for the maintenance of the prisons in the state of New York, the Supply Bill contained this entry—"James Hessen, for aiding in the discipline of the prison at Sing-Sing, 600 dols. James Macgowan, for aiding in the discipline of the prison at Clinton, 400 dols." Nobody would suspect that these persons were Roman Catholic priests, acting as paid chaplains, while other chaplains did the duty without payment. The ecclesiastical titles were suppressed in the Bill, which was hurried through the Legislature furtively, only a few persons being in the secret of the trick.

In East St Louis, a flourishing town in Illinois, a Roman Catholic majority was recently elected to the School Board. Though the constitution of Illinois forbids any sectarian appropriations, the School Board treated it with contempt, and divided the school fund among their own sectarian schools. It is proposed at St Louis to indict these commissioners criminally for a breach of the Constitution.

² Father Chiniquy's work has evidently begun to tell extensively upon this French-Canadian Romanism. The *Montreal Weekly Witness* lately printed a list of 400 persons, residents of that city, who had renounced

these Catholic races, however, have the vigour, the fierceness, the proselytising zeal of the Catholics of Ireland, who have given to American Romanism an energy, a compactness, and a flexibility of movement, that are all imperatively demanded by the difficulties of the situation in the most Protestant society of the world.

We are now in a position to enter into a full consideration of the question : are there any influences at work in American society that threaten the destruction of a system that seems at present extending its lines in every direction, and taking up new positions of strength ? Mr Abbott seems to think that the Roman Catholic Church will completely overmaster the public life of the States, and eventually change the whole character of American civilisation. He attaches great weight to the fact, that an active and united minority can always rule a divided or quiescent majority. But we should like to know how long, after the attempt is made, the Protestant majority will be either divided or quiescent ? Is there indeed any instance on record of a race of inferior intelligence mastering one of superior intelligence, so as to gain the complete control of its public life ?¹ History has no instance of the sort ; and there is something in the very atmosphere of American life, in the position and character of American Protestantism, and in the circumstances of American Romanism itself, which forbids us to believe in the subjugation of an imperial race by

Romanism for Protestantism, About 1600 had done so in the previous fourteen months in the same city. It is a curious fact that, in the midst of these conversions, Sir Alexander T. Galt, one of the most eminent statesmen of the Dominion, publishes a work on *Church and State*, in the very spirit of Mr Gladstone's *Vaticanism*, to shew that the Government of Canada is passing, apparently without resistance, into the hands of the Catholic clergy, and everything shamelessly subordinated to what they call "their privileges." By law they enforce tithes and church-rates ; they are, in one form or other, in possession of nearly half the property of the province, and are completely exempt from taxation ; yet, in addition, a tenth of the expenditure of the country is laid out on their institutions, such as hospitals and asylums. They treat the province of Quebec as their special domain. Can it be possible that the bow is being bent too far ? We remember the Guibord case.

¹ Sir Charles Dilke, in his *Greater Britain*, says (p. 199) : "The single danger that looms in the more distant future is the eventual control of Congress by the Irish." Yet he says again (p. 216) : "The Irish are systematically excluded from Congress," and "disgusted with their exclusion from political life and power, it is these men who turn to Fenianism as a rule."

a system which is everywhere losing its hold on the Continent of Europe. We shall address ourselves successively to these three points.

We shall first consider the character of American Romanism. Though we have spoken of Irish Catholics as distinguished by an aggressive zeal almost without parallel; it is an undoubted fact that, during fifty years past, they have been absorbed into American Protestantism in immense masses. It may seem difficult to explain this curious fact. Mr Froude says, in allusion to the success of the Irish in absorbing the English colonies successively planted in Ireland during many centuries, that no race ever excelled the Celts in the art of assimilating even stronger races to itself. But it is certain that they are likewise marvelously receptive when they are surrounded by new moral or social conditions. There is, at all events, no doubt about the fact of their wholesale conversion in America. In a letter written in 1836 to the Propaganda at Lyons, Bishop England, of Charleston, South Carolina, said: "I have no doubt upon my mind that within fifty years millions have been lost to the Catholic Church in the United States;" and then, estimating the number of the Catholics then in America (1836) to be 1,200,000, the bishop proceeds: "If I say, upon the foregoing data, that we ought, if there were no loss, to have five millions of Catholics, and that we have less than a million and a quarter, there must be a loss of three millions and three quarters; and the persons are found among the various sects to the amount of thrice the number of the Catholic population of the whole country." There is nobody indeed that questions the fact of these losses. Archbishop Kenrick said that the church in America had lost more than it had gained. Father Mullen, an Irish priest, calculated the losses at two millions. The New York *Irish World*, of 25th July 1874, publishes a long and elaborate article to prove that eighteen millions have been lost to the Catholic Church. The statement is quite absurd; but it is a new thing to find exaggeration employed against Catholicism.¹ It is a well-known fact

¹ "What ought to be the Catholic population of the United States to-day? To this we answer, that *the natural product* of Catholic immigration to this country, from its first settlement to this day, without counting on one solitary convert, ought to be 28,000,000. The Catholic population is in fact but 10,000,000. Ecclesiastical statisticians put the figures all the way from 5,000,000 to 8,000,000. Hardly any of them go above the latter figure. We

that Popery exists in America under conditions that do not at all favour an uncontrolled power over its own members. The New York correspondent of the *Morning Post*, in 1869, said: "New York has been long worked by Irish politicians; they are not very good Catholics, but they are at least sufficiently well inclined towards their traditional faith to make for its benefit the most liberal donations." A contributor to the *Princeton Review* says he was once present at a Roman Catholic service in a leading city, when the priest said, "Why should the Church have to mourn that one of her most binding ordinances should be so generally neglected by her members who are engaged in the business of the world, or have risen to the higher ranks of intelligence or culture?"¹ The Catholic bishops of the United States are deeply sensible of this want of a rigorous, whole-hearted devotion, as well as of the de-catholicising attractions of American society; for Quirinus says in a letter from Rome (23d December 1869), that the American bishops were very uneasy at the temper manifested by the Pope, and one of them said, "Nobody should be elected Pope who has not lived three years in the United States, and thus learnt to comprehend what is possible at this day

are convinced, however, that there are 10,000,000 who are baptised Catholics. But even at this there are 18,000,000 lost to the church—that is, there are 18,000,000 more of the population of the United States who, either by immediate birth, or by right of descent from first settlers, ought to be professed Catholics, but who now are to be found in the ranks of Protestantism or Nothingarianism."—*New York World*. It is a well-known fact that vast numbers of Irish children, who had lost their parents, were taken up by the New York Juvenile Society, and sent by thousands yearly to the West, where they were lost sight of in Protestant society. Mr John F. Maguire, who never makes a careless admission adverse to Romanism, says: "It is a low computation that 30,000 children of Catholic parents, mostly Irish, have been sent to Protestant homes through reformatories and refuges. I have heard 50,000 as a possible average."

¹ The writer of this paper, during a two years' residence in the United States, had ample opportunities of witnessing the religious indifferentism of Irish Catholic immigrants, even in New York city. It is the newly-arrived immigrants who crowd the chapels, together with the female portion of the Catholic population, who, at least in New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Illinois, retain all their Old World devotion. Yet it must be remembered that the Irish *men*, who never enter a chapel, are subservient enough politically to their clergy. The clergy and the people have common ends and common injuries to avenge. Therefore, if for no other reason, the clergy regard politics as the right hand of their power. Whether by politics or by religion, they cannot afford to lose their hold upon the Irish Catholics.

in a freely governed commonwealth." It is a curious fact that nearly one-half of all the Catholic clergy in the States are Irish, or of Irish descent. The native Americans do not take kindly to the priesthood. We need hardly say that they have no distinguished converts among them, such as the Newmans, Oakleys, Capels, Fabers, and Wilberforces, who have given such an aggressive force to English Romanism; though they have found powerful, if somewhat indiscreet, allies in such members of the Catholic press as Orestes Brownson, James M'Master, and Donald Cargill M'Leod.¹

It is evident, then, from this statement of facts, that it is the recent immigrants who make American Romanism so formidable, partly by their superstitious zeal, and partly by the facility with which they fall into political action of any sort at the beck of political leaders. This is the Irish element that Americans have such a contempt for, the Irish of the first generation, partly on account of their religion and their ignorance, and partly on account of their drunkenness and their crimes. It is the social degradation of this class that leads the Irish of the second generation to change their names, or to deny their nationality altogether. The Americans say, "Stop the flow of this Catholic immigration for twenty-five years, and we will undertake to absorb or to overmaster the mass of existing Romanism." Twenty years ago, the late Nicholas Murray, one of the noblest converts that Irish Romanism ever

¹ It is sad to hear of such names in the service of Romanism. M'Master and M'Leod were both originally Reformed Presbyterians, the latter the son of the celebrated Dr Alexander M'Leod, of New York, and well known by his work on the Apocalypse. Brownson is a native American. All these perverts are fiercely Ultramontane, and it seems impossible to surprise them into an unseemly fit of generosity or candour in dealing with Protestants. They carry into Romanism an amount of culture and knowledge seldom of native growth. They take the strongest and most unpopular ground as the very foundation of their ecclesiastical and political theories. The *Shepherd of the Valley*, the organ of the Archbishop of St Louis, edited by a pervert, said some years ago: "As soon as the Catholics here have attained a sufficient majority, religious freedom in the United States will have an end. . . . If we neglect at the present moment the persecution of heretics, we repeat it boldly, it is for the sole reason that we are too weak to persecute." It is a significant fact that the Catholic press is becoming more insolent and intolerant every day.

² The Roman Catholic bishops say, in a document before us: "It is a melancholy fact, and a very humiliating avowal for us to make, that a very large proportion of the idle and vicious youth of our principal cities are the children of Catholic parents."

gave to the service of Protestantism, said to the present writer in America, "Yes, we can absorb it all in twenty-five years. We will put it into our mill and grind it into good Protestantism; only stop the flow:" and he was anxiously hopeful that Ireland would soon become so prosperous in its social interests that the drain of immigration would cease. It has not yet ceased, but it now proceeds with a diminished flow; and probably, with the reviving prosperity of Ireland, the Protestantism of America may have a chance of putting forth its strength to conquer that Ultramontaniam which is in retreat everywhere over Europe: trying its hand at an experiment so interesting and so vital to its own greatness.

But we must now briefly notice the influences at work in American society that are operating against Romanism with powerful effect, or, as Mr Abbott puts it, "the decatholicising influences in a predominantly non-Catholic community—an evil which the Catholics are powerless to prevent." The chief among these is the splendidly-organised public school system, which owes its greatest development to the Presidency of General Jackson in 1835, when the transfer of power to the masses (continually reinforced as they were by immigrants from abroad, for the most part poor, ignorant, and superstitious), shewed the necessity of cultivating the intelligence of every class to its utmost practical limit. The watchword then was—"The way to the ballot-box must be through the school." The Roman Catholics themselves attribute their greatest losses to the public schools; and therefore they are using all their strength, in the balance of political parties, to overthrow them, while they are wresting from State Legislatures grants and appropriations for their own sectarian schools, which are expected to arrest the decline of the Catholic spirit.¹ In districts where the Catholics are few, the influence of the

¹ Mr Abbott says: "They (the prelates and priests) know that these influences necessarily act upon the children with greater or less effect in the free public schools; they know that unless they can succeed in isolating the children of Catholics from the children of non-Catholics, and subjecting them to exclusively Catholic influences in their tender and impressible years, the hold of the church upon their obedience must and does grow very feeble, and is soon lost in a great many cases; they know that the general effect of our public school system, though no effort at proselytism is permitted, is to quicken the intellect of the children so far as to render them indocile under a *regime* of authoritative faith."

schools is unchecked ; and even where the Catholic vote has wrung from reluctant bodies edicts excluding the Bible, the State officers in many cases have not ventured to carry them out. The people simply disregard the edicts. There are public schools in Jersey and Pennsylvania where the Shorter Catechism is taught every day. The contest for the Presidency at the present hour turns mainly upon the question of State grants to sectarian schools : and the whole strength of the Republican party, as well as that of a small wing of the Democrats, is committed to the support of the existing system in its original integrity ; while there is a fierce determination to crush the intrigues of those who are opposed to all education that is not in the hands of the priesthood. The Catholic clergy have established thousands of parochial schools, especially where the Catholics are numerous, no less than 100,000 Catholic children being in such schools in New York state alone ; but the true tendency of such schools, mostly managed by the religious orders, is to throw Catholics behind in the race of life, and thus destroy their influence in the world.¹ We have no reason to believe that they will impart a better training in the States than the " free Christian schools " of Quebec, where there is a larger number of people unable to read and write than in any other province in the Dominion. The Catholic clergy may succeed in gathering a great mass of their people into these schools ; but the public schools, which provide primary instruction for the thirty-four non-Catholic millions, can never be destroyed ; and they will always influence the Catholic millions, more or less, by the high standard of intelligence and culture they have invariably maintained.

But even if it were possible that the Catholics could be withdrawn from the public schools, they could not escape the decatholicising influence of American institutions, which have a thoroughly Protestant spirit, in keeping with all the traditions of civil and religious liberty. They act upon Catholicism, not like the liberal institutions of Continental Catholic nations,

¹ The burden of these Catholic schools is sometimes too great to bear. The *Princeton Review* (April 1876) says that Father Hennessy, of Jersey city, offered to turn over the Catholic schools, with 600 children, to the care of the Board of Education in that city, as he found himself unable to conduct them without aid from the public funds. He consents to have the religious exercises confined to " the reading of the Holy Bible in the morning, and the recitation of the Lord's Prayer."

which are inspired, not so much by anti-catholic, as by anti-christian ideas. Though religion is not established in the States, it is a pervading power. In the Catholic kingdoms of the old world, the Voltaires and Michelets have put forth what Hugh Miller called a "vacuum-creating power," and made a void where no void can permanently exist, which superstition is still rushing in to fill, so that the progress of the race becomes in such lands a weary cycle ever returning upon itself, instead of being conducted onwards on its proper line of march: but in America it is not infidelity, but Protestantism of the firmest type, that gives the tone to public life, and influences the spirit of all its institutions. Thus the Catholic Church has not the polemic advantage it possesses in Europe, where the alternative is either Catholicism or infidelity—an alternative that greatly simplifies all the conditions of the contest; for Protestantism, with its positive creed and its intense convictions, has a warmth and a power to subdue the Catholic heart, and all the more since it has never been associated in the Catholic mind, like the Protestantism of England, with memories of political proscription or persecution. This statement leads us naturally to the last point in our inquiry, the character of American Protestantism; which supplies an additional reason for indulging the patriotic hope that Romanism will be effectually checkmated in the States. Let us consider the characteristics of this Protestantism.

In the first place, then, we may claim for it what Mr Froude has claimed for English Protestantism, in reply to the taunts of Manning, that it has succeeded in keeping alive that religious spirit which has become almost extinct in the Catholic kingdoms of Europe. De Tocqueville said America was the most religious nation he had ever met with. The *Westminster Review* remarks upon the great hold the Bible has upon American society, that even the wild fanatical sects that are a disgrace to our civilisation fight hard for some sort of a biblical basis; and, in classifying the Americans after the Comtist idea, as belonging to the theological stage of progress, it affirms that England and Germany, the centres of the Reformation movement, have supplied the stones to build the fabric of American society. There is no country in the world where the Bible has greater power.

In the second place, the basis of American Protestantism

is Presbyterian and Calvinistic,¹ and not Anglican. We therefore infer that Romanism will find no such response in the Protestantism of the States as it has found in the Protestantism of England. It is worthy of remark that American Presbyterianism is not of Continental, but of British origin, a fact of much significance; for Continental Presbyterianism, though associated with the Calvinistic type of doctrine, failed to maintain its reputation, and suffered great deterioration, in the seventeenth century, through theological rivalries, civil dissensions, and its deadly conflict with Arminianism; while British Presbyterianism, from the very first, strengthened and improved in its essential principles, and in its ecclesiastical position. It is out of this old Presbyterianism of ours that the dominant type of American Protestantism took "its strongly intellectual cast, its large ethical element, its sharply-defined religious experiences, its practical and efficient methods, and its free and just forms of organisation." Now Calvinistic Presbyterianism has never shewn a tendency to those Anglo-Catholic reactions which have so disintegrated British Protestantism.

It may perhaps be maintained that America is not free from symptoms of this Anglo-Catholic movement; that Protestant Episcopacy in the States has become gradually more and more ritualistic in doctrine and form; and that there is a tendency on the part of fashionable people in other bodies to join Episcopacy on account of its relation to the more splendid Episcopacy of England. We believe that some misapprehension exists upon this point which a few observations will dispel. 1. The Puseyite movement is confined to one of the least numerous of the Protestant denominations,² and is not even universally accepted in that body; while in England the Anglican Church holds at least half of the Protestants of England, and is regarded as the head of the Protestant cause

¹ We include, under this double designation, Congregationalists, Baptists, and even Methodists, who have little in common with Anglican Arminianism. As matter of fact, Methodists and Baptists are the most numerous Protestant bodies in the states, but the Presbyterian is the most influential.

² American Episcopacy does not comprehend a twentieth part of the population of the States. In the census of 1870, the statistics of church accommodation give the Episcopalians, 991,051; while the Methodists are 6,528,209; the Presbyterians, 2,198,900 regular, and 499,344 other sects; Baptists, 3,997,116 regular, and 363,019 other; and Congregational, 1,117,212. The same statistics give Episcopacy 51 bishops, 2711 clergy, and 2512 parishes. There are about 45,000 clergymen of all sects in the United States.

in Europe. 2. In England, Oxford University was the centre of the movement, and surrounded it with a halo of the highest culture; but in America it has no influential college or university to support it. All the really influential colleges, such as Princeton, Yale, Andover, Harvard, and New Haven, for the most part maintain the cause of Evangelical Protestantism. 3. English Puseyism established itself on the Book of Common Prayer, and maintained that it represented the constitutional party in the Church of England; but the American prayer-book has been purged of its Romish elements, and affords little standing-ground for Puseyite interpretations. 4. Anglican Puseyism was a revolt against political Liberalism that threatened to destroy the church and the aristocracy; in the United States there is no revolt against the doctrines of liberty. 5. The Erastian constitution of the English Church was a great cause of religious reaction, and supplied one of the most powerful arguments to Newman against English Protestantism. There is no Erastianism in America.

Yet, while we are perfectly convinced that American Protestantism, as a whole, is quite sound, and is free from the reactionary tendencies of English Episcopacy; we are not blind to the fact that the Puseyite party is not only increasing,¹ but that there is a section of American society to whom even Romanism is attractive. In a democratic community, the baldness of life becomes very apparent to the rich and idle; and as social distinctions are few and uncertain, the attractions of a creed which carefully cultivates the æsthetic side of religion, and which claims the inheritance of a grand historical tradition, are almost irresistible to a large class of minds. In every society there are those "faint hearts and feeble wings that every sophister can lime," with consciences enfeebled by a morbid sensibility, and a character formed by nature and habit for subservience to every form of superstitious terror: and in America, where, in spite of the diffusion of elementary education, a high and thoughtful culture is rare, the same influences which here tempt many to the distractions of ritualistic vanities, or even across the border-land, are very potent with a certain superfine class in the states who would gladly

¹ There is a secession, as we know, from American Protestant Episcopacy, on the ground of this Puseyite movement. But it has not as yet established itself firmly, nor made very great way.

ape the externals of an aristocracy. Rome, therefore, has the ambition not only to rule the Irish in America, but to win the allegiance of a section of the wealthier class by the splendour of her ritual and the immensity of her pretensions. Accordingly, we find her gathering converts from this class. Dr Hague, in his *Christianity and Statesmanship*, says the perverts are not the poor; "these changes have occurred not among the uneducated and the ignorant, but in some families who have been known in the most favoured walks of life." But among her converts, as we have already remarked, she has not got one Newman or Oakley, or one distinguished layman except Orestes Brownson.

In the third place, American Protestantism has always maintained its vigour against occasional reactions with which it has been threatened, and is unusually quick in recovering from internal weakness or external assaults. We do not believe that it is in danger of such disintegration as the *Tablet* has pictured as its ultimate destiny in a somewhat significant passage:—"Heresy does not decay there as in the Old World. It is in a state of wholesale disintegration, leading towards the chaos, of which it will be the church's work in the course of the next century to make a cosmos." The Catholic clergy have always built their expectations of success on the tendency of Protestantism in the States to degenerate into Unitarianism or infidelity, or to split up into all sorts of visionary and fanatical sects. Such a representation seems at first sight very plausible, but there is nothing in the facts to justify it. In the first place, let it be remembered that Unitarianism was almost exclusively a New England growth; that it never crossed the path of the churches in the Middle, Southern, or Western States; that it is at present, according to Dr Bellows, an eminent Unitarian of New York, passing away in its strictly historical form, one part falling back to the old despised orthodoxy, and the other going forward into deism or infidelity. The collapse of Unitarianism in its old home is the greatest fact in the modern history of American religion. Many of its most accomplished preachers make it a mere gospel of geniality which finds sentimental, all-inclusive points of sympathy with every form of thought and character; but it has reached that point in its history, at which, with all its

affectation of width or surface sympathy, it has no force left for any great purpose or effective work. Its mission was to disintegrate the orthodoxy of the churches, which remains massive and unbroken in spite of all its assaults; and it has now come round, in a spirit of eclectic sympathy, to have even kind words for orthodoxy itself. The words of Mr Ellis, a Unitarian, spoken nearly thirty years ago, are fully sustained by the facts of the present day: "Unitarianism cannot bring its forces to bear as do the orthodox in combined zeal and earnestness of purpose. Unitarianism has certainly exhibited some marked deficiency, either of power, or skill, or ingenuity, or enthusiasm." In the second place, there is nothing in the aspects of American rationalism or infidelity to justify the opinion that it is destined to destroy the Protestantism of America. No doubt, in the United States, we see all the phases of strictly antichristian speculation represented in Europe—naturalism, pantheism, positivism, agnosticism—but they have produced no great thinker in these lines of thought, for Draper has no position in the scientific world at all approaching our Tyndalls or Huxleys; and, strange to say, in a country where nothing is so striking as the absence of all respect for any kind of authority, the infidels are somewhat timid, while in England, where we feel hampered, if not galled, by the pressure of the past, with a thousand links and mementoes on every side of us, restricting our range and freedom, the free thinkers, whether they are Congreves, or Spencers, or Harrisons, or Arnolds, utter their thoughts without disguise. The boldest thing done of late years, was an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* to glorify Tom Paine, the author being in no way ashamed to dig up the bones of the dead brute; but the conductors of that literary magazine are almost singular in their courage. It was the opinion of the late Robert Baird, that infidelity was not as bad as it had been in America. The colleges are almost entirely in Christian hands, and they have supplied, through books and reviews, a splendid body of Apology in reply to the speculations of English and American freethinkers.¹ We do not believe, then, that there is much in

¹ American Protestantism has always been well served by its colleges, of which there are no less than 290, including female colleges and polytechnic institutions and negro colleges. Princeton has been a tower of strength to orthodoxy and true philosophy. It holds the position of honour—at

American infidelity to encourage the *Tablet* in its expectation of the speedy overthrow of Protestantism, for the religious ardour of the people has always in the worst days maintained its warmth, even while philosophers and scholars were framing their destructive theories.¹

It is usual for Catholic writers to taunt American Protestantism with the number of its sects, and to hold it responsible especially for all those fanatical societies, like Mormonism, Socialism, Shakerism, Perfectionism, in a word, for all those new moral systems, or those new religious and social combinations, which are only remarkable for their spasmodic absurdity, or for their unblushing immorality. We should not have heard so much about these marvellous growths of our century if it had not been for writers like Hepworth Dixon, who delight in portraying exceptional phases of humanity—forms of life and feeling and social intercourse, which are undoubtedly interesting from a psychological point of view, but are in no proper sense representative of American religion. What would be thought of an American writing a large book about England, and giving, in illustration of its religious condition, a plenary discourse on Prince's Agapemone! Let it be remembered then, that, with the exception of Mormonism, nearly all the sects or societies in question were of foreign origin, some of them from Catholic France, others from Protestant Germany, and that they owe to America little more than development. Society in the States is in a fluent condition, and readily accommodates itself to individual caprices, and therefore sects, which could not live in European society, with its greater

least in this respect—which we here concede to that university (Cambridge) which has given Alford, Whewell, Howson, Westcott, Ellicott, Mansel, and Farrar, to English orthodoxy.

¹ We know it was the philosophers in Germany who prepared the way for conversions to Romanism. The Romantic school revolted against the pagan materialism of Goethe and Schiller; the painters went over in a mass, because they supposed that art could only flourish in the service of the Church. Frederick Schlegel, the great critic, began his career, as G. H. Lewes tells us, with an anthology from Lessing's works; he ended it with admiration of Philip II. and Alva. Tieck and A. W. Schlegel, "out of nothing more than poetical enthusiasm and diletantism" (says Lewes), went over to Romanism, accepting it with all its consequences. But is there any parallel between Germany and America as to their schools and culture? In Germany Protestantism was always more of an intellectual system than with us; but in England and America, the seat of Christianity has been the heart of the people.

social rigidity, naturally seek scope and freedom in the West. But it is well to remember likewise that these wild sects are mostly small and insignificant, and only excite notice on the principle of Poor Richard's proverb, "The worst wheel of the cart is the most noisy." Will it be believed, for example, that all the Socialists and Perfectionists of America, including the Shakers, whose history has been written so fascinatingly by Mr Hepworth Dixon and Mr Charles Nordhoff, do not number in all 6000 individuals? Yet the religion of a nation which numbers forty millions in all is to be disparaged by the idiosyncrasies or the lunacies of this insignificant fragment! It is very sad to think of such a deplorable perversion of the religious nature as such sects usually manifest; but philosophic observers might say, by way of compensation, that the very impatience of all authority, which among small bodies of sectaries generates every form of dogmatical arrogance and extravagant absurdity, becomes in the highest American minds the starting-point of true originality. We cannot have summer without weeds. But it is usually forgotten, *apropos* of the enormous multiplication of sects, that practically the whole of American Protestantism is comprehended in about five Christian denominations, which stand to each other in a relation far more catholic and far more appreciative of a common faith than can be found anywhere in Europe;¹ that their progress for fifty years past has known no check; that they are thoroughly missionary in spirit; and that, through that system of religious revivals, dating from the time of Jonathan Edwards, which has given to the Christianity of the States those features of excellence or defect which are so characteristically American, they have always been able quickly to shake themselves free from heresy, lethargy, or indifference.

We have now considered the character of American Protestantism, together with the causes at work in American society tending to check the progress of Romanism. But we

¹ Mr Matthew Arnold, in a late article, says: "It is said, and on what seems good authority, that already in America, that paradise of the sects, there are signs of reaction, and that the multitude of sects there begin to tend to agglomerate themselves into two or three great bodies." We do not know of any such movement, except among the Presbyterians and the Methodists, who are coalescing respectively into larger bodies; but there is more practical union in American Protestantism, with less of the *rabies theologorum*, than is manifest among ourselves at home.

desire to make a single observation respecting the duty of American Christians in relation to politics, in order to shew how easily the Catholic party could be checkmated by a more patriotic policy. By no other civilised people is the subject of politics treated with such disrespect as by the religious people of the United States. Those who, morally and intellectually, are best qualified, stand back from the post of citizen duty, thereby resigning the weight of power into the hands of such as are only fit to abuse it. The cause is, partly because politics are defiling, partly because busy men cannot afford time for politics, and partly on account of the extreme violence of the political press.¹ But politics can be purified; time can be found for politics as well as pleasure even in the busiest countries; and Christian people can surely bear the brunt of public criticism and abuse as well as the professional politicians who now make the "Republic" a by-word, while there is every likelihood that the press would take an improved tone from the infusion of a little Christianity into political discussions. Extreme violence is, indeed, part of the loose political morality so common there, for one half of the nation are taught almost from infancy to hate the other half, and to contract all the virulence and passion of party before they have come to the use of reason. The Christians of America must remember that there is a serious responsibility belonging to a weak and lazy acquiescence. No man can divest himself of influence in the progress of events; for even his self-exclusion strengthens one side or other. The law of Solon, which decided that citizens who took no side in a time of civil commotion should forfeit their estates and be banished the Commonwealth, was founded in correct views of human nature; for the neutrality of good men at such a time widens the field for the operations of adventurers and desperadoes. Attention to petty

¹ Jefferson said in his day that the scurrility of the press drove away the best men from public business, and would certainly have driven away Washington had he lived to suffer from its growing excesses. We do think that if Christians had always taken a more active interest in politics, the tone of newspaper writing would have become as moderate and dignified as that of England. The *New York Nation*, which is conducted by Mr. Edwin Godkin, an Irishman, has been trying, with some success, to put down the system of mean and malignant depreciation by which the newspapers are generally polluted and disgraced, by shewing the example of a dignified but effective journalism, which proscribes all base advantages, and adjusts quarrels by the laws of honour and chivalry.

interests may in a crisis lead to total ruin. The wonder is, indeed, that, with such heroes as Washington and Lincoln to give the tone to public life, the politicians have not been more pure. We are happy to observe, however, that the growing influence of the Catholic vote has opened the eyes of Christians all over the States to the necessity of taking up a more worthy position. The New York Young Men's Christian Association has been directing attention to the evils of the country, with the view of preparing young men for public life, and wresting the Government out of the hands of the professional politicians. We long for a band of Christian men to carry their weight into politics. We should then see the public school system kept out of the hands of Catholics and infidels, as well as stricter laws of mortmain enacted against a corporation which neither dies nor wastes nor parts with property.

One word in conclusion. There is something in the history of American colonisation that forbids the idea that the United States are destined to become the last refuge of Romanism driven from so many of its strongholds in the Old World. North America was discovered by a Catholic power, and seized at the outset by two chief Catholic powers; yet Protestantism alone succeeded in setting up a state of society, and a civil polity in keeping with the breadth of a world's commerce. Though the Pope ruled all the consciences from California to Cape Horn, yet he never succeeded in planting his jurisdiction within the bounds now possessed by the United States; and England was not permitted to relax her hold upon the Middle and Northern States till she had driven Catholic France from her North American dominions. In like manner, the possessions of Spain passed into the hands of the young Republic, while Louisiana became hers by purchase. Whatever America touched she Protestantised. California is now a Protestant state, founded upon the *debris* of a social organism, out of which Romanism had eaten the vitals, and thousands of Protestant churches have been established upon the theatre of old Catholic missions, where the priests were once omnipotent, and no heretic intruder was tolerated. So, likewise, New Orleans is now the Protestant capital of the once Catholic state of Louisiana. Now, just as surely as America is spreading westward toward the Pacific, with a wave of population, advancing at the rate of twelve miles a year, turning the old hunting-

grounds of the Indians into the genial homes of a thoroughly Protestant civilisation, so surely will she stretch her arms to the South, absorbing and reducing to order the discordant elements of Mexican society, as she has already transformed California and New Mexico. Is there not reason to believe that she is ultimately destined to annex South America, and thus to make the Mississippi, the Amazon, and the Plata the scenes of an active commerce far surpassing in magnitude anything at present known on the surface of the globe? And that Protestantism may yet be destined to rise on the ruins of the fast-decaying political and ecclesiastical systems of Spanish America? Does not the proximity of these countries to the United States, the constant tendency of the tide of emigration to the south-west, and the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race in intelligence and enterprise, make it almost certain that these countries will fall under Protestant influence? No nation can maintain a separate or independent existence in juxtaposition with the mobile, multiplying, go-a-head citizens of the United States. It dwindles away before their encroachments, or mixes with them; but the Anglo-Saxon traits of character alone remain prominent in the amalgamation. The population of the United States was, a hundred years ago, exactly what the Dominion of Canada is now—four millions—and what England was in Henry VIII.'s time; yet it already furnishes one-half of the eighty millions of the English-speaking race scattered over the globe, and the influence of its people has increased in a still greater rate than its numbers. The changes of society are all in one direction. The progressive civilisation of the world brings forward the Christian nations which have the most easy and free communion with the spirit of Protestantism, and throws back those most shut out from that spirit. America owes much to her liberty. But, after all, what is liberty? It is not a positive force any more than the smoothness of a railway is so, however necessary it may be to the production of positive results; it is her Protestantism, with its positive creed and its practical force, that has given this liberty its magnificent enlargement, and made a return to the Middle Ages impossible. America may have its wars, its social evils, its religious strifes; it may reproduce many of the follies and crimes of the Old World; its society in the whirl of business or excitement may at times be in peril of congestion; but

there is that in its catholic, expansive, well-toned Christianity that will restore its vigour and renew its power, and make it proof against the gigantic aims and reactionary plots of the Papacy.

THOMAS CROSKERY.

ART. IV.—*On the Translation of Galatians iii. 20 and Hebrews ix. 16, 17.*

THE importance of a translation as accurate as possible of the text of Scripture, in order to its correct interpretation, has been forcing itself more and more of late on every reflecting mind, as is evidenced by the call for a revision of the Authorised Version of the Bible, and by the labours at present in progress of the committees appointed for that purpose. Every student of Scripture, we suppose, has experienced how completely a misconception, which he had early taken up, of some word or turn of expression in the Bible, had blinded him for years to the true understanding of the passage in which it occurred. Should such misconception have become general, in consequence of a prevalent *mistranslation* of the original, the correct interpretation of the passage may remain undiscovered until the error be removed, and the correct rendering be substituted. It is for this reason that we are desirous to draw attention at present to two passages in the Epistles, the most difficult, perhaps, in the whole range of the New Testament Scriptures, and of which we have seen no interpretation which appears to us consistent with the context in which they occur. The failure in both cases we believe to be owing to the mistranslation of the leading terms in each, which has become all but stereotyped, so as to pass almost unquestioned, and to set inquirers on the wrong scent. Should we succeed in proving that the translation in the authorised version is erroneous and misleading, it is to be hoped that it will be altered, and thus—whatever may be thought of the explanation now to be offered—serve to turn the current of investigation into a new channel, and thus ultimately lead to the true explanation.

The first of these passages is Gal. iii. 20—ὁ δὲ μεσίτης ἐνός οὐκ

ἵστιν, ὁ δὲ Θεὸς ἓς ἵστιν. In the authorised version—"Now, a mediator is not a mediator of one, but God is one."

The number of interpretations of this passage is legion. Winer reckons 250, Professor Jowett 420. None hitherto proposed has commanded anything like general assent. If, as we believe, the principal cause of this universal failure is the mistranslation of the leading term of the verse, and the consequent misconception of the apostle's argument, the first step must be to divest, if possible, the mind of the inquirer of the false prepossession with which he starts for the solution of the difficulty. The translation to which we take decided exception is the rendering ὁ μεσίτης "*a* mediator," in the generic sense of any or every mediator (Ellicott, Alford, Lightfoot), instead of "*the* mediator," in the special case of the law which had just been mentioned (ver. 19), viz., Moses.

The translation, "*a* mediator," which seems now to be accepted on all hands, is, we submit, entirely subversive of the apostle's argument. Let us briefly state its purport. The proposition with which he starts is, that God had made a covenant with Abraham, in which *all nations* of the earth were interested (ver. 8), so that on the *Gentiles* might come the blessing of Abraham through Jesus Christ (ver. 14). This "covenant, which was confirmed before of God, the law which was four hundred and thirty years after cannot disannul, that it should make the promise of none effect" (ver. 17). Consequently the law was a mere interpolated dispensation, appointed for a temporary purpose, and which must disappear as soon as the time of the fulfilment of God's promise and previous covenant had arrived. The implied answer of the Jew to this objection evidently is, that the law was the fulfilment of this "promise" (*a*), and "covenant" (*b*), and therefore was of permanent and universal obligation; circumcision and observance of all the ordinances of the law being the indispensable means of admittance for strangers to the privileges of the Jew. To each of these pleas the apostle replies.

To the first (*a*), regarding God's words to Abraham as a "promise," he replies, in ver. 18, that *law* and *promise* are directly opposed. Law requires obedience to its injunctions, as a condition for the enjoyment of the inheritance; the promise is gratuitous, and unfettered by conditions other

than the simple acceptance by *faith*. “For if the inheritance be of law, it is no more of promise: but God has freely given it to Abraham by promise.”

As to the second (*b*), regarding God’s words to Abraham as a *covenant*, in reply to what the Jew would object, “wherefore then serveth the law?” (ver. 19) St Paul answers; The law, as a covenant with the Jewish people, had a very important function to perform, to convince men of “transgressions” and the awful power of sin, and so prepare for the acceptance of the promised salvation when it came; but he concedes in part to the Jew his plea (ver. 19, latter part). True, the law has some of the characteristics which might seem to point it out as the fulfilment of the *covenant* with Abraham. It is a covenant inaugurated with great solemnity, “through angels, and by the hand of a mediator.” To this plea St Paul’s reply is, ὁ δὲ μεσίτης ἑνὸς οὐκ ἔστιν—“But *the* mediator [*i.e.* of the law] is not [*a* mediator] of one” [“seed,”] including Jew and Gentile; “but God is one,” God of Jew and Gentile—in refutation of the inference which the Jew would deduce from his concession. If this reply, as is generally assumed, depends on “the *generic* idea of *a* mediator,” that is, on some quality common to the idea of *every* mediator, the gospel is equally excluded with the law from being the fulfilment of the promise, since it equally is a covenant ordained by the hand of *a* mediator. It would seem, on the contrary, that the reply must refer to something peculiar to the Mosaic covenant, and in which it differs from the Christian, and that ὁ μεσίτης must refer to “*the* mediator” in this special case, viz., Moses; and ἑνὸς οὐκ ἔστιν—“is not [*a* mediator] of one” [*seed*, including “all nations”],—to something wanting on his part, which precluded the covenant mediated by him from being the fulfilment of the original covenant made with Abraham.

Professor Jowett sees the full force of the objection now stated; but from his low estimate of the logical powers and consistency of St Paul (not to speak of his inspiration), is not in the least shaken in his opinion of the connection of the passage, by the consideration that St Paul by this interpretation is made to speak

“in direct contradiction to the ordinary language of later theology, and even of some passages of the New Testament itself [one at least (1 Tim.

ii. 5) of St Paul's own writing]. It sounds (he adds) like a paradox to modern ears, to place the superiority of the gospel over the law, in the fact that the law had a mediator, and the gospel had not. Yet such is the apostle's reasoning !”

If such be the inference that justly follows, that St Paul is by this translation set at variance with Scripture and himself, all interpretations must be set aside which assume, with modern commentators, that ὁ μεσίτης here means “a mediator” or *every mediator*; and the translation must be, “But *the* mediator [in the case of the covenant of Moses just mentioned] is not of one.”

The attempted replies to this seemingly fatal objection, and the series of paradoxical propositions and inconsistencies which the common translation forces its supporters to ascribe to St Paul, only tend to shew more conclusively how untenable the translation is, and the interpretation founded upon it. To give the defence the fullest justice, we state the argument involved, in the words of one of the latest and ablest of its advocates, Canon Lightfoot.

In his *Commentary on Galatians*, the comment on the first clause of iii. 20 is:—

“ὁ δὲ μεσίτης ἑὸς οὐκ ἔστιν (‘no mediator can be a mediator of one’). The very idea of mediation supposes two persons at least between whom the mediation is carried on. The law, then, is of the nature of a contract between two parties—God on the one hand, and the Jewish people on the other. It is only valid so long as both parties fulfil the terms of the contract. It is therefore contingent, and not absolute.”

On the second clause of the verse the comment is:—

“ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἓς ἔστιν (‘but God [the giver of the promise] is one’). Unlike the law, the promise is absolute and unconditional. It depends on the sole decree of God. There are not two contracting parties. There is nothing of the nature of a *stipulation*. The giver is everything, the recipient nothing.”

The distinction here drawn between the promise made to Abraham and the law is, that in a contract there are *two* parties, whereas to a promise there is but *one*. Besides the untenableness of this latter position, it has been forgotten that the “promise” is here distinctly and prominently called also a *contract* or “covenant” (διαθήκη, vers. 15, 17), the two parties being God on the one hand, and Abraham and his seed on the other, including “all the nations” (vers. 8, 14); and that, instead of there being no “stipulation” required of

those who would participate in its benefits, the condition requisite for their reception had already been repeatedly insisted on (see vers. 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 14). The distinction between the "law" and the "promise," as stated by St Paul, is not that the law requires a stipulation to be fulfilled by those who would benefit by it, whereas the promise is unconditional altogether; but that the condition prescribed by the law is one impossible of performance ("the man that *doeth* it shall live by them," ver. 12); while the promise (or new "covenant confirmed before of God," ver. 17) requires simple "faith" as its condition.

But further, the construction here put upon the expression, "but God is one," is very forced, and quite alien to the train of thought elsewhere connected with these words in the apostle's mind. The proposition, *ὁ δὲ Θεὸς εἷς ἐστίν*, is so analogous to the expression in the kindred Epistle to the Romans (iii. 30), *ἐπεὶ εἷς ὁ Θεός*, "seeing that God is one," where, too, the subject treated is the same as in this passage of the Galatians, viz. *the relation of the Gentiles to the gospel covenant*, that we can scarcely acquiesce in any explanation as correct which does not make the association of ideas the same in Galatians as in Romans, viz., "Seeing that God is one [of Jew and Gentile] which shall justify circumcision by faith, and uncircumcision through faith."

Again, we have a combination of two propositions in this verse of Galatians relating to the *oneness* of the *mediator*, and the *oneness* of *God*. In 1 Tim. ii. 5, we have a striking similarity in the combination of the same terms, "there is *one God*, and *one mediator* between God and men," and the subject again is the same. In both it is the relation of *all* (in Galatians of "all nations," in Timothy of "all men") to the gospel covenant, as affected by the oneness in the mediator, and the oneness in God. God "will have *all men* to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth. For there is *one God*, and *one mediator*," &c. (1 Tim. ii. 4, 5). We confess our difficulty in accepting any interpretation of Galatians which not only refuses to see any connection between these two passages, but even makes the one contradictory of the other.

Nor are these the only difficulties in which the prevailing translation involves its supporters. In verse 19 we have the

two crowning distinctions of the law mentioned, that "it was ordained through angels (Acts vii. 53), and ministered by the hand of Moses as mediator" (Acts vii. 38), which formed its proudest boast in the estimation of every Jew. These, however, we are called upon to believe, are brought forward by St Paul, not in *honour*, but in *depreciation* of the law! Granting even that such could have been the design of the apostle, how could he expect his readers to divine it?

How unlike, too, the representation thus given to St Paul's usual conciliatory mode (when touching any of the vaunted privileges of his jealous countrymen) of conceding all he can to those with whom he is arguing, and concentrating the attention on the one point to which he asks their assent! Thus, in Rom. iii. 1, where, as here, he states himself the objection which he knew would immediately occur to his opponents, "What advantage then hath the Jew?" his reply is, "Much every way," except in the *one point* of justification before God; with respect to which he insists, "we [Jews] are no better than they [Gentiles]." So here in Gal. iii. 19, he states himself the objection which he knew would immediately suggest itself to a Jew, "wherefore then serveth the law?" but instead of conceding anything, *all*, it seems, is depreciatory of the law: 1. "Instead of justifying and giving life, it reveals and multiplies transgressions;" 2. "It was but temporary;" 3. "It did not come direct from God to man. There was a double interposition, a twofold mediation between the giver and the recipient. There were the angels who administered it as God's instruments; there was Moses who delivered it to man." By thus reading in between the lines "not direct," "double interposition," "twofold mediation," the Jew's highest distinctions of his law are turned to its disparagement—the last thought, we believe, which their mention could ever have suggested to a zealot for the law. How much more natural the interpretation, in accordance with St Paul's usual method, that he concedes the advantage of the law to be "much every way"—in convincing its subjects of sin and their inability to resist it, and thus preparing them for the acceptance of the promised salvation when it came—in the solemn and impressive sanction it received as God's holy law by its inauguration amidst "ten thousand of his saints"

and attendant “angels,” and by the mediation of their revered lawgiver, Moses. But still—and here he concentrated their attention on his *one point*—the defect connected with this mediation, “But the mediator is not a mediator of one,” including all nations, Jew and Gentile, as God’s prior covenant required.

We object, then, to the present translation—

1. Because it rests the objection to the law’s being the fulfilment of the promise made to Abraham on a ground which would equally exclude the gospel—its being ministered by a mediator.

2. Because it makes St Paul maintain the paradox that there is but one party to a promise and to a covenant.

3. Because it obliges us to put an entirely different construction on St Paul’s words in this passage from what they bear in his other writings, where he is speaking on the same subject.

4. Because it puts a non-natural and depreciatory sense upon St Paul’s expressions with regard to the law, such as his readers could never have attached to the words; inconsistent also with the apostle’s usual mode of meeting the objections of his opponents.

5. We object to this translation and the interpretation founded upon it, because they fail to shew any clear connection in the train of reasoning followed by the apostle in this whole passage (Gal. iii. 15–29). In a writer so logical and consistent in all his arguments as St Paul (which we venture to affirm, notwithstanding Mr Jowett’s assertion that “it is characteristic of St Paul, even when he is making towards a point, to insert clauses which are *beside his point*”), we are entitled to expect that the intermediate statements, between the proposition which he lays down to be proved and the conclusion, shall be pertinent and *to the point*, and more especially when they touch on the very point on which the argument hinges.¹

¹ Even in a grammatical point of view, the propriety of the present rendering is very questionable. If St Paul meant to predicate something respecting a mediator in the generic sense, why should he render his meaning ambiguous by inserting the article, when (especially following close upon *ἡ* *χειρὶς* *μισίτου*) *μισίτης δὲ ἑὸς οὐκ ἔστιν* without the article was the natural and unequivocal expression? Such is the usual practice; compare *περιτομή μιν γὰρ* (Rom. ii. 25); *ἁμαρτία δὲ* (v. 13); *ἁμαρτία γὰρ* (vi. 14); *σοφίαν δὲ* (1 Cor. ii. 6):

The key, which we believe will be found to unlock all the intricacies of this passage and fit into every ward, is the word "ONE," which meets us at the beginning, the middle, and the close.

Ver. 16. ONE is the *seed of Abraham*, to whom the promise was made, including "all nations." "In thee shall *all the nations* be blessed" (ver. 8) was the proposition with which St Paul started, to prove "that the blessing of Abraham was to come on the *Gentiles* through Jesus Christ" (ver. 14).

Vers. 28, 29. The conclusion evidently reverts to the beginning, "Ye are *all* ONE in Christ Jesus. And if ye be Christ's, then are ye *Abraham's seed*, and heirs according to the promise."

In ver. 20, therefore, the ONE-ness in the centre must, we contend, refer to the same UNITY. When in the intermediate argument, designed to refute the plea of the Jews (that their covenant was the fulfilment of the promise to Abraham), St Paul insists on the non-unity, or want of ONE-ness connected with a mediator, the presumption is strong that it is to the Mosaic covenant and its mediator that he is denying the ONE-ness, which he claims to be fulfilled in the Christian covenant and its mediator.

The steps of the argument therefore are:—

I. (Ver. 16.) ONE is the "seed" of Abraham, to whom the "blessing" which extends to "all the nations" is promised.

II. (Ver. 20.) The mediator must be a "mediator of ONE" (seed), including all Jews and Gentiles, and making all ONE; and "the God (of both) is ONE."

III. (Vers. 28, 29.) But "Ye are all ONE in Christ Jesus; and therefore Abraham's seed and heirs according to the promise."

βρῶμα δὲ (viii. 8); διαθήκη γὰρ (Heb. ix. 17); and even where the article has immediately preceded, as immediately after τῇ γὰρ ἰλασίᾳ ἰσώθημεν, follows ἰλασίᾳ δὲ (Rom. viii. 24). No example of the opposite usage has yet been cited.

All the examples given by Winer (*Grammar of New Testament Greek*), where the article prefixed to a singular denotes a whole class, bear to be translated in English with the definite article, and are so rendered by Dr Samuel Davidson in his Translation of the New Testament, 1875. "The good man" (Matt. xii. 35); "defiles the man" (xv. 11); "let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican" (xviii. 17); "the labourer is worthy" (Luke x. 7); "The good shepherd" (John x. 11); "the signs of the apostle" (2 Cor. xii. 12); "so long as the heir" (Gal. iv. 1); "ye killed the just one" (James v. 6). Why depart from the rule in the passage before us? On this ground alone we hope "the mediator" will be found in the forthcoming revision.

The argument, to state it more fully, we conceive to be this—The proposition which the apostle sets himself to prove is (ver. 14), “that *on the Gentiles* the blessing of Abraham should come in Christ Jesus.” How is this demonstrated?

I. (Ver. 16.) We must premise, for the understanding of St Paul’s argument, that the promises to Abraham are twofold, and must be taken in connection with each other. 1. “To thee, and to thy seed, will I give this land;” and 2. “In thee, and in thy seed, shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.” Hence the use of the *plural* “promises” (vers. 16 and 21), and not (as generally explained) “because the promise was several times repeated to Abraham.” Each promise is separately commented on, the second in vers. 6–9 (see especially ver. 8, where the words of it are expressly quoted); and the first in vers. 15–29, as is evident from the promise being called (ver. 18) an “inheritance,” and the recipients (in ver. 29) “heirs.” Still, in beginning this part of his argument (vers. 16–29), which we are now to consider, with the words, “Now to Abraham and his seed were the *promises* made,” the apostle, by employing the plural “promises,” evidently means to draw attention to *both* in connection, and to the light which the one thus throws upon the other, *which is essential to his argument*. From the second blessing already quoted in ver. 8, it was evident that “all nations” were interested in Abraham’s blessing. In proceeding now to consider what is meant by the “seed” to whom the promises apply, this must be kept in mind, that the seed includes “all nations.” The seed meant, therefore, must be, not the natural, but the spiritual seed of Abraham. The blessings of justification (ver. 11), and of removal of the curse (ver. 13), do not refer both to the natural and also to the spiritual seed of Abraham. This would make two seeds; but the Scripture says distinctly, “not to seeds, as of many, but as of *ONE*” (ver. 16); and since in this *ONE* seed are included “all nations,” the natural seed of Abraham (the Jews), as such, are excluded, and we are shut up to the meaning of the *spiritual* seed—of *ONE* seed, including all in *ONE* (Jews and Gentiles) to whom belonged the promised blessings. But this finds its fulfilment only in “Christ.” He therefore is primarily the “seed” (“thy seed, which is

Christ," ver. 16); yet not exclusively, but also all that are in him, as is manifest from the conclusion finally drawn by the apostle, "Ye are all ONE in Christ Jesus; and if ye be Christ's, then are ye *Abraham's seed*, and heirs according to the promise" (ver. 20).

II. (Vers. 17–20.) Now, this covenant, guaranteeing these blessings to all nations, no intervening dispensation can annul. The Jews, indeed, may urge, Why may not the law which was given by God himself with great solemnity, being "ordained by angels," and as a covenant "in the hand of a mediator," be the fulfilment of the covenant made with Abraham?

Here, indeed, St Paul allows we have a divine covenant, and a mediator, whose office it is to reconcile parties at variance, and to make them at one. But in order to fulfil the whole terms of the covenant and promise made to Abraham, he must combine all into ONE seed, including "all nations," Jews and Gentiles, and make them all ONE—ONE with God, ONE with each other. But in the case of Moses, "the mediator is not a mediator of ONE," making all ONE, and combining all into ONE seed, Jews and Gentiles. He was but the mediator of the Jews, as contradistinguished from the Gentiles. Yet "God," the Lord that made the promise, "is ONE;" "ONE God (of Jew and Gentile) which shall justify the circumcision by faith, and the uncircumcision through faith" (Rom. iii. 30). God "will have *all men* to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth. For there is ONE GOD, and ONE MEDIATOR between God and men, the man Christ Jesus" (1 Tim. ii. 5).

III. (Vers. 28, 29.) But now "ye are all ONE in Christ Jesus" (ver. 28), having been "baptised into Christ" and "put on Christ" (ver. 27). He is the true mediator, "our peace, who hath made both ONE" (Eph. ii. 14), "and reconciled both unto God in ONE body by the cross" (Eph. ii. 16); "having made in himself of twain ONE new man, so making peace" (Eph. ii. 15),—thereby fulfilling his own prayer for his disciples, "that they all may be ONE; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be ONE, even as we are ONE: I in them, and thou in me, that they may be perfected into ONE" (John xvii. 21–23).

Some additional remarks may not be inappropriate, in order to elucidate some difficulties connected with this passage, one of which especially has created considerable discussion.

Great exception has been taken to the legitimacy of St Paul's reasoning, founded on the *unity* of the seed, "He saith, not to seeds as of many, but as of one, and to thy seed, which is Christ" (ver. 16). Here the argument, it is objected, is founded on the word "seed" being singular, and not plural, and therefore indicating an individual, viz., "Christ"; whereas it is notorious that the word in the Hebrew (זרע) is always used collectively, and that the plural never occurs except once, and that in the sense of "grains or fruits of the field" (1 Sam. viii. 15).

The assertion, however, is not quite correct that the singular is invariably used in the collective sense. It may be used, exactly as our word "seed" in English, of one individual of the offspring as well as of all, as in Gen. iv. 25, of Seth, and in xxi. 13, of Ishmael. This renders its employment most apposite in those prophecies where in the fullest and highest sense Christ is the seed specially intended, yet not to the exclusion of the other seed connected with him, as in the first Messianic promise (Gen. iii. 15), where it is said of the "seed" of the woman, "it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel" (compare the twofold fulfilment—the individual in Heb. ii. 14, and the collective in Rom. xvi. 20).¹

The use of the word "seed" by St Paul in the passage before us is exactly analogous. It is used of Christ individually, as *the seed* in whom specially the promises find their fulfilment, as appears from ver. 16, "and to thy seed, which is Christ"; but not to the exclusion of the collective (spiritual) seed included in him, as appears from the conclusion (ver.

¹ Another notable instance of "seed" used in reference to an individual, in its lower and proximate reference to Solomon, in its higher and ultimate reference to Christ, occurs in the great promise made through Nathan to David (2 Sam. vii. 12–14), "And when thy days be fulfilled, and thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, I will raise up thy *seed* after thee, which shall proceed out of thy bowels, and I will establish his kingdom. He shall build a house for my name, and I will establish his kingdom for ever. I will be his father, and he shall be my son," &c. (Compare the twofold fulfilment—in Solomon, 1 Chron. xxii. 10, xxviii. 6; 2 Chron. vi. 9; and in Christ, Luke i. 32, 33; Heb. i. 5; Zech. vi. 13; Matt. xvi. 18, &c.).

28, 29), "Ye are all one in Christ Jesus. And if ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's *seed*." Nay, as is evident from this forming the conclusion of the argument, the collective sense is the one principally intended. It is quite a mistake to suppose that St Paul's argument, founded on the unity of the seed, necessarily implies that he refers to an individual. A collective noun may have a plural wherever the subject demands it; thus, Abraham had more than one *people* naturally descended from him, the Ishmaelites as well as the Israelites. These formed two *peoples* or *seeds*, each of whom regarded him as their father. Again, regarding Abraham as a typical as well as natural father, he has two *seeds*, a natural and a spiritual; and there is surely no impropriety in speaking of these as two *seeds*.

This last is the very case before us. St Paul's argument is: The promise to Abraham's seed, in as far as it relates to "all the nations of the earth" must refer to ONE homogeneous seed of Abraham, not to two of different kinds, either to the natural or to the spiritual, but not to both. It cannot relate to the natural seed (the Jews in this instance), since "all the nations of the earth" are not included in it. It must therefore relate to the spiritual alone. It is the "blessing" so long ago promised to "all the families of the earth"; the removal of the "curse" that rested on all the race (ver. 10), and reconciliation again with God; the blessing of justification (ver. 11), and "the promise of the Spirit through faith" (ver. 14). So "the inheritance" intended here by St Paul (in vers. 18 and 29), in the light in which he is at present viewing the promise, "To thee and to thy seed will I give this land," is not the typical inheritance of the land of Canaan, promised to the natural Israel, but the greater inheritance typified by it, promised to Abraham and his spiritual seed, "that he should be the heir of the world" (Rom. iv. 13; compare vers. 16-18), and that "the righteous shall inherit the land, and dwell therein for ever" (Ps. xxxvii. 29), when the time comes that "the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High" (Dan. vii. 27).

But all these promises find their fulfilment only in Christ. He is "the seed in whom all the nations of the earth shall be blessed"; he is the heir of the world, unto whom God

the Father hath said, "Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession" (Ps. ii. 8).

It thus appears that in these promises St Paul recognises a higher and spiritual meaning, as well as a lower and literal. With regard to the first-mentioned of the promises (see ver. 8), viewed literally, all that the expression "In thee" might seem to denote is merely that "*By or through thee* (as progenitor of the Christ) shall all nations be blessed;" and so its second term, "In thy seed," would be equivalent to "*By or through Christ as "thy seed,"* according to the flesh, "shall all nations be blessed." But the apostle has taught us to see a much deeper and more inward relation, as denoted by the "in" of the first term, by explaining "In thee shall all nations be blessed" (ver. 8) to mean, "*In thee as their spiritual father, in whom all believers are contained, and with whom they must be one in faith, shall all be blessed.*" So then, they which be of faith are blessed *with faithful Abraham* (ver. 9). A like union *with*, and inclusion *in* Christ, it would seem, therefore, he intends us to understand in the second term of the promise to Abraham, "*In thy seed shall all nations be blessed.*" To partake of the blessing, they must be *ONE with*, and find their unity *in ONE* second head of humanity, in whom and in his blessing all the race can be included, as all were included in the first Adam, and in his curse.

Now Moses, the mediator of the Jewish covenant, is not such a "mediator of *ONE*" (ver. 20), uniting all into *ONE*, making all *ONE* seed, *ONE* body, *ONE* with God, *ONE* with each other.

But Christ is exactly such a mediator. He is the *ONE* seed in whom all find their unity. In him God and man are made *ONE*, for he is both in *ONE* person. In him all men and nations, the most diverse, have become *ONE* being all "by *ONE* spirit baptised into *ONE* body" (1 Cor. xii. 13), according to the good pleasure of him who purposed "that, in the dispensation of the fulness of time, he would gather together in one all things in Christ" (Eph. i. 10).

Christ, as mediator, is a "mediator of *ONE*" in the fullest sense as making all *ONE*. "God," the author of the promise, "is *ONE*" God of all, Jews and Gentiles (ver. 20).

“Ye are all ONE in Christ Jesus”¹ (ver. 28), being all “baptised into Christ,” having “put on Christ” (ver. 27). “And if ye be Christ’s, then are ye Abraham’s seed, and heirs according to the promise” (ver. 29).

We come now to the second of the two passages in question, the mistranslation of which in the authorised version (as well as in the great majority of other versions), we contend must be amended if we desire the true meaning of the author to be apprehended. The passage, as it stands in the authorised version, runs thus:—

Heb. ix. 16, 17. “For where a testament is, there must also of necessity be [marg. *be brought in*] the death of the testator. For a testament is of force after men are dead: otherwise it is of no strength at all while the testator liveth.”

The translation, which we think usage and the context (to shew the latter, the preceding and succeeding verses are added) demand, is:—

Ver. 15. “And for this cause he is mediator of a new covenant, in order that death having taken place for redemption of the transgressions under the first covenant, they which have been called may receive the promise of the eternal inheritance.

Ver. 16. “For where a covenant is, there must of necessity be brought in the death of the covenanter. Ver. 17. For a covenant is valid over the dead; whereas it is never of force while the covenanter liveth.

Ver. 18. “Wherefore neither was the first [covenant] dedicated without blood.”

In entering on the inquiry as to the meaning, in vers. 16, 17, of the word translated in the authorised version “testament” (*διαθήκη*) and its cognates, we feel how difficult and almost hopeless is the attempt to reverse the decision now all but universally arrived at by every commentator of note, that the meaning of “covenant” cannot be retained in these verses, but that here “the sacred writer,” though he “starts from the sense of a covenant, glides into that of a testa-

¹ The idea of UNITY, which we regard as the keyword of this passage, is, as the quotations shew, the favourite thought of St Paul as characteristic especially of Christ, concentrating *all* in ONE; e.g. “As judgment came on all by one, so righteousness on *all* by ONE,” &c. (Rom. v. 12–19); “We being many are ONE bread and ONE body; for we *all* partake of the ONE bread” (1 Cor. x. 17); “ONE died for *all*” (2 Cor. v. 14); “There is ONE body and ONE spirit, even as ye are called in ONE hope of your calling; ONE Lord, ONE faith, ONE baptism. ONE God and Father of *all*” (Eph. iv. 4).

ment.”¹ Still, after the most careful consideration, we find it impossible, without doing violence to the plainest principles of language and logic, to come to any other conclusion than that the author had in view a covenant, and nothing but a covenant, throughout the whole passage; and that, however difficult it may be to see the exact bearing of his reasoning, the faithful translator, if he desires himself to attain, or to help others to attain, the true meaning of the writer, has no alternative but to adhere to the signification of covenant in vers. 16, 17.

The grounds on which we have arrived at this conclusion are:—

1. The word *diathēkē* (διαθήκη) here, in the authorised version, translated “testament,” occurs in the Septuagint more than 200 times as the equivalent of the Hebrew word *berith*, always in the sense of *covenant*, never in that of *testament*. Nothing short of the clearest exigencies of the argument and connection could authorise us to assign a meaning to the word, so foreign to every idea connected with it, through this usage, in the minds of the Hebrews, to whom this epistle was addressed. The writer, if he meant to be understood by his readers, ought to have given the clearest intimation that he was about to use the word in its classical sense of *testament*, instead of its Hellenistic sense of *covenant*; but he has failed to do so.

2. But this conclusion is greatly strengthened, when we find here conjoined with the term (διαθήκη) its corresponding verb (διατίθεσθαι). The combination of the two, which occurs sixty-nine times in the LXX, invariably signifies to “make a covenant,” and is applied to one or both of the contracting parties in a covenant, never to a “testator.” Such is the meaning of the phrase in the passage of Jer. xxxi. 31–34, quoted in Heb. viii. 8–12, “I will *make* a new *covenant* with the house of Israel,” &c. This introduces the discussion respecting the old and new “covenants”; and the words are again repeated at its close (x. 16). Surely this determines, beyond all reasonable doubt, the meaning of the words (διαθήκη and ὁ διαθεμὴν) in the intermediate verses (ix. 16, 17) to be “covenant” and “covenant-maker,” not as in the authorised version, “testament” and “testator.”

¹ See Canon Lightfoot's *Commentary on Gal. iii. 15*.

3. The word *diathēkē*, not only in every other passage of the New Testament, but in the verse (15) immediately preceding, and in the verses immediately succeeding (18 and 20), means *covenant*, and not *testament*, since no one ever heard of the “mediator of a *testament*” (ver. 15), nor of a *testament* being dedicated with “blood” (vers. 18 and 20), or requiring “shedding of blood” for “remission” of sins (ver. 22). Is there, then, anything in the expressions used in the intermediate verses (16, 17), that could lead the readers of his epistle to surmise that the author meant in them to put a different and unusual sense on the terms he was employing? So far is this from being the case, that his expressions would recall to them the passage in Psalm l. 5 (xlix. in the LXX.) on which they were evidently modelled, and which was familiar to every Jew from being frequently read in the devotional services of the synagogue: συναγάγετε αὐτῷ τοὺς ὁσίους αὐτοῦ, τοὺς διατιθεμένους τὴν διαθήκην αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ θυσίαις (“Gather together to him his saints, those who *make a covenant* with him *over sacrifices*”), where a comparison of the “covenant-maker” (τοῦ διαθεμένου) in Heb. ix. 16 with “those who *make a covenant* with him” (τοὺς διατιθεμένους) in the Psalm, and of a “covenant (valid) over the dead” (διαθήκη ἐπὶ νεκροῖς) in Heb. ix. 17 with a “covenant over sacrifices” (διαθήκη ἐπὶ θυσίαις) in Psalm l. clearly shews the source from which the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews drew his expressions in vers. 16, 17, and thus ties us down to the meaning of “covenant” and “covenanter.”

Nor is this the only familiar utterance with which the words in vers. 16, 17 would associate themselves in the thoughts of their readers. The words of the Saviour, when instituting the Lord’s Supper (and which were probably in *daily* use among the early converts at this time), would be recalled to their minds, “This is my *blood* of the *new covenant* shed for many for the remission of sins” (Matt. xxvi. 28). Every word and thought here are reproduced in these verses of the epistle, or the immediate context. The “covenant,” with the epithet of “new” applied to it (Heb. ix. 15), its mode of consecration by “blood” (vers. 18, 20), the combination of “shedding” with the “blood” (ver. 22), and the purpose of the whole, “remission” (ver. 22), seem to prove unmistakably that the Saviour’s

words were present to the writer's mind, and determine in what sense he used the word *diathēkē* in the verses under discussion.

Usage, context, and associated expressions, thus conspiring to affix the one single meaning of *covenant* to *diathēkē* in vers. 16, 17, how could the writer, even if he intended to change it, in these verses, to the unusual, and by many of his readers probably unheard of, signification of *testament*, suppose that they could divine his intention without his giving the slightest hint of it? The only reply, so far as we are aware, that has ever been proposed is, that such a hint has been given by the mention of an "inheritance" (ver. 15). Such a reply could only be made in entire forgetfulness of Hebrew usages. To a Jew, the mention of an inheritance might call up the idea of a "covenant," never that of a "testament" or "will," succession to all inheritances being regulated by the Mosaic *covenant*:—

"The Mosaic law enforced a strict entail . . . The land being thus strictly tied up, the notion of *heirship*, as we understand it, was hardly known to the Jews—succession was a matter of regulation, and not of favour. *Testamentary* dispositions were of course superfluous."¹

"For anything that appears in the Hebrew Scriptures, the Israelites knew nothing of *testaments* in the ordinary sense of the term; the rights of property were so regulated as to render these things for the most part unnecessary, if only the means were at hand for ascertaining the family descent and the relationship of the parties concerned. They consequently made much account of genealogies, but none, so far as we know, of *testaments*."²

This furnishes a powerful, indeed, if duly considered, we think, a decisive, argument against the signification of *testament*. To a Western reader, accustomed to the Greek or Roman law, and to associate the meaning of *testament* with *diathēkē*, we allow that the words, "For where a *diathēkē* is, there must of necessity," &c., if regarded by themselves without reference to the context, would naturally suggest the meaning expressed in the authorised version; and hence, and from the Vulgate rendering (*testamentum*) having introduced *testament* into almost every modern version, the tenacity with which this rendering has been adhered to, notwithstanding its inconsistency with usage and context. But for the very same reason—from the association of ideas

¹ Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Article "Heir." ² Principal Fairbairn.

uniformly connected with *diathēkē* in the mind of a *Hebrew*—we hold that the meaning of *testament* could not even occur to him, unless no possible sense could be extracted from the signification of *covenant*, and he was obliged to cast about for some other signification.

We Westerns have become so prepossessed with the idea of *testament*, that we can with difficulty appreciate the full force of this argument. Be it observed, however, *diathēkē*, in ver. 15, beyond all doubt, still retains the meaning of *covenant*, which it has universally in every other part of Scripture; and in vers. 18 and 20, the meaning of *covenant* is that which is alone tenable. With what shew of reason can it be alleged that in the intermediate verses (16 and 17) the author, unless he meant to write in enigmas, and utterly to perplex his readers, all at once, without any warning, used the same identical word *diathēkē* in a sense entirely different, and foreign to the associations connected with it in the minds of the Hebrews? Such a freak in composition, and sudden shifting of the meaning, without any word in the context to prepare the reader to comprehend it is, we believe, unprecedented in any good writer.

4. But we feel constrained to go further still, and to maintain that, if words are capable of fixing decisively an author's meaning, the author himself could not have had the slightest reference to a *testament* when he wrote these words. The close connection and logic of his sentences prove, we think, demonstrably, that the idea of a *covenant*, and of a *covenant* alone, was before his mind. Let us briefly trace the train of thought in vers. 15–18.

Ver. 15. "For this cause"—the inefficacy of the old covenant to make a real propitiation for sins—Christ "is the mediator of a new covenant," in order to secure to those "who are called the promise of the eternal inheritance," by means of a *death* having taken place "*for redemption of the transgressions* under the first covenant."

The death, therefore, provided in God's new covenant is an *expiatory death*, as being "for the redemption of transgressions." The reason for such a death is immediately assigned by "FOR" (*γάρ*) in the two succeeding verses.

Vers. 16, 17. "For where a covenant is, there must of necessity be brought in the *death* of the covenanter," &c.

The death here mentioned, to be at all relevant, must be

a "death for transgressions," as in ver. 15, and consequently the *diathēkē* with which it is connected a *covenant*, not a *testament*, the death connected with which could in no sense be said to be expiatory. Introduce the idea (as those who adopt the rendering "testament" and "testator" are obliged to do) of a mere natural death, without expiation, *without blood*," and the inference drawn by the illative particle, "WHEREFORE" (ὧν), in ver. 18, "WHEREFORE neither was the first [covenant] dedicated without *blood*," becomes absurd. What conceivable connection is there between the two propositions—A *testament* is binding only when the testator is *dead*; WHEREFORE the first *covenant* was dedicated with *blood*?

The only possible escape we can conceive from this dilemma is to maintain that the allusion made to the elsewhere unexampled meaning of "testament" is a remark thrown in by way of parenthesis merely in vers. 16, 17; and that the writer immediately reverts, in ver. 18, to the signification he had all along attached to *diathēkē* of "covenant." Let us try, then, how the connection will run by isolating these two verses as parenthetical, and joining on verse 18 to verse 15.

In verse 15, the reason stated why Christ must become "the mediator of a new covenant" is, that "death might take place for redemption of the transgressions under the first covenant," since otherwise the called could not "receive the promise of the eternal inheritance." What conceivable ground does this give for the inference in verse 18, "*Wherefore* neither was the first covenant dedicated without blood"?¹

But if, on the contrary, verses 16, 17 form a consecutive part of the argument, asserting the necessity that in *every covenant* there must be a bloody *death* brought in in order to make it valid, we perceive at once the propriety and strict connection of the inferential assertion in verse 18, "Wherefore neither has the *first* [covenant] been dedicated without *blood*."

¹ Had verse 18 been intended to join on to verse 15, the connecting particle must have been, not the illative ὧν "wherefore," but the causal particle γάρ "for"; the object of the author evidently being to do away with the great stumbling-block to the Hebrews, "the offence of the cross," by proving the necessity for the death of Christ as mediator.

5. Here, perhaps, it would be prudent to pause with our objections. We have, we fear, already aroused sufficiently against our conclusion the prejudices of many excellent men, in depriving them of a favourite and fondly-cherished sentiment, for which they believed they had the authority of Scripture, of a *dying Saviour's legacy* to his church, and taken away the last argument¹ for the very name and idea of "*testament*" having any place in God's Word. Yet were the sentimental idea merely harmless, we might hesitate further to disturb it. But from the careful examination of every word to which the investigation of this passage has compelled the writer, the conviction has forced itself upon him that the idea of "*testament*," as applied to the gospel covenant, is unbiblical, opposed to the analogy of Scripture, and tends to obscure and confuse the doctrine elsewhere universally taught.

It has been frequently remarked, as a striking proof of the unity and divine authorship of Scripture, how uniform and consistently-preserved throughout are the representations and figures given of the same subject from the beginning to the close of revelation. It is a solitary instance, so far as we are aware, of departure from this rule, if it is by *testament* that Christ is here represented as conferring on his followers a right to the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven. Christ's death is indeed necessary to procure a right to the inheritance; but it is certainly a novel and startling idea to be told (as the testamentary theory implies) that it is from a *dead*, not a *living*, Christ that "they which are called" are to "receive the promise of the eternal inheritance." A testament requires that the testator be no longer alive but dead, to give to the heirs a valid claim to be put in possession of what once belonged to him, but now is his no more. Should even the testator have been deemed to be dead, but be found to be still living, or to have come alive, their claim to the inheritance lapses; "for a testament is of no force at all while the testator liveth." Now,

¹ "In the LXX. it [*diathēkē*] is universally used of a covenant. Nor in the New Testament is it ever found in any other sense, with one exception, Heb. ix. 16, 17."—Canon Lightfoot, on Gal. iii. 10.

The title "*Testament*," applied to the Jewish Scriptures especially, is a glaring anomaly, since in no tolerable sense can the old covenant be called a testament.

Christ is he that saith, "I am he that liveth, and was dead; and, behold, I am alive for evermore" (Rev. i. 18). Believers, therefore, are fallen from all hopes of their inheritance for ever, if their right to it rests on a *testament*, which "is of force" only (*ἐν νεκροῖς*) "in case of the dead" (as Heb. ix. 17 is rendered by Alford, Dr S. Davidson, &c.). How different this from the teaching of Peter, "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, according to his abundant mercy, hath begotten us again unto a lively hope, by the *resurrection* of Jesus Christ from the *dead*, to an *inheritance* incorruptible," &c. (1 Pet. i. 3, 4); and of St Paul, who characterises believers as "heirs," not of *Christ* as *dead*, but "of God" (Rom. viii. 17)—Christ himself (now raised and "exalted by the right hand of God to be a Prince and Saviour," Acts v. 30, 31), being the chief heir—"joint-heirs," therefore, "with Christ," risen and alive, who graciously gives to his disciples to share with him in the inheritance of that kingdom to which his Father "exalted him," because "he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross" (Phil. ii. 8, 9).

Both Old and New Testaments hold but one language on this point. It is to Christ when risen, as "the first-begotten of the dead," that (according to the interpretation of St Paul, Acts xiii. 33), in Psalm ii., the Lord gives him to sit "upon his holy hill of Zion," saying, "Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine *inheritance*," &c. In Psalm cx. it is not to the suffering, but to the glorified Christ, that the Lord says, "Sit thou at my right hand." In exact accordance with this, we find that Jesus himself says to his disciples in Luke xxii. 29, in words strangely quoted by Dean Alford and other commentators in confirmation of the rendering "*testament*" and "*testator*," which they so thoroughly refute, "I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me"¹—both the time of his own entering on the kingdom being immediately defined by him as *subsequent to his death*, and the apostles' enjoyment of the kingdom provided them, as being not of a kingdom bequeathed to them by a deceased Lord,

¹ Καὶ γὰρ διατίθειμαι ὑμῖν, καθὼς δίδωτό μοι ὁ πατήρ μου, βασιλείαν, which might be literally translated, "I *covenant* unto you a kingdom, even as my Father *covenanted* unto me."

but participated in with a living and glorified Saviour, "That ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom (in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit upon the throne of his glory, Matt. xix. 28), and sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel."

But we need to look no further than to the Epistle to the Hebrews itself to see how alien from the writer's thoughts was the idea of a testamentary bequest, as that by which Christ made his disciples heirs to the promised inheritance. The leading idea with which he opens the epistle is, that Christ, as Son of God, was "appointed heir of all things" (i. 2); but on this royal inheritance he entered only after an expiatory death, "When he had by himself purged our sins, he sat down on the right hand of the majesty on high" (ver. 3). The kingdom was not yet his. The cross must precede and purchase the crown. It was "for the suffering of death, that he was crowned with glory and honour" (ii. 9). With what consistency can we suppose the writer who indited these words afterwards to represent Christ as "testator," leaving to others by "testament" an inheritance of which he was not yet himself in possession!

We deem it therefore a duty to exclude from our translation of the Word of God a term which is at variance with the analogy of Scripture, and which, so far as the doctrine it implies is accepted, tends, by fixing the attention of the believer on the death of Christ disjoined from his resurrection and life as his risen and living Lord, to foster that indolence to which we are all too much inclined, of resting on the work of Christ as wholly *finished* when he *died*—as if all *has been done* the moment we believe in him, instead of all remaining *to be done*, so far as respects us—as if we needed not a *living* Saviour to carry on the work begun in us, if we are to be able to say, "I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me" (Gal. ii. 20).

In conclusion we would submit, that if usage, context, associated expressions, logical connection, and the analogy of Scripture can determine the interpretation of words, unless some flaw can be detected in the cumulative arguments adduced, we are shut up to the conclusion, that in the two verses (Heb. ix. 16, 17), the renderings, "testament" and "testator," must be abandoned, and "covenant," and

“covenanter” substituted in their place. The duty of the faithful and reverent interpreter of Scripture, we apprehend to be, first to ascertain by every available means, and by careful and dispassionate examination, the correct signification and translation of the sacred writer’s words, and to abide by this as the only trustworthy guide to lead himself or others to the discovery of their true interpretation and bearing on the argument, irrespectively of his ability himself to trace them.

Our principal object has been attained, if the proofs shall be deemed satisfactory, that the generally-received translations of both the passages discussed in this paper are erroneous and misleading, and must be altered. Whether the proposed solutions of the difficulties in either passage be correct or not is of comparative unimportance. A great step has been gained if we have come to see that it is an *ignis fatuus* that we have been pursuing hitherto, and have found the right path which alone can lead to the truth. Many difficulties in Scripture interpretation, which have as yet baffled all attempts at explanation (such, for instance, as the *Immanuel* prophecy) would, we believe, quickly yield their solution, would we but frankly and fearlessly accept at starting, without attempting to explain away, the real conditions of the problem.

With this protest against failure in the explanation now to be attempted prejudicing the conclusion already reached, let us proceed to consider in what way what is said about a “covenant” and the death of the “covenanter,” in Heb. ix. 16, 17, can accord with the argument which the author of the epistle is pursuing.

Had the necessity for death being brought in, in order to the ratification of a covenant, been alone referred to, no difficulty would have been found, since every more solemn covenant both among Jews and Gentiles was ratified by the slaying of sacrificial victims, as the well-known expressions for the conclusion of a treaty testify—*בְּרִית בְּדָם*, *ἁγια εἰσφορά*, *ferire* (*percutere, icere*) *foedus*. This is acknowledged by Bleek in his commentary on Heb. ix. 16, 17, though he adheres to the usual interpretation of these verses, “As among the ancient nations generally, so also with the Hebrews it was customary to seal the conclusion of a

covenant by the offering of a covenant-sacrifice, that is, by blood; and, accordingly, the dedication of the old covenant, as stated in ver. 18, took place 'not without blood.' " Winer's words in his *Biblisches Realwörterbuch* under *Bund* (covenant) are to the same effect. " The ratification of a covenant was already in the earliest times accompanied by a bloody sacrifice," in confirmation of which he refers to several heathen authors. He mentions the ceremony referred to in Jer. xxxiv. 18, of the sacrifices being cut in twain, and the contracting parties passing between the divided pieces. He reminds us also of the covenant God made with Abraham (Gen. xv. 4 ff.), where the animals in like manner were divided, and the Lord himself condescended to express His part in the ratification of the covenant by causing to pass between the pieces " a smoking furnace and a burning lamp," the symbols of His presence, as were the similar emblems of " cloud and fire " which accompanied the Israelites in their journeyings through the desert. And, as before remarked, the writer's evident allusion in these two verses in Hebrews to the words of Psalm l., " Gather my saints together unto me, those that have made a covenant with me over sacrifice," shews that he had this custom distinctly before his mind when he wrote the words, " For a covenant is valid over the dead."

But the difficulty that has ever been found by those who advocated the retention of the signification " covenant " in verses 16, 17, has been to shew in what sense it could be affirmed, that for the validity of a covenant there must be brought in *the death of the covenanter*.¹ The difficulty, we believe, arises from overlooking the symbolical signification of sacrifice, so familiar to the ancients, but foreign to our modes of thought, that the death of the victim offered represented the death of the offerer. Its blood shed stood for his blood, its death for his death. In its dying he died representatively. Founding on this idea, as applied to the sacrifice by which a covenant was ratified, it is now nearly twenty years since the writer of this paper proposed, in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, an explanation of this passage, which he subsequently found was similar to that given by Ebrard.

¹ Hence the inadmissible attempts to get rid of the difficulty by translating *ὁ διαθεμὶνος* by " mediating victim," " pacifier," " ratifier," &c.

This interpretation, were none better to be found, was, to say the least, far preferable to the usual interpretation, since it violates no principle of language or logic. The only assumption it requires is, that the reasoning in verses 16, 17, is used, not with reference to all covenants, but only to a covenant between God and sinful man, who must, by shedding the life-blood of his representative sacrifice, confess the merited forfeiture of his own life before the holy God could enter into terms of covenant-fellowship with him. Consequently, "where a covenant is [between God and man] there must of necessity be brought in the death of the covenanter," symbolically represented in the death of the substitutionary sacrifice.

There was (as stated in the article referred to) much in the context to justify the limitation assumed, viz., that the covenant contemplated was distinctively a covenant between *God* and *man*. Such alone had previously been spoken of. The proposition with which the whole discussion begins and ends is, the necessity for a new covenant between God and man, founded on better promises from *God*, and independent of the sins and weakness of *man*. That such a covenant alone was meant seemed to follow from the death that ratified it being said to be "for redemption of *the transgressions* under the first covenant," and from the blood shed being for the purpose of "*purging the conscience* from dead works" (ver. 14), of "sprinkling," "purging," and "remission" (vers. 19-22).

On further reflection, however, there appeared a serious objection to this explanation. Reference would thus be made to man alone of the two contracting parties, whereas the proposition in verse 15, in confirmation of which these two verses 16, 17 are introduced, leads us to expect that reference will be had to both parties. The proposition in verse 15 is, that there was need for a *mediator* of a new covenant. Now, a mediator certainly implies that there are two parties between whom he has to mediate; and a covenant equally implies two contracting and consulting parties. Consequently the death represented in verses 16, 17, as necessary for the ratification of the covenant, will naturally respect both parties. This inference is greatly strengthened by finding, in the parallel case which immediately follows (in ver. 18) of the

ratification of the first or Mosaic covenant, that the blood was sprinkled equally, both on "the book"¹ of God's covenant and on "the people," as stated in Hebrews, or as in Exodus, half on "the altar," which represented the Lord's part in the covenant, and half on "the people."

The principle therefore laid down in ver. 16, we are now inclined to believe, applies to *every* covenant, as the obvious meaning of the words would seem to imply, "Where a covenant is, there must of necessity be brought in the death of the covenanter." To see the reasoning here clearly, let us once more recal to our minds the import of sacrifice by which the ratification of a covenant was accompanied. In every act of sacrifice, as already stated, the offerer was regarded as undergoing a symbolical death. In bringing a lamb for an offering, its blood was accepted in place of his blood, its death for his death, in its dying he died. With this import of sacrifice St Paul has made us familiar in its reference to Christ as the Lamb of God slain for the sins of the world, "If one died for all, then all died [in him]" (2 Cor. v. 14). As Christ "died unto sin, likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead unto sin . . . in Christ Jesus" (Rom. vi. 10, 11)—dead to your old relation, but entered with him into a new relation, on a new life—"alive unto God." "Old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new" (2 Cor. v. 17).

Let us apply this idea to a covenant, and to the sacrifice by which it is ratified. In the sacrifice slain, offered with the mutual consent of the contracting parties, both regard themselves and their act as represented, both profess to die. To what they die is plain, from the very nature of a covenant or *agreement*. Both die, as symbolised in the death of their sacrifice, to the point on which formerly they did *not agree*, or might have a difference. Old scores are wiped out, and a new and clean (καθαρός)² score begun. They enter now on

¹ The sacred writer emphasises "book"—on the book *itself*, αὐτό, as if to draw special attention to the part taken by God as likely to be overlooked.

² It is interesting to observe the idea of *cleansing* or purification, καθαρός, ascribed even to the sacrificial ceremony of passing between the pieces of a divided victim, in a passage quoted by Winer from Plutarch, *Quæst. Rom.* c. iii., Βιωτοῖς δημοσίᾳ καθαρός ἐστὶ πυνὸς διχοτομηθέντος τῶν μερῶν διηξιθῆν. Compare καθαρότητα (Heb. ix. 13); καθαρίνι (ver. 14); καθαρίζεται (ver. 22).

an altogether new relation, and are dead to the old. The "covenant is valid [only] over the *dead*," ἐπὶ νεκροῖς; it is never of force while [either] covenanter liveth, and consents not to death.

Let us next apply this idea to a covenant between God and man. Each professes to die to that which parts between them—*sin*; man to his practice, God to His remembrance, of sin. Looking to the Lamb slain, our profession is, We reckon ourselves dead indeed unto sin; we renounce all further connection with it. God, in great condescension taking His part in the covenant (as in that with Abraham, Gen. xv.), professes to die to all remembrance of our transgressions: "Your sins and your iniquities I will remember no more" (Heb. viii. 12, and again x. 17).

In the case here contemplated by the author of the epistle, each covenanting party, God and man, is represented by one and the same sacrifice, *Christ*, who can worthily stand for both, being both God and man in one person, and thus the fitting "*mediator* of the new covenant" between both. Hence, as there is but *one* representative for both parties, the use of the singular, ὁ διαθεμίνος, "the covenanter"; since each looking to Christ, to render the covenant conclusive, must avow, "There—that death I hold as my death—in him, I, as *covenanter*, die." Christ is thus "the covenanter" *representatively* for both.¹ But it is with striking propriety that the expression is changed in the next verse to the *plural*, "a covenant is valid," ἐπὶ νεκροῖς, "over the *dead*,"² since *both* parties must consent to see themselves as *dead* in the sacrifice before them, if the covenant is to be valid, since "it never is of force while the covenanter [again *singular*, to denote one or other] liveth."

These verses, as now explained, will be found to form the central point of the whole discussion respecting the "new covenant," which begins ch. viii. 6, and ends ch. x. 18,

¹ As in the atoning-sacrifice, Christ occupies the place of *priest*, *offerer*, and *offering*, so in the covenant-sacrifice, there can be no objection to his occupying the place of both "covenanter" and *victim*.

² Except for the reason now assigned, the singular, ἐπὶ νεκρῷ, must have followed ὁ διαθεμίνος. This furnishes an additional argument against the translation, "testator," which would have required, "For a covenant is valid in the case of *his* being dead"—not "*their* being dead," ἐπὶ νεκροῖς—since a "testament" implies the death of but *one* person.

“ Wherever a covenant is, there must be a *sacrificial death* for its ratification. Consequently the *death* of their Lord, the reproach of which the Hebrew Christians dreaded so much when cast up to them by their unbelieving countrymen, was absolutely necessary if he was to be the mediator of the new covenant promised by the Lord through Jeremiah.” Still more, if we look at the *twofold* object which the new covenant, as described by the prophet, had to accomplish and secure, will it be seen that a *sacrificial* death, altering the relations of both of the covenanting parties, can alone give consistency to all parts of the argument.

Let us trace as briefly as possible the argument of these chapters. The first (Mosaic) covenant (to which the Hebrew Christians were tempted to return) was not “ faultless,” else “ should no place have been sought for the second ” (viii. 7). Its defect was that it made no provision for its own observance or permanency. The *Israelites*, on their part, transgressed it, and “ continued not in my covenant, and I disregarded them, saith the Lord,” who, on his part, consequently held himself no longer bound by the covenant. There was thus need for “ a new covenant founded on better promises ” (viii. 6), which, to be effectual, must remove forever the ground of disagreement between both parties. For this, accordingly, the new covenant provides by its twofold terms. *Man's* offence, the transgression of God's law, is done away. “ I will put my laws into their mind, and write them in their hearts ” (viii. 10, and repeated at the end, x. 16), this being brought about by God on His part, graciously putting away his wrath against their sin and forgiving their transgressions. “ *For* I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and their iniquities I will remember no more ” (viii. 12, x. 17). The death of Christ it is that effects this wondrous reconciliation and change, by satisfying, on the one hand, the demands of God's righteous law through enduring the penalty of sin, and through a life of perfect righteousness exhibited, and by the revelation, on the other hand, of God's fatherly love and mercy to His erring children in himself providing the atonement for transgression, *thereby* “ putting his laws into their mind, and writing them in their hearts.” The exceeding preciousness and efficacy of this sacrifice consist in its being a living, voluntary self-sacrifice.

No "blood of bulls or goats" shed by others can avail aught save "to the purifying of the flesh." Mere outward "sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not." The true offering which God will accept is, "Lo, I am come to do thy will, O God" (x. 9). It is by this will of God that "we are sanctified" (ver. 10)—by this will, as he has himself exhibited it to us in the free surrender he made of his own Son for our salvation—by this will, as Christ has fulfilled it for us in that entire voluntary self-surrender which, as man, he made of himself to do his Father's will, thereby inspiring and enabling all who believe on him to enter into the same spirit of self-surrender and self-sacrifice.

In this sacrifice—in this death of Christ—God and man meet together, and enter into a new covenant never to be broken. Be not ashamed, then, is the exhortation implied to the Hebrews, of the death of Christ, which is your glory. Such a death was necessary "for the redemption of your transgressions under the first covenant." Such a death was necessary, if Christ was to be "the mediator of a new covenant," which would entitle you to "receive the promise of the eternal inheritance." For every covenant, as you are aware, must be ratified by death—a *sacrificial* death, symbolising the death of each of the covenanting parties to their old relation, who thus enter on one altogether new. "Where a covenant is, there must of necessity be brought in the death of the covenanter." This covenanter, as fitting representative for both, is our *Divine* mediator, the *man* Christ Jesus, who seals the covenant for both parties by his death—representing the death of God to all remembrance of our sins, and anger against us as sinners—representing our death to sin, and all connection with it. In his death both parties profess themselves to be *dead*. "For a covenant is valid over the *dead*" alone, "whereas it is never of force while the covenanter liveth."

JOHN FORBES.

ART. V.—*The Ecclesiastical History of Ireland.*

The Ecclesiastical History of Ireland from the Earliest Period to the Present Time. By W. D. KILLEN, President of the Assembly's College, Belfast, and Professor of Ecclesiastical History. London : Macmillan & Co. 1875.

“**H**OW can we ever forget the isle of Ireland from which the splendour of so great a light and the sun of faith has risen on us?” is a question which may still be put by German and British Protestants, as it was by the monk of Reichenau ten centuries ago. Highly favoured by nature, Ireland was highly favoured by grace, and was honoured to know the truth as it is in Jesus, to guard and to spread the faith once delivered to the saints when other lands were already letting it slip or holding it in unrighteousness, or were yet in darkness and the shadow of death. Since then, however, its high mission has been abandoned and its true glory ignored. The story of its pristine independence and purity, and of its noble achievements in the cause of Christ, like some old biblical manuscript written over with worthless monkish literature, has been covered by the fables of a later and credulous age. And it is hardly less difficult, nay we should rather say, it is more difficult to sift the true history from the mass of later traditions with which it has been mixed up than it would be to penetrate beneath the more modern writing, and to revive the obscured characters of the ancient manuscript. A mass of traditionary rubbish has now indeed been removed; but it may be doubted if we have yet succeeded in getting back to the simple unvarnished story of Ireland's earliest missionaries and confessors. Still so much has been done by Irish antiquaries and learned Germans to set things in clearer light that it was desirable the results of their researches should be presented in connected form, and we feel grateful to Dr Killen that he has given us in these volumes so interesting and generally so very fair and accurate a summary of them, and has brought his great learning to bear on a subject now attracting so wide attention. Dr Reid, the former historian of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, summed up in a few brief sentences all he ventured to say of the early church of the country, and in twenty pages all he had to

say of the church before the Reformation. Bishop Mant, the historian of the Reformed Episcopal Church, was even more curt as to the former period, and only a little less so as to the latter, while he claimed throughout that the church to which he belonged was the true representative of the early church of Ireland which for several centuries had been independent of the Papal See, and for some centuries after had placed itself in subjection to it. But the means of separating between the false and the true, between fable and fact, have now, as we have just said, been made so far accessible, and we rejoice that Dr Killen has felt himself amply warranted to "begin at the beginning" of the church history of Ireland, and to shew in detail that the ancient church was more pure and simple than was long maintained, and that the assumption of Dr Reid with respect to its constitution had far more to support it than had the assertion of Bishop Mant.

Whence the light of the gospel first dawned on this benighted land cannot yet be quite definitely fixed, though it seems probable that the first faint rays came from Britain or from Gaul. Bishop Greith,¹ coinciding with the native antiquaries in appropriating to "the island of saints" all that is said of Scotia or Scoti in early times, seems disposed to place to its credit, if it is to be accepted at all, the legend of him whom we deluded Scots have been wont to regard as our own King Donald who, in the beginning of the third century, is said to have been won over to the faith, and to have sought teachers from the Bishop of Rome. Dr Killen informs us that, "shortly after the middle of the same century, Cormac, the chief monarch of the kingdom, provoked the wrath of the Druids, because he turned from them 'to the adoration of God,' a statement which apparently implies that he had renounced the rites of paganism, and had, at least to some extent, adopted a purer theology, and it is scarcely probable that his testimony in opposition to current errors was wholly uninfluential." Nor is positive evidence wanting that soon after this the gospel had already gained some adherents among the Irish. "Celestius, a prime mover in one of the great controversies of the church, and so well known as a companion of Pelagius, was a monk and an

¹ *Geschichte der Altirischen Kirche und ihrer Verbindung mit Rom, Gallien und Alemanien*, von Carl Johann Greith, Bischof von St Gallen, Freiburg. 1867.

Irishman, and as it is reported that when abroad he wrote letters to his parents in Ireland," it seems a legitimate conclusion that there were those in the land of his birth who were competent to read and disposed to take an interest in them.

But we seem first to reach firm historic ground, when under the year 431—the year of the famous Council of Ephesus—we find Prosper of Aquitaine recording in his *Chronicon*, "*Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatur a Papa Cælestino Palladius et primus episcopus mittitur.*" Perhaps Dr Killen is justified in translating this, "Palladius, being ordained by Pope Celestine, is sent to the *Irish* believing in Christ as their first bishop." Yet a Scotchman, even while admitting that Ireland was the earlier home of the Scotie race, and that the mission of Palladius was principally to those in that earlier settlement, may be permitted to demur to this change and limitation of the original term. It is barely possible to suppose the Scoti had not by that time begun to settle on the western islands and headlands of Alban. They certainly had had temporary settlements before that time in some parts of Wales. It is not unlikely it was a remnant of those settled there who were brought first to the knowledge of the truth, and not impossible that it was by having been brought into contact with them on his mission,¹ along with Germanus and Lupus, to Britain, that Palladius was led to take an interest in the conversion of their brethren. But according to the Irish legends he met with little success, and soon left the island, and died shortly after in the land of the Picts, whither he had been driven when returning by sea to Rome. The Scottish legends are that he lived in the land of the Picts for many years, and was the means of bringing many of that people to the Christian faith. His leaving Ireland, according to tradition, opened the way for the mission of that noble man who may truly claim to have been the Apostle of the Irish, and whom Scottish antiquaries have been wont to claim, and Irish hagiologists to concede, to have been a native of North Britain. The following, however, is Dr Killen's account of this remarkable man and successful missionary:—

"According to the testimony of Prosper himself, there was a church in Ireland prior to the appointment of Palladius, for the Roman missionary

¹ Ussher rejects this opinion of Baronius, but Greith returns to it at least in part. Dr Todd grants there were inferior ministers with Germanus.

was sent to the Hibernians 'believing in Christ.' It would seem that the progress of the gospel in the country had created quite a sensation in the West of Europe ; and in the best and oldest Irish manuscript relating to the ecclesiastical history of the island at present in existence it is recorded that '*Palladius* was sent by Pope Celestine with a gospel for *Patrick* to preach it to the Irish.' This memorial reveals a state of things quite opposed to later traditions. It suggests that the representative of the Pope was seeking to enter into another man's labours, and to reap the fruits of a field which a more skilful workman had already cultivated. Christianity had ere this taken root in the island, and Celestine sent *Palladius* to found a hierarchy devoted to the Papal interest. The stranger sought to conciliate the real Irish missionary by the present of a copy of the gospels, a gift in those days of no little value. But the attempt proved a signal failure ; and *Palladius*, after a short residence in Ireland, was obliged to take his departure. The testimony of *Patrick* himself throws much light on this obscure passage of Irish history. There is still extant a piece of autobiography, under the title of his *Confession*, which bears all the marks of an authentic document, and which is accepted as genuine by critics of all denominations. It was obviously written by the Apostle of Ireland shortly before his death. We learn from it¹ that he was born in Aremoric Gaul—perhaps at Boulogne-sur-Mer—and that clerical celibacy was not then enforced in the place of his nativity, as his own immediate ancestors for two generations were churchmen. He was son of the deacon Calpornius, and grandson of the presbyter Potitus. At the age of sixteen he was carried captive into Ireland, where he remained six years in bondage employed as a herd-boy. He had been a thoughtless youth ; but in the day of adversity the lessons of divine truth began to make a saving impression on his heart, and he became a changed character. 'I cannot,' says he, 'and indeed I ought not to be silent respecting the many blessings and the large measure of grace which the Lord vouchsafed to bestow on me in the land of my captivity. . . . I used to remain ever in the woods and on the mountains, and used to rise to prayer before daylight in the midst of snow and ice and rain, and I felt no injury from it, nor was there any sloth² in me [because the spirit was then burning within me].' He at length contrived to effect his escape, and returned to his native country ; but the population of that part of Gaul remained in a

¹ The *Confession* does not state in express terms where *Patrick* was born. It speaks of his *parentes* as being in *Britannia*, and of his being carried into captivity from Bonavem or Banavem Tabernæ. This place Dr Lanigan has ingeniously identified with Bononia or Boulogne in Brittany. Even if this is correct, it does not, as Dr Todd has shewn, determine the place of his birth. Tradition fixes this at Nemphtur or Arcluaith, which has been commonly identified with the old British fort at Dumbarton on the Clyde. Mr Skene is disposed to fix the Alcluaith at which Gildas was born in the vale of Clwyd, in Wales. We shall await with interest what he has to say of *Patrick's* birthplace in his promised volume on the Celtic Church.

² The original is "pigritia," which Dr Todd translates nearly as Dr Killen has done, but which Ebrard renders by "Ermüdung," or weariness.

very insecure and unsettled condition, and he was once more enslaved. His second captivity, however, was of brief duration. Some time afterwards he had a remarkable dream, of which till death he retained a vivid recollection, and which greatly influenced all his subsequent career. 'I saw,' said he, 'in a vision of the night, a man, whose name was Victoricius, coming as if from Ireland, with innumerable letters, one of which he handed to me, and I read the beginning of the letter, which ran thus: 'The voice of the people of Ireland'; and while I was reading aloud the beginning of the letter, I thought at that very moment I heard the voice of those who were near the wood of Foclud, which is by the Western Sea, and they cried out thus—"We entreat thee, holy youth, to come and walk still amongst us." And I was very much pricked to the heart, and could read no more, and so I awoke.' He regarded this dream as an intimation from heaven that he must become a missionary to Ireland; and having been ordained a bishop, he set out for the country where he was to spend the rest of his days. His memory has been dishonoured by writers of the Middle Ages, who have ascribed to him a multitude of monkish miracles, and so ridiculous are the achievements imputed to him, that some respectable authorities have been tempted to question his existence; but there can be no reasonable doubt that he preached the gospel in Hibernia in the fifth century, that he was a most zealous and efficient evangelist, and that he is eminently entitled to the honourable designation of *The Apostle of Ireland*. He made no pretensions to the working of miracles, and he was obliged to prosecute his labours in the midst of many discouragements. He encountered opposition from some of the petty princes, as well as from the Druids or Magi, and he was more than once thrown into prison [he expressed his readiness even to lay down his life for the name of Christ]. But his perseverance was indomitable, and his success extraordinary. 'I am greatly,' says he, 'a debtor to God, who has bestowed his grace so largely on me, that multitudes should be born again to God through me; and that of these clergy should be everywhere ordained for a people lately coming to the faith.' In this *Confession* Patrick altogether ignores any mission from Celestine. He was firmly persuaded that he was called of God to the ministry in Ireland. He never mentions either Rome or the Pope, or hints that he was in any way connected with the ecclesiastical capital of Italy. He recognises no other authority but that of the Word of God, and though he occasionally quotes apocryphal books, he does so under the mistaken idea that they formed part of the canonical Scriptures. He is not free from a tinge of superstition, and he evidently shared the admiration of monasticism current in his times; and yet his *Confession* displays an amount of earnest and enlightened piety which contrasts most favourably with the starched ritualism of some of his contemporaries. He was a zealous Trinitarian, as well as a believer in the sovereignty of grace, in justification by faith, and in regeneration by the Spirit. 'Jesus Christ,' says he, 'always existed . . . begotten in an unspeakable manner before all beginning. . . . In him we believe. We await his coming, who ere long will judge the quick and the dead. . . . He has poured out on us abundantly the gift of his holy Spirit, even the earnest of immor-

talities. . . . We confess and adore one God in the Trinity of the sacred name.' " [His hymn is not less remarkable than his Confession.]

Such, according to the most trustworthy accounts, was the man who was honoured of God to spread among the barbarous Irish the knowledge of his name, a humble, and it would seem but imperfectly educated, yet a self-denying, holy man, conscious of his unworthiness and weakness in the sight of God, content to be indebted to His Spirit and grace for all he had and all he was, labouring to work out his own salvation with fear and trembling, and yet maintaining filial confidence towards God in Christ, and trusting that he who had begun a good work in him would perform it unto the day of Jesus Christ, and enable him to hold the beginning of his confidence steadfast unto the end. It may be, as O'Donovan and King¹ say, that he engrafted Christianity with so much skill on the pagan superstitions that he won the people over to the Christian religion before they understood the exact difference between the two systems of beliefs ; and that much of this half-pagan half-Christian religion is to be found, not only in the Irish stories of the Middle Ages, but in the superstitions of the peasantry in the present day. But if this was all he was able to accomplish for the mass of his converts who were left subject to their half-civilised chieftains, by his monasteries or missionary institutes, founded on territories in a good measure freed from secular control, and gradually gathering round them all that was best and most promising, he made provision for a higher and more complete Christianity among such, and for no small amount of learning and culture, so that Ireland became for ages after a centre of light and a source of blessing to many nations.

St Patrick is said to have founded in Ireland three hundred and sixty-five churches, and to have consecrated the same number of bishops. These dignitaries, however, were no doubt, as Dr Killen says, of a very humble grade, "they were such village or parochial bishops as were to be found in Brittany ; in fact, simply ordained preachers." Patrick appears to have proceeded on the principle "that wherever a congregation could be collected, a bishop should be ordained," and that each bishop should have the use of but one church ; and this

¹ King's *Memoir, Introductory to the Early History of the Primacy of Armagh*, p. 1.

arrangement seems to have been kept up in Ireland for some centuries. "Aengus the Culdee, writing in the ninth century, was able to enumerate no less than one hundred and forty-one places in the island, in each of which there were or had been seven contemporary bishops." The grosser forms of will-worship, which have since come to be so prevalent in Ireland, were unknown there in the days of its great apostle. Patrick was opposed to idolatry in every shape; and in his time there were no pictures nor images in the churches, no invocation of the virgin nor prayers to saints or angels, nor worship in an unknown tongue. The doctrine of purgatory was not yet inculcated. He says of his young converts carried into captivity and put to death among the heathen, "*De seculo recessistis ad paradisum . . . migrare coepistis ubi nox non erit, neque luctus, neque mors erit amplius.*" Still he was not quite free from several of the delusions which had already begun to be introduced, and especially from the prevailing mania for a life of celibacy.

"Monasteries in the time of Patrick were still," Dr Killen informs us, "in the vigour of their youth; they had many of the attractions of novelty; they were strongly recommended by the most distinguished Christian pastors; and they had special charms for the enthusiastic and morose, as well as for the lovers of solitude. They were introduced into France by the famous Martin, who was made bishop of Tours about the time that Patrick was born; and the future missionary in the days of his boyhood had no doubt heard them extolled in terms of the highest eulogy."

Ebrard,¹ however, has made it probable that there were very marked differences between the Patrician and Columban monasteries and those of the South of Europe. The former, he holds, with Dr M'Lauchlan, were rather mission stations or missionary institutes (like those of the Moravians or those projected by the late revered Spittler of Basle) than monasteries in the Roman or Benedictine sense, and the only possible way of forming pure Christian communities among tribes semi-barbarous, and only partially free. First, he says, a wide space was marked out to be surrounded with a wall or fence; then a church was built with a round bell-tower, which might also serve as a place of refuge in time of need; next, separate huts

¹ *Die Iroschottische Missionskirche des 6, 7, und 8 Jahrhunderts und ihre Verbreitung und Bedeutung auf dem Festland*, von Dr J. H. Ebrard. Gütersloh. 1873. Abschnitt 3, § 24; Abs. 2, § 19.

were erected for each of the twelve brethren and the abbot or præpositus, and, as occasion required, for each company of twelve scholars with their leader, and finally for the Christian community which, wishing simply to lead a freer, purer life than it could do under the secular chieftains, gradually gathered round the more strictly ecclesiastical nucleus. He rejects as a later forgery that "*Regula Cœnobialis*," from which conclusions unfavourable to these institutions have often been drawn; and maintains that even the so-called monks were not bound by life-long vows; that they were the counselors of the abbot, without whose sanction no business of importance was to be transacted; that marriage was not prohibited to them any more than to the so-called secular clergy; and that they were not fettered by such minute regulations as the southern monks, but were kept together chiefly by earnest devotion to common objects—the study of the Word of God, and the desire to spread the knowledge of it, or to live according to it. We cannot wonder that, while their original spirit continued to animate them, they should have been to a large extent successful, and should have been honoured to do noble service in the cause of Christ. Among the missionaries reared under their influence, and content to spend and be spent in spreading among barbarous tribes the knowledge of the Saviour's name, no one will ever occupy a warmer place in the regards of Scotsmen than he who did so much for the Christianisation of their native land. The following is Dr Killen's account of this celebrated missionary:—

"By far the most illustrious of the Irish churchmen of the sixth century was an individual of the same name as this disciple of Comghall. Both were called Columba, or dove; but to distinguish them posterity have agreed to speak of the one as *Columbanus*, and of the other as *Columbkille*. The latter, who was considerably older than his namesake, was born at Gartán, in the county of Donegal, in A.D. 521. As he grew up he exhibited various qualities, as well of body as of mind, fitted to excite the admiration of his countrymen. He was of lofty stature; he had a clear and commanding voice, and a noble bearing. He could express himself with ease and gracefulness; he had a quick perception and a sound judgment; he was an ardent student, and he had great powers of application. His temper was hot, and he sometimes gave way to gusts of passion; but withal he was just and generous, and his indignation was never so much excited as by the perversity of the wicked. When only twenty-five years of age Columbkille is said to have built a church at Derry, a place upwards of eleven hundred years afterwards

famous for its great siege ; and subsequently he is reported to have founded at Durrow, in King's County, the most important of his monastic establishments. Some very grave incidents of his life are involved in much obscurity. He delighted in the acquisition of books ; he spent no small portion of his time in transcribing manuscripts, and on one occasion he copied with great care a psalter or gospel lent him by Finnian of Moville. Columbkille conceived that the transcript was his own property, more especially as he had in no way injured the original ; but Finnian disputed the claim, and the matter was deemed of so much consequence that it was at length referred to the decision of Diarmaid King of Ireland. The arbiter delivered the very homely award that, 'as the calf must go with the cow, so the copy must belong to the book. The transcriber was exceedingly dissatisfied with this decision ; and another act of the sovereign created still greater exasperation. In a quarrel which occurred at a royal banquet one of the guests was slain, and though the offending chieftain fled for protection to Columbkille, he was put to death by command of Diarmaid. . . . The spirit of the great churchman was roused by these proceedings, and . . . he stirred up his kinsmen, the princes of Hy Niall, or O'Neill, to proclaim war against Diarmaid. In A.D. 561, a great battle was fought near Sligo, in which the men of Ulster were victorious, and their success was attributed to the prayers of Columbkille. . . . But the conduct of Columbkille seems to have been by no means satisfactory to the rulers of the church, for they held a Synod at Teltown, in Meath, at which he was excommunicated. His biographer, Adamnan, does not state precisely the grounds of this excommunication. . . . Columbkille, as we have seen, had naturally a fiery temper, and it may be that he was blamed as the fomentér of a civil war ; but it is not improbable that there were other articles in his indictment. Though only a presbyter he had ventured, not only to contend with a bishop, and to coerce him into submission, but to maintain that the king himself should not kill a homicide who had fled to a churchman for protection. As he was already at the head of several Irish monasteries, he was determined to magnify his position ; and as a presbyter-abbot he challenged peculiar deference. Shortly after this period he passed over, with twelve companions, to Hy, or Iona, a little island on the western coast of Scotland, where he established an institute which long enjoyed the highest celebrity. He is known to posterity as *the Apostle of the Northern Picts*, and to him a great part of the country, formerly designated Caledonia, was indebted for the first rays of Christianity."

Dr Killen next quotes the well-known statement of Bede as to this "famous presbyter and abbot," and as to the Island of Iona having "for its ruler an abbot who is a presbyter, to whose jurisdiction all the province and even the bishops, according to an unusual arrangement, are subject after the example of their first teacher, who was not a bishop but a presbyter and a monk." And then he proceeds :—

“Some writers have endeavoured to explain away the language of Bede ; but it is so precise and so pointed that it is impossible by any fair attempt to weaken its testimony. Had Bede himself been better acquainted with the history of monastic institutions in the East and West he would not have been so much astonished at the position occupied by Columbkille and his successors. Before the days of the venerable Englishman there were monasteries on the Continent where the presbyter-abbot had the power of ordination. The same power was previously exercised by the presbyter-abbots in the monasteries of Egypt. As early as A.D. 449 a presbyter-abbot sat in one of the great councils of the church and exercised much influence over its deliberations. . . . Columbkille was a man of learning ; he knew that as a presbyter he was entitled to ordain, and he was not a person to shrink from the assertion of his privileges. If he did not exercise his right of ordination before he was excommunicated by the Irish Synod, he unquestionably did so afterwards. As his monastery of Iona was a college where youths were educated for the ministry, he and his seniors felt themselves fully justified in clothing their disciples with the pastoral office, and in sending them abroad as missionaries. Hence it was that so many bishops were subject to his jurisdiction. His brilliant success as the Apostle of the Northern Picts silenced opposition ; and when he visited Ireland afterwards he was received with honour. In A.D. 574 he performed a ceremony which the churches of Rome and England have always reserved for their highest functionaries. He ordained Aidan King of the Scottish Dalriada. The minister who ventured to ordain¹ a king would not surely have scrupled to ordain a deacon or a bishop.”

Indeed in Ireland itself, as Mr King has proved,² the chief ecclesiastical authority at this time was possessed by the co-arbs, the representatives or successors of certain individuals who had been so distinguished for their talents and piety and labours in promoting the Christian faith that they came to be regarded in the light of *Fathers of the Irish Church*. To them, *although they were generally not bishops*, appears to have belonged “the settlement of any controversies which might arise in connection with matters of religious opinion or practice in the island.” This fact now incontrovertibly established is, it appears to us, the contribution of greatest value to the Presbyterian argument furnished by the constitution of the Columban Church. Whether further research shall confirm the conclusions of Drs Killen and M’Lauchlan, or shall clearly shew (what the facts yet alleged by Dr Reeves are not sufficient to shew) that there were from the first in *Scotland* as there were in Ireland persons in the monasteries bearing

¹ “Impouens manum super caput ejus ordinans benedixit.”

² *Memoir, Introductory to the Early History of the Primacy of Armagh*, p. 2.

the name of bishops though subordinate to the abbots ; whether it shall confirm the opinion of Dr Ebrard that the Culdee bishops were, like the abbots and the lectors, simply presbyters appointed to a special work, or that of the learned Irish antiquary who contends that they had some special ordination and distinctive function ; the fact remains uncontroverted and incontrovertible that for centuries they were in Ireland and in the Irish missions on the Continent and in Scotland *subordinate* to the presbyter-abbots. This fact, in harmony with many others recently brought into clearer light, is capable of explanation on the hypothesis that bishop and presbyter were originally but different names for one office, and that the distinction between them and the superiority of the former over the latter were developed after the days of the apostles "by little and little," and in some countries far more slowly than has been long supposed. But on the hypothesis that the bishop, under that name or any other, was originally distinct from the presbyter and superior to him, the facts now admitted as to the constitution of the Old Irish and Scottish Churches are simply inexplicable. Scottish Presbyterians, it seems to us, can afford to await with calmness the issue of any further researches into the history and constitution of the Columban Church.

It is with great regret we now pass over the story of Columbanus and the other noble Iro-Scottish missionaries who in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries laboured so earnestly and successfully to revive Trinitarianism in France, and to spread the knowledge of the Saviour's name among the barbarous tribes settled in Eastern France, Western Germany, Switzerland, and Lombardy. This together with the history of the final and forcible overthrow of these missions by Popish emissaries has been carefully investigated, and lovingly and fully narrated by Dr Ebrard in the volume to which we have already referred ; and British Presbyterians certainly owe him a debt of gratitude for having supplied their lack of service, and, from sources previously unknown or forgotten, cast so much fresh light on the opinions, characters, and labours of these early evangelists.

Whatever may have been the case abroad, the old Irish Church at home did not altogether lose its independence or come under the full control of Rome till after its life-force was spent, and corruption had already fairly set in. After the

introduction of the Romish tonsure and paschal cycle,¹ other Roman customs gradually followed. First probably came pilgrimages to Rome to the tombs of the apostles and martyrs; then the introduction and veneration of relics; next, the invocation of saints, extreme unction, prayers for the dead; and finally the worship of images and the doctrines of purgatory and transubstantiation. And when at last the old framework came to be broken up, it was found to be already honeycombed with secularity, superstition, and error. By the interminable wars of the native tribes and the repeated invasions of the Northmen the seminaries of learning were plundered or destroyed, the love of learning and the arts of civilisation were left to decay, and much of the light and life of scriptural Christianity was extinguished. Dr Killen tells us:—

“At this period the visitations of the Abbot of Armagh seem to have completely lost their spiritual character. Instead of undertaking to discourage ungodliness, or disseminate a knowledge of the gospel, this high functionary appears to have been chiefly interested in the collection of his dues. When returning from one of his official tours he had a far greater resemblance to a freebooter on his way home from a very successful raid, than to a representative of the apostles who had been confirming the churches. It is a proof of the spiritual blindness of the times that the Irish annalists describe with admiration the multitudes of cattle which the co-arb of Patrick drove along with him as he moved back to Armagh. They tell, for example, how the Abbot Maelisa, in A.D. 1068, made a visitation of Munster, and ‘obtained a full visitation-tribute both in screaballs² and offerings.’ The quality of the offerings is stated more specifically in the account given of the first progress of Celsus after he entered on the business of his office. We are informed that in Ulster he obtained, in A.D. 1106, ‘a cow from every six persons, and a heifer in calf from every three persons, besides many other offerings,’ and that in Munster he ‘obtained seven cows and seven sheep and half-an-ounce of silver from every cantred,³ besides many jewels.’ No wonder that King Murtoigh hailed even the distant prospect of deliverance from the payment of such a tribute to an ecclesiastic living in another kingdom.”

The co-arbship or abbatial dignity of Armagh and Derry was claimed by particular families as their exclusive inheritance. Several of the co-arbs, like the later Culdees in Scotland, were mere laymen who performed their ecclesiastical duties by deputy, and occupied themselves mainly with the management of the temporalities, and “the disputes as to the succession often led to battery and bloodshed.” “A most pernicious custom,” St Bernard of Clairvaux tells us, in his life of Malachy

¹ In South Ireland in 630; in North Ireland in 697; in Iona in 716.

² A screaball was a silver coin weighing twenty-four grains. Silver then was vastly more valuable than it is now.

³ A cantred contained thirty townlands, every townland pasture for 300 cows.

O'Morghair, "had been established by the diabolical ambition of some men in power, that a holy see was held by hereditary succession. Nor did they permit any to obtain the episcopate save those who were of their own tribe and family. Nor had this execrable succession made small progress, for already fifteen generations, if they may be so called, had passed over in this wickedness. And so far had this wicked and adulterous generation confirmed to themselves this unholy privilege, or I should rather call it, this iniquity deserving of the most condign punishment, that though, as it sometimes happened, clergymen of their family failed, bishops of it never failed. In fine, eight married men, and without ordination, though men of learning, preceded Celsus. Thence proceeded all that dissolution of ecclesiastical discipline throughout the whole of Ireland."

It was under this Celsus or Kellach and his successor, Malachy or Maelmaedhog O'Morghair, that the changes which finally united the Irish to the Roman Church took place. Under A.D. 1105 we find in the *Annals of the Four Masters* the following entry: "Kellach, son of Hugh, son of Maelisa, was appointed to the co-arbship of Patrick by election of the men of Ireland, and entered into orders on the day of Adamnan's feast;" and under A.D. 1106, after the account of his visitation in Ulster and Munster, which we have already given, we find the following: "And Kellach *assumed* on that occasion the degree of ardepscop at the request of the men of Ere." Instead of this last, we have in the *Annals of Ulster*, "Ceallach became archbishop by taking orders at the request of Ireland in general," the natural conclusion from which would seem to be that in addition to the orders, whether of a presbyter or a bishop, which he had taken in the north in 1105, he was prevailed on, in return for the tribute he received at the hands of the men of Munster, to take bishop's orders in 1106 from the hands of Gillebert, the Bishop of Limerick, who had himself received them at the hands of Ralph, the Norman primate of Canterbury, and had been appointed the first Papal legate in Ireland. Thus the indignity offered centuries before to the Columban bishops in England seem now to have been repeated in Ireland, and more meekly submitted to. No doubt Celsus felt, as Dr Killen tells us, that "he could not vindicate the abuses connected with the administration of the abbatial office;" but we think it may be fairly questioned whether it was the good sense of a noble nature, or worldly shrewdness and desire to secure the peaceable enjoyment of "his vested rights," which led him to deem it would be vain for him to

resist the changes contemplated by the southern king and the more influential of his clergy, for closer union with the Church of Rome, and greater conformity to its ritual and usages. The successor of St Patrick having been thus secured, and the old co-arbship, which might be held by a presbyter, merged in a formal archbishopric, the work of the southern schemers went on apace. In 1110, a synod was assembled at Rathbreasail, which King identifies with Mountrath, Clonenagh, Queen's County, which was presided over by the legate of the apostolic see, and attended by fifty or fifty-eight bishops, three hundred and seventeen priests, and vast numbers of the monastic orders, as well as by Murtoth, the King of South Ireland, and many of his nobility. Kellach was present, but apparently no other representative of the northern part of the island; and according to Dr Killen, the southern bishops also were but imperfectly represented. The following is his account of this important synod, which sought to remodel the Irish Church:—

“Various evidences suggest that the propositions to be submitted to the meeting were not regarded with favour by many of the clergy. Men who celebrated the worship of the church in a way to which they had been accustomed from their infancy could scarcely be expected to relish an overture for the adoption of the Romish ritual. Neither was it to be anticipated that the old parochial bishops, who had so long enjoyed the independence of Presbyterian parity, would be ready to submit to the dictation of a diocesan. Those who hoped to benefit by the change would of course be willing to give it their support, and others might be afraid to incur the royal displeasure by their opposition; but notwithstanding the influence of the king, only a minority of the bishops put in an appearance. Those who were present did not probably form more than one-third of the number who might have been found in Leath Mogha.¹ Many of these rural dignitaries lived in parts of the country under the government of dynasts over whom Murtoth had little control, and who had consequently nothing to apprehend from the neglect of his summons. The most decisive proof of the want of cordiality with which they looked on the proceedings is supplied by the fact that the resolutions approved by the synod were only very partially carried into execution.”

This no doubt is true, as also that another synod had to be assembled forty years later, partly to enforce and partly to modify the arrangements now made. Still the sanction of such a synod was no small gain to the Romanising party, both as providing them with a definite object to aim at, and supplying them with a semblance of church authority which

¹ South Ireland.

might be used as a means of influencing or silencing their opponents. And though some of the arrangements contemplated may have been delayed for a time, and some may have been altogether abandoned, enough was accomplished to make the synod memorable in the annals of Ireland. However unsuccessful the synod of Rathbreasail may have been in regard to the precise manner and form in which its objects were designed to have been carried out, we have the high authority of Mr King, for saying that "it was certainly most successful as a first step towards the introduction of a regular diocesan episcopacy into the country, a consummation which followed rapidly as the result of the conclusions arrived at by its members." What was worse even than subjection of the pastors to a diocesan authority which they soon found to be dictatorial and oppressive, "they were," as Dr Killen himself tells us, "placed under the dominion of the Pope, who quickly taught them to know the bitterness of an iron despotism." From under this there were to be for long ages *nulla vestigia retrorsum*.

The changes initiated under Kellach were carried forward and almost completed under his successor, Malachy or Maelmaedhog O'Morghair, whose biography has been written by his friend St Bernard. He was the son of a clergyman¹ at Armagh, who held the office of Fearleighinn, i.e. lector or superintendent of the studies of the monastic school, among which theology, or the elements of the Christian religion, and especially a knowledge of the Word of God held a first place. From the barbarous climate that gave him birth, his biographer says, "he derived no part of his character, no more than the fishes of the sea from their native brine." He was early bereft of his father, but a mother "of mind even more generous than her blood" watched over him with tenderest care, and "made known to her little one the ways of life." He prosecuted his studies, first under the teachers of the monastic schools, and then under Ivar O'Hegan, a famous ascetic, who lived in a cell near Armagh. From him probably, "he first learned those lessons of attachment to the Church of Rome which exercised so strong an influence on his own after-life, and on the destinies of the Irish Church." He early

¹ St Bernard seems to ignore this fact. Bishop Greith, we regret to say, does the same as to St Patrick's father.

attracted the favourable notice of Kellach, who promoted him, first to the office of deacon, and then to that of priest, and shortly after made him his own vicar "to sow the holy seed among a people far from holy, and to give to a race of ignorant livers the law of life and instruction." According to his biographer he discharged the duties of his office with very great diligence and success, establishing or re-establishing the practice of confession, the sacrament of confirmation, and various usages of the Church of Rome. But Malachy himself, it appears, before long became so sensible of his own deficiencies that "he withdrew for several years from the discharge of ministerial duty, and meanwhile sought further instruction from Malchus, the aged Bishop of Lismore." He was by nation an Irishman, but trained as a Benedictine monk in England, and consecrated by Anselm as Bishop of the Colony of Northmen at Waterford. "He was a great stickler for Romanism, and well acquainted with the arguments by which its polity and worship could be most plausibly defended;" and he seems to have been the chosen instructor of many of the younger ecclesiastics who had a hankering after the novelties of England and Rome. Malachy was at length recalled from the South, and was first entrusted with the charge of the monastery of Bangor, and then with that of the diocese of Down and Connor, and in both charges he rendered signal services to the Romish party. The history of his subsequent career is thus graphically narrated by Dr Killen :—

"In A.D. 1129, when Celsus, Archbishop of Armagh, was on a visit to Munster, he took ill and died. When he saw that he was not likely to survive, he made a species of will, apparently at the instigation of the leaders of the Romish party in the South, in which he nominated Malachy as his successor. . . . The dying primate had evidently no right to dictate this arrangement. No law, human or divine, had given him such authority. But as it was known that the family which had so long enjoyed the co-arbship would assert its claims, and as Malachy had an extraordinary reputation for sanctity, his friends reckoned that he might be able to make a successful stand against any rival candidate. It soon appeared that the concocters of this scheme had entirely miscalculated. No sooner was the demise of Celsus known in the North than an individual named Murtoigh entered Armagh, and successfully asserted his title to the vacant dignity. . . . Bernard tells us that Celsus on his death-bed desired his staff or crozier, the symbol of his office, to be transmitted to Malachy as soon as he expired. This relic, known as the Staff of Jesus,¹ as has been

¹ Given, according to legend, by Jesus to a certain youth or solitary person

already mentioned, was regarded with wonderful reverence all over Ireland. The individual who had it in his keeping was believed to be the true successor of the Apostle of Ireland. It seems on this occasion to have been duly conveyed to the Bishop of Connor; but it was not long permitted to remain in his custody. Connor O'Lochlainn, King of Leath Cuinn,¹ indignant as it would appear at the attempt to dispose in this way of the co-arbship, hastened with an army into Dalaradia, seized the crozier, and drove Malachy and one hundred and thirty of his monks out of the country. The bishop in his distress retired with his companions to Munster, where he was very kindly received by his old friend, King Cormac MacCarthy. When he had remained about three years in the South, the contrivers of the scheme for destroying the prescriptive claim to the co-arbship became impatient, and insisted that he must at all hazards assert his title. . . . He accordingly returned to the North, and attempted as far as circumstances permitted to perform the duties of a metropolitan; but he did not dare to approach Armagh, for he well knew that Murtoth, who had possession of the Staff of Jesus, and who was in consequence recognised as co-arb, would have forcibly opposed his entrance. On the death of this rival in A.D. 1134, Niell, or Nigellus,² a brother of Celsus the former primate, immediately claimed the office, and as he held the Staff of Jesus, contrived for a time successfully to assert his title. But in the end he was obliged to yield, and Malachy was seated in Armagh at the expense of a civil war. Bernard himself admits that Malachy was compelled to resort to violence before Niell could be put down. 'He did,' says he, 'so closely hedge him about in all his paths, through the grace given him of God, that he was *forced to submit* to give up the insignia, and afterwards keep quiet in all subjection.' The abbot here reports incorrectly the termination of the controversy, as it appears that the bishop at length made a compromise with his rival, and paid him a stipulated sum for surrendering the crozier. Instead of denouncing it as a piece of trumpery or superstition, Malachy evidently valued it at least as highly as Niell did. When the bargain was concluded,

on an island in the Tyrrhene sea, with instructions that it was after a long time to be delivered to a pilgrim, named Patrick. See Todd's *St Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, pp. 323, 328. It was burned at the Reformation.

¹ North Ireland.

² Those who think that the Reformers of the sixteenth century enjoyed a monopoly of strong language may be invited to study the life of Malachy written by this "last of the Fathers." "One Nigellus," says he (i. e. a blackish being), yea one of the very blackest, made a seizure of the see. And Maurice (i. e. Murtoth) had made provision for this end, against his own soul, to have for heir one in whom, when he left this world to be damned, he might continue to add to his deeds of damnation." What Mr King says of Ireland we suspect must be extended to Scotland too, and to the so-called reformation effected by St Margaret and David: "It seems to have been the favourite tone of the advancers of the Papal ascendancy to decry the native institutions of the country, and to exalt the competing influence of Rome until a religious change was effected by force, which might have failed had its establishment been left to the march of popular opinion."

he was directed to a place where it was hidden ; and, armed with this badge of office, he seems to have henceforth met with little resistance."

After all, however, Malachy remained but three years at Armagh. He was not ambitious of wealth or power for himself, but he was the only man through whom the Romanising party could hope to gain their end. It was only when this had been done, and a successor to their mind had been found, that he was allowed in peace to retire to his former diocese of Down, now disjoined from that of Connor. Soon after, the idea took possession of his mind, that it was not sufficiently safe to proceed in such important undertakings without the authority of the Apostolic See. Ireland had now two archbishops, those of Armagh and Cashel ; but neither had been constituted by the Pope, nor formally bound to obey him. The pall, the token of the metropolitan's "plentitude of honour," and the badge of his pledged submission to the successor of St Peter, had not yet been conferred on either archbishop. Malachy determined to undertake a journey to Rome that he might personally solicit for the archbishops "this piece of pontifical finery."

"His arrival in Rome," Dr Killen tells us, "gave unbounded satisfaction to the Pope. Innocent II., who then filled the pontifical chair, had no doubt been duly apprised of the approach of this extraordinary Irishman ; he had been told of his wonderful sanctity, and of his fame as a worker of miracles, of his remarkable influence with his countrymen, and of his devotion to the interests of the Papacy. He did not fail to bestow very signal tokens of his regard on the honest devotee. . . . He was frequently admitted to the presence of the Pope, with whom he had many interesting conversations. But withal he did not forget that he had certain petitions to present, and in due time he announced his errand. He desired that the establishment of the new archbishopric in the South of Ireland should be confirmed, and that palls should be granted to the two metropolitans. The Pontiff readily complied with the first request, for he thereby conceded nothing ; but he saw that he might commit a very grave blunder by conceding the second. Malachy had not been commissioned by the Church of Ireland to make any such application ; and it was therefore scarcely safe to bestow what had never been solicited. . . . He accordingly informed Malachy that, in a concern of such gravity, he must adopt a different method of procedure. 'As to the palls,' said he, 'it is necessary to act in a more solemn manner. Call together a general council of the bishops, clergy, and nobles of your country, and so, with the concurrence and common desire of all, make application for the palls through persons of respectability, and you shall obtain them.' As Gillebert of Limerick had become infirm, the Pope had some days before appointed Malachy his legate for all Ireland. But a more signal honour

yet awaited him. Rising from his seat, Innocent took of his mitre and placed it on the head of his Irish visitor. At the same time he presented him with the maniple and stole which he used when officiating. He then gave him the kiss of peace and his apostolic benediction. . . . We can easily imagine that Malachy must have been in an ecstasy of joy, not well knowing whether he was in the body or out of the body, and that he would feel bound to labour more than ever to promote the interests of the Papacy, and the adoption of the Romish ritual and usages."

On his way to Italy as well as on his return, Malachy visited our own King David, Bernard of Clairvaux, and apparently also the Archbishop of Canterbury. He thus gives us ground to suppose that the movement he laboured to advance was possibly but part of a grander scheme by which not only were the interests of the Pope to be advanced, but the Archbishop of Canterbury was to be constituted under him a sort of patriarch or *papa alterius orbis*, and the way perhaps was to be prepared for the Norman sovereigns being owned as Lords Paramount of Scotland and Ireland, as well as of England and Normandy. So far may even good and great men when left to themselves be tempted to go in surrendering that freedom and independence which are the surest guarantee for the permanent purity and progress of any national church, that they may snatch at advantages more immediately to be gained, and at redress of crying evils more speedily to be obtained, by calling in the aid of an arbitrary and unreasoning despotism. Even yet one may hear the assertion hazarded that a paternal despotism is the best form of government both in church and State. But experience proves that the paternal element is ever the vanishing quantity, and the despotism, pure and simple, the permanent one; and that reforms, whether great or small, which are not made to approve themselves to the reason and consciences of men, are short-lived at the best, and of but doubtful value while they last. This was very notably the case with those initiated by Anselm in England, by St Margaret and David in Scotland, and by Malachy and his coadjutors in Ireland. They may have checked secularity and corruption for a season (though a very brief one); but when corruption reached the new authorities, and nought was left to the subordinates but silent protest within their own breasts, or meek submission to the will of their superiors, the evil example of these could not fail to be generally followed, and the cause of reform and progress to become more hopeless than before. And so

the mediæval church of Ireland, as well as that of Scotland, sunk to a far lower depth of ignorance and corruption than the Patrician or Columban church it had superseded, and proved at last not a help but a hindrance to true progress. Those very Cistercian monks in whom Bernard and Malachy reposed such confidence became themselves degenerate. So did the Franciscan and the Dominican friars who were brought in to supersede them, or to supply their lack of service. The noblest of Malachy's successors in the mediæval church, Richard Fitzralph,¹ who thanked God that he had brought him out of the profound vanities of Aristotle's philosophy to the study of the Holy Scriptures, was in early life the precursor of Wycliffe in his contests with the friars, and in later the victim of their malice. After long labouring in vain to reform them, he was forced mournfully to exclaim, "I have in my diocese of Armagh two thousand subjects who, by reason of the sentences of excommunication annually enacted against homicides, public robbers, incendiaries, and other such characters, have become involved in sentences of excommunication, out of whom there scarcely come fourteen in the year to me or my penitentiaries; and all such persons receive the sacraments like other people, and are spoken of as absolved; and this by none other than the friars."

St Malachy died at Clairvaux on his return from a second visit to Rome. But in 1152 the palls so eagerly desired by him were conferred on four archbishops. Not yet however was the country sufficiently and securely Romanised; and in 1155 Pope Adrian IV., acceding to the request of Henry II., King of England, issued a bull authorising him to subdue it for the Catholic Church, to root out its "nurseries of vice," and to compel it to pay the annual pension of a penny for each house to the heir of St Peter. The genuineness of this bull has been denied, but is established, as Dr Killen shews, by irrefragable evidence. It was not till 1171 that Henry felt himself in a position to take advantage of the bull, and to claim possession of that kingdom which, for weal or for woe, has ever since remained subject to the English crown. In the following year a synod was convened at Cashel which enacted

¹ The *Armachanus par excellence* of the fourteenth century, according to Dr Killen, a most eloquent speaker and celebrated preacher, listened to with admiration by the most intellectual audiences to be found in London and Avignon, as well as in his own country.

inter alia, that all the faithful should pay *tithes* of their cattle, corn, and other produce to the church of their own parish, and that all offices of divine service should for the future in all parts of Ireland be regulated after the model of holy church, according to the observances of the Church of England.

“What a change,” as Dr Killen remarks, “between the days of Patrick, Columbkille, and Columbanus and the time of the Synod of Cashel! Then the saints of the country practised only such works of piety and chastity as they could learn from the prophetic, evangelical, and apostolical writings; now these writings were seldom mentioned. . . . Then the presbyter Columbkille ordained a king as well as bishops; now no presbyter might ordain even a deacon. Then Mary was never named as an intercessor in heaven; now she was invoked by many perhaps more frequently than the Lord of glory. . . . Then Ireland was free and honoured as the land of saints and of scholars; now she was under the yoke of the stranger, and represented as a land of darkness and the shadow of death.”

Degeneracy in morals followed hard on degeneracy in doctrine, and material degradation on the loss of civil and religious independence. Before the close of the fifteenth century the clergy were more grossly sunk in ignorance, incontinence, and rude debauchery than those of almost any other country in Europe, and the material fabrics of the churches, even in several of the cathedral towns, were hopelessly ruined or decayed.

At that memorable epoch, when the Spirit of God seemed to breathe spiritual quickening and health on so many nations, and, like the genial breath of spring, call into living and vigorous action powers that had long been dormant, no spring-time dawned on unhappy Erin. There arose no Luther or Knox, with trumpet tongue in the speech they loved, to warn her sons of their danger, and call them to much-needed repentance; no Calvin, with iron discipline, to increase strength to the strong, and impart it to the weak and desponding; no Cranmer, with kindly if sometimes hesitating, steps, to guide men of culture towards far higher good and truth than they had heretofore attained. The movement here was not only at first one entirely *ab extra*, but it was to a large extent prompted and carried forward by men actuated more by political and personal considerations than by deep overmastering earnestness. They were almost exclusively the representatives of lordly England—men who merely sought to carry out in the land of their sojourn changes which had been adopted in the

land of their sires, or who were mainly anxious to subordinate higher interests and concerns to whatever would advance their own influence and emoluments. There were no doubt two or three in the times of Edward and Elizabeth who were noble exceptions; but they were not the men who were highest in place and influence, and the very partial good they strove to accomplish was largely neutralised by the conduct and actings of their associates. And so it was that the mass of the Irish nation went on its own way, headed by most of its priests, and by a majority as some say, or by a minority as others affirm, of its prelates, knowing only of the great revolution occurring elsewhere, that their conquerors had quarrelled with the Pope, whose predecessor had given them Ireland, and vaguely hoping that this might lead the Holy Father to look more propitiously on their efforts to recover their freedom. Without the English pale the national clergy continued still to occupy their old churches, as well as to celebrate their old services, and even where this was not permitted to them, they succeeded to a large extent in retaining their hold on the people. Even the concession made in the Irish Act of Uniformity, that the new liturgy might, like the old, be read in Latin¹—one of the strangest perhaps ever offered in the interests of Protestantism—was ineffectual in alluring clergy or people to conform. The leading prelates seemed to have despaired of success by means of argument and persuasion, and to have lost no opportunity of urging on the Queen that recourse should be had to more severe measures than her lay counsellors approved. Conspicuous among these prelates was Adam Loftus, Archbishop first of Armagh and afterwards of Dublin, of whom Dr Killen gives us the following rather severe account:—

“His personal appearance was prepossessing, he was an accomplished elocutionist, and by some was much admired as a preacher. He excelled in the department of declamation and invective; he was a bitter assail-

¹ Bishop Mant does not appear to have discovered that such a Latin liturgy was actually prepared. Dr Killen finds in a letter, dated 26th October 1587, a statement that certain of the Irish clergy carried with them to church “a book in Latin of the Common Prayer set forth and allowed by her Majesty.” This no doubt was the book, prepared primarily for the English colleges and collegiate schools, set forth and allowed by her Majesty in 1560, and reprinted in our own day by the Parker Society among the Liturgical Services of Queen Elizabeth. It was not till 1601 that the New Testament was translated into Irish, nor till forty years after that the Old Testament was so.

ant of Romanists, and his attacks on them from the pulpit created much exasperation. But he certainly displayed little of the true spirit of the gospel, and he seems to have been sadly ignorant of the mystery of godliness. He was dictatorial and domineering, ambitious and covetous. Not content with the spoils of St Patrick's and the Archbishopric of Dublin, he continued to grasp at preferment after preferment with unblushing repacity. Even the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church were so wearied with his importunities that in August 1578, when solicited for some new favour, they yielded to his application only on condition that he would never again seek any fee-farm grant, or any advowson of any prebend or living, or any lease of any benefice."

"No wonder," says our author, "that such a man amassed a large amount of property, and established a family still to be found among the nobility of the realm." No wonder, we may add, that such a man did not greatly commend to the Irish the form of religion he was sent to teach. In 1584, while acting as one of the Lords Justices of the Kingdom, Dr Killen says he took part in the examination of Dermot O'Hurley, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, who was subjected to cruel torture in the hope of making him divulge the secrets of the rebels.

"The Protestant prelate," he says, "greatly discredited his position when he sanctioned such barbarity. The prisoner was the minister of a church to which almost all his countrymen still belonged; he was recognised by them as a high ecclesiastical dignitary; and nothing was more fitted to rouse their deepest indignation, and to inspire them with a deadly antipathy to the Reformed faith, than to see him tortured by a Protestant Archbishop. Protestantism could not prosper when it had such forbidding representatives. Though Archbishop Loftus was deemed an able preacher, he seems as he advanced in life to have lost confidence in the power of the pulpit. His own ministrations do not appear to have proved mighty to the pulling down of strongholds. Towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth he did not scruple to recommend compulsion in matters of religion. 'I assure your lordship,' says he in one of his letters to Burghley, 'unless they be forced they will not even come to hear the Word preached. . . . It is almost bootless labour for any man to preach in the country out of Dublin for want of hearers . . . but in mine opinion this may be easily remedied . . . if the Ecclesiastical Commission be put in use. If liberty be left to myself . . . to *imprison and fine* all such as are obstinate and disobedient, and if they persist, being men of ability to bear their own charges, to send them into England for example's sake, I have no doubt but within a short time they will be reduced to good conformity."

Is it any wonder that the cause of Protestantism did not prosper in the hands of such prelates, or that they who were so eager to employ the carnal weapons of fine and imprison-

ment should be left to learn by sad experience that it is not these which ever prove mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds and the bringing every high thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ? The author of the *Fairy Queen*, then residing in the South of Ireland, shewed them a more excellent way when in his *View of the State of Ireland*, he thus expressed himself:¹—

“In planting of religion thus much is needful to be observed, that it be not sought forcibly to be impressed into them with terror and sharp penalties, as now is the manner, but rather delivered and intimated with mildness and gentleness, so as it may not be hated before it be understood, and their professors despised and rejected. And therefore it is expedient that some discreet ministers of their own countrymen be sent over among them, which by their meek persuasions and instructions, as else by their sober lives and conversations, may draw them first to understand and afterwards to embrace the doctrine of their salvation. For if the ancient godly fathers which first converted them when they were infidels to the faith were able to pull them from idolatry and paganism to the true belief in Christ, as St Patrick and St Columb, how much more easily shall godly teachers bring them to the true understanding of that which they have already professed.” [But such godly teachers, he tells us in another place, were few and far between.] “Whatever disorders,” he says, “you see in the Church of England, you may find there [*i.e.* in Ireland], and many more, namely, gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshly incontinency, careless sloth. . . . And besides all these they have their particular enormities ; for all Irish priests which now enjoy church livings are in a manner mere laymen, saving that they have taken holy orders, but otherwise they do go and live like laymen, follow all kinds of husbandry and other worldly affairs as other Irishmen do. They neither read Scriptures, nor preach to the people, nor administer the communion; but baptism they do, for they christen yet after the Popish fashion.”

Still it was about this very time that Trinity College was founded in Dublin to provide university training for the youth of the kingdom generally, and especially to rear an educated native ministry for the service of the Protestant Church. It was about the same time too that that wealth of puritan life and zeal, which was being wasted and crushed out in England, began to transfer itself to the sister kingdom, and was allowed for a time to breathe freely and expand itself. From these two sources a race of noble men were provided to occupy the pulpits and advance the interests of the church. It had been originally proposed to provide for the endowment of the new college by suppressing one of the cathedrals in Dublin and

¹ Similar views are found in Bacon's *Considerations touching the Queen's Service in Ireland*.

transferring its revenues to the college. But Loftus, who was deeply interested in the benefices and other estates of the cathedral, vehemently resisted the proposal. The viceroy was forced to abandon it, and in return the primate lent his aid in establishing the college, and consented to accept the office of honorary provost. The Archdeacon of Dublin was one of the first honorary fellows, and his nephew, James Ussher, afterwards so famous as a theologian and an antiquary, was one of the first to be enrolled as a student. Through the influence of Lord Burleigh, the first chancellor of the university, Walter Travers, an eminent puritan minister, was chosen as the first regular provost. "The selection of such a man to preside over the seminary attests that it started on its career in no exclusive spirit of sectarianism. The theological principles of Travers were well known. He was so averse to the episcopal regimen that he travelled over into Holland to receive ordination from a Dutch presbytery. He had officiated for some time in the Temple Church, London, where he could preach without subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles," and where, by his "graceful utterance," "profitable matter," and "style, carrying in it *indolem pietatis*," he attracted a large and intelligent congregation. Inhibited to preach in England, he sought and found a sphere of usefulness elsewhere, and under his care the young Ussher, the future Primate of Armagh, received his early training. Indeed under him and his like-minded successors not a few right-hearted Protestants were trained up to do good service to the Irish Church and State, and had not the work, thus hopefully begun under the guidance of the immortal Ussher and the saintly Bedell,¹ been first checked by Laud and Wentworth, and soon after cut short by that awful insurrection whose cruelties and barbarities sent a thrill of horror through Protestant Europe, Ireland might have been won over to a purer faith, and knit in happier bonds with the Scottish and the English people. "On the whole it must be obvious," as Dr Killen says, "that the Reformed faith exhibited decided indications of vitality in Ireland in the early part of the seventeenth century. . . . The Protestant Church was in a much better position to grapple with its adversary at the close of the reign of James than at the close of the reign of Elizabeth."

¹ We hoped to insert at length Dr Killen's account of these best of Irish bishops, whose interrupted work he longs to see resumed.

The most notable event in that reign undoubtedly was the Plantation, as it is termed, of Ulster, or the settlement of Scotch and English Protestants¹ on the forfeited and desolated lands in various parts of the province. As a political measure it has often been criticised with severity, and sometimes denounced as a "gigantic injustice." But the plantation proper extended over only a mere fraction of the North, and chiefly in counties which were among the most thinly populated in the province. Its success as a political experiment cannot well be denied.

"The strangers," Dr Killen tells us, "introduced a new style of living and new modes of husbandry, developed the capabilities of the soil, and soon changed the face of the country. The plantation exerted an influence far beyond its own limits; Protestantism was firmly rooted in the province; and the 'cold north,' which so often before had been the haunt of famine and the hotbed of rebellion, has ever since been the abode of plenty, and the stronghold of attachment to British connection. To the great mass even of the Roman Catholics of the province the Plantation of Ulster was a special blessing. The native tillers of the soil now attained a position they had never enjoyed before. In the days of old Irish chieftainship their condition was truly wretched. They were little, if at all, better than slaves. . . . They had no encouragement to erect comfortable dwellings, or plant gardens, or orchards, or pursue any settled course of husbandry; for they could not tell how soon they might be driven out of possession. Hence it was that they lived in miserable hovels scarcely fit for the habitation of cattle, and that the country from generation to generation exhibited no signs of improvement. Though the farming class led a life of drudgery, they had almost nothing they could call their own. They were marked with a brand of social degradation. Before this period Ulster could never boast of 'a bold peasantry their country's pride;' for those who followed the plough could not lift up their heads like free-born subjects, or assert the same rights as those who were known as 'swordsmen.' But under the new *régime* the cultivators of the soil had the benefit of equal laws, they were protected in the enjoyment of their property, and the landlord could not tamper with the rights of his tenantry."

Owing to the vicinity of Scotland to Ulster and the favour of the king for the subjects of his native kingdom, the great bulk of the settlers came from that kingdom. And whatever may have been the case at first, there can be no doubt that ere the covenanting Church of Scotland ceased to care for them and to provide them with ministers, these settlers had been trained to habits of religion, morality, and industry, which made them a blessing to the land of their

¹ Such colonies had been suggested by Bacon in his *Considerations*.

adoption, and a gift not unworthy her acceptance in return for the men whom in earlier times she had sent over to colonise and christianise Scotland. In the arrangements of the plantation, the king took care to make liberal provision for the ministers of the Protestant Church. He restored to the bishops all those ecclesiastical possessions which had been alienated by the violence or cupidity of the rebel chieftains, and he "induced the bishops to resign their impropriations, and to relinquish the tithes formerly paid them by the parishes in favour of the respective incumbents." The parish churches which had fallen into ruin were ordered to be repaired, glebes to be assigned to the ministers, and "a free school was endowed in the principal town of every diocese." A large share of the bishoprics and benefices were bestowed on Scotchmen. Montgomery of Derry, Knox of Raphoe, and Dundas, Echlin, and Leslie, who were successively bishops of Down and Connor, were all Scotchmen. Knox indeed appears, at least for a time, to have held the Scottish bishopric of the Isles in conjunction with that of Raphoe. Perhaps it was from this circumstance that he considered himself warranted, like some others of the earlier Scottish prelates, to treat with peculiar indulgence the scruples of his more puritan countrymen. At any rate when some of them called to charges in Ireland objected to be ordained according to the Anglican ordinal, he as well as Echlin yielded to their scruples, and took part in or sanctioned by their presence ordination services which could not fail to scandalise modern Irish prelates, who forgot that the Scottish bishops of that time did not strictly keep to a hard and fast line of service even in ordaining ministers, and that the Irish church itself was not so unaccommodating to tender consciences as the English under its recent canons was forced to be.

"In the beginning of the seventeenth century," as Dr Killen tells us, "Protestantism in the North of Ireland did not present the appearance of a rigid uniformity. Many of those who took part in the plantation were from North Britain; and though they obtained a share in the forfeited estates, and even settled on the church lands, their nonconformity was overlooked, provided they were known to be earnest Protestants, and faithful to the interests of the British sovereign. Not a few of the Scottish ministers, when admitted to benefices in Ulster, and when surrounded by their own countrymen, appear to have conducted worship nearly in the same way as that to which they had been accustomed in their native land, though on special occasions they may have deemed it expedient to use at least a portion of the English liturgy."

God blessed them with special tokens of his presence ; and the Primate and other Irish prelates with true wisdom bore with them till Laud came into power, and through Wentworth, managed all in Ireland as well as in England. Then the ministers were silenced and banished, and returning to their native land were honoured to promote the revival of religion in it, and to be largely instrumental in helping on those movements of the Scottish Covenanters by which Episcopacy was overthrown there, and the way prepared for its downfall, at least for a time, in all the three kingdoms. On the overthrow of Episcopacy, some of them returned to Ireland for a time, and organised a Puritan and Presbyterian Church in Ulster, which at the time of the Restoration numbered about seventy ministers. After that event, which in common with their brethren in Scotland they did their utmost to bring about, sixty-one of the Presbyterian ministers who refused to conform were deprived of their benefices, and like those in Scotland, subjected to the greatest hardships. But they remained generally with their flocks, endeavouring in private and from house to house, when more public opportunities were denied them, to warn every man and teach every man, that they might present every man faultless in Christ Jesus. And so when the glorious revolution came which finally freed these realms from Popish ascendancy and arbitrary intolerance, they were able to assemble at Antrim in 1691 a synod of thirty-two ministers and twenty-one elders. Then the foundations of their second temple were laid, and though the walls were built in troublous times, they were by God's grace finished, and God's seal has been again and again set to the work, and he has given them times of refreshing from his presence and greatly prospered them. Into the details of their history, however, we cannot enter, nor into the later history of the church which cast them out, and which after a century of deadness and indifference, and half a century of revival and activity, has been now separated from the State, and with ample endowments left to shape for itself a new and, we hope, nobler career. God grant that it may be that towards which Dr Killen beckons it in his concluding sentences :—

“It is to be hoped that Irish Episcopalians will yet inaugurate a policy of more thorough reform, taking the Word of God as their only guide, and the church of the apostolic age as their divine model. They

would thus do much towards gathering into one the various fragments of Protestantism. The union of Irish Presbyterians and Episcopalians is a consummation for which all good men should pray and labour. Some of the outlines of the plan of their incorporation have been sketched long since by the immortal Ussher; and were charity to hold the pen, it could easily contrive to complete the outline. The union of the General Assembly and the Irish Episcopal Church will, we trust, yet be realised; and the day on which it will be celebrated will be the most glorious that ever dawned on the Isle of Saints."

Nor can we at present enter on the later history of that church which still retains its hold on so large a portion of the Irish people; on the shameless oppression and petty annoyances to which it was subjected in the earlier part of last century, or the reparation which has been made in the present; on the partial improvement in the morality of its priests and people, and the need that remains for further improvement and education; on the remarkable development of Gallicanism at the beginning of this century, and the still more remarkable development of Ultramontaniam since. No thorough Protestant, we should now imagine, has any further concession to propose which is likely to turn it into a power for good, or an instrumentality by which the highest interests of our common country are ever to be forwarded. If recent events shall yet tend to unite us in more heartily encouraging and more liberally aiding our Irish Protestant brethren to cope with it and to overcome it, and to lead its people to a purer faith and more scriptural creed, deeply as these events have been lamented by many of us, they shall not have happened in vain; and by God's help we may yet succeed in removing that which is the greatest difficulty in the government of the three kingdoms, and the greatest hindrance to the union and prosperity of their people. Why, when we have our societies in almost every town to aid our Protestant brethren in Italy and Spain, should we not also have associations to aid our brethren in Ireland? Why, when we take India as our *chief* field of foreign missions, should we not take Ireland as our chief field for missions to the Romanists? Why, when we have our days of special prayer for missions to the heathen, should we have no season of special intercession for those who are bound to us by so many endearing associations from the days of Patrick and Columba to those of Ussher and Bedell, of Blair and Livingstone?

ALEX. F. MITCHELL.

ART. VI.—*The Scientific Doctrine of Continuity.*

History of the Conflict between Religion and Science. By JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER, M.D., LL.D., Professor in the University of New York. London. 1875.

The Correlation of Physical Forces: A Discourse on Continuity, and other Contributions to Physical Science. By the Hon. Sir W. R. GROVE, M.A., F.R.S. London. 1874.

The Doctrine of Descent and Darwinism. By OSCAR SCHMIDT, Professor in the University of Strasburg. London. 1875.

The History of Creation; or, The Development of the Earth and its Inhabitants by the Action of Natural Causes. By ERNST HAECKEL, Professor in the University of Jena. Translated from the German, the Translation revised by Professor E. RAY LANKESTER, M.A., F.R.S., Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. 2 vols. London. 1876.

The Unseen Universe; or, Physical Speculations on a Future State. By Professor BALFOUR STEWART, F.R.S., and Professor P. G. TAIT, M.A. Fourth Edition. London. 1876.

Contemporary Evolution: An Essay on some recent Social Changes. By ST GEORGE MIVART, F.R.S. London. 1876.

THE mass of literature bearing directly or indirectly on the subject we propose to discuss is very considerable. In selecting from it the works of which the titles are given above, we have been influenced by the following considerations. In these volumes the leading questions bearing on the relations of the scientific doctrine of continuity to religious thought are regarded from the standpoint of science, and treated of for the most part in a spirit which, if not anti-theological, is at least strongly pro-scientific. We may feel certain, then, that the religio-scientific difficulties met with in this field of inquiry are here presented in their most formidable shape, and that in every instance where the views of science conflict with our current religious beliefs, we have the case made out for science stated with the utmost clearness and force. It is desirable in controversy to be aware at once of the full strength of an opponent's position.

To criticise the above works in detail is beside our present purpose; but it may be desirable at the outset to note the nature of the contents, and the general drift of each.

"The history of science," says Dr Draper in the preface to his work, "is not a mere record of isolated discovery; it is a narrative of the con-

flict of two contending powers, the expansive force of the human intellect on one side, and the compression arising from traditional faith and human instincts on the other. . . . What I have sought to do is to present a clear and impartial statement of the views and acts of the two contending parties. In one sense I have tried to identify myself with each so as to comprehend thoroughly their motives, but in another and higher sense I have endeavoured to stand aloof, and relate with impartiality their actions."

That there has been an oft-renewed collision between theologic and scientific thought, is obvious enough to anyone familiar with the rudiments of the world's history; but it is not at all obvious that Dr Draper has described this contest correctly, or has even adequately understood its nature and significance. This author declares himself to be most anxious to relate facts with impartiality; but unquestionably the impression made on the mind of anyone restricted to his book as a source of information, would contain only a very slight flavouring of the truth. The conflict between science and religion, as described by Dr Draper, is the history of a long-continued struggle between the powers of light and darkness. Science, the power of light, has hitherto been triumphant, and we already experience foretastes of the time when the last speck of cloud will be transformed into impalpable vapour, undimmed science shine in meridian splendour, and the wisest and best of our race will be content to offer a "worship of the silent sort at the shrine of the unknown and unknowable." That the human race has benefited by the conflict which he describes, is a thesis which Dr Draper stoutly maintains; but the reasoning advanced in support of his opinion is peculiar. Briefly it is this. In the long-continued struggle, religion, as the worst and weakest, has always gone to the wall, and true enlightenment advances as the influence of religion declines. Of the great truths, that religious culture is an all-important factor in human development, and that religion and science have been mutually helpful to one another even in their antagonisms, he does not seem to have a glimpse. But surely these truths ought to have obtruded themselves on the mind of so acute a thinker as Dr Draper. The direct aid which theology gave to science in the dark ages by preserving a body of men in whom intellectual life was not utterly extinguished, is well known, and even theologic

hostility has been a gain. We admit that theologians have often assailed the propounders of new scientific theories with unreasonable acrimony; but he is a careless student of the history of human progress who does not see that this has been rather helpful than hurtful to the advance of scientific truth. There is no greater impediment to the progress of science than that absolute and unquestioning acceptance of all the doctrines it propounds which allows demonstrated truth, and vague conjecture, to be hopelessly intermingled and placed on a par. *Festina lente* must be the constant motto of the investigator. The paths of scientific discovery are too rough and difficult for the traveller who is laden with a burden of crude speculation and baseless theory. To a large extent rival schools of thought now supply the criticism needed to purge truth from error in the sphere of scientific research; but in times past the duty of providing a strong and intelligent opposition was thrown on theology. And even yet when some new and striking theory, such, say, as Darwinism, is propounded, the scientific world is so dazzled by its pretensions and plausibility, that due examination of its assertions might be wanting, were it not that by its collision with current theologic beliefs it brings an amount of educated criticism to bear upon it, for which science will ultimately have deep cause to be thankful. Assuredly science cannot afford to slight the advantages it has derived from theology. And not only has science benefited by religion, religion has also benefited by science. Religious teaching produces fuller results when it is aided by the humanising and civilising influences due to the advance of science. The churches of the Reformation have never been slow to recognise this, and to accept the aid which science brings. They have always welcomed the advance of knowledge, secular and sacred, and bowed reverently to Truth, from whatever quarter she might come. The teachings of science they have been happy to employ to enable them to interpret more clearly God's teaching in his word and works, and to eliminate from their body of religious dogma the error inseparable from any system which is in part of man's device. These are simple facts; and, to use the mildest possible language, it is unscientific to ignore the existence of these facts in discus-

sing the conflict between religion and science. Had Dr Draper recognised their existence, his work would have been one of great value; as it is, it is mainly valuable for the materials it will supply to the hand of some more impartial investigator. Even from Dr Draper's book, however, the lesson may be learned, that in no respect does the advance of science tend to undermine the *essentials* of religious belief, and the inference drawn that the next generation will think as lightly of the difficulties we now feel in connection with evolution theories, as we think of the difficulties of those who were staggered by geologic facts hostile to the literal interpretation of the opening chapters of Genesis, or as they thought of the perplexities of Galileo's persecutors.

In his exposition of the theory of the Correlation of Force, and his discourse on Continuity, Sir William Grove states clearly those results of modern science which prove the doctrine of the unity and continuity of the universe in so far as inorganic nature is concerned. There are a considerable number of speculations touching on biological science in the discourse on Continuity which subjected their author to some not unmerited censure when his paper was delivered as the presidential address to the British Association at its meeting in Nottingham in 1866. It is only, however, in regard to the facts and phenomena of inorganic nature that Sir William Grove claims to speak with authority, and deserves to be heard with the deference we accord to the painstaking scientific worker.

We have not selected German authors to tell the story of the world's origin and development, and to expound the evolution hypothesis, because they are in advance of British physicists and biologists in scientific attainments. They neither have, nor claim to have, any superiority (Professor Haeckel, who is perhaps *facile princeps* among them, freely acknowledges his obligations to Professor Huxley and Mr Darwin). But there is a charming frankness on the part of the Germans in enunciating the consequences of their theories, and a readiness to *say* what some of our British philosophers are content only to *think* of, which we cannot but approve. All students of Mr Darwin's writings must have been struck with the *naiveté* with which he states, in his *Descent of Man*, that he has long held the view in regard to

man's origin which he now enunciates, but that he designedly abstained from announcing it sooner lest he might raise prejudice against his theory even as applied to lower forms. The German biologists have no dread of shocking the religious instincts of the community by pushing theories to their extreme logical conclusions. And, after all, it is better when we are asked to accept scientific theories which are meant to lead to important philosophical and ethical consequences, that these consequences should at once be fully enunciated.

Professor Schmidt's work has no claim either to originality of matter or arrangement. It is simply a historical sketch of the theory of evolution, a clear and concise statement of its application to account for the varied forms of vegetable and animal life, and an elaborate attempted justification of the extension of the theory to include the human species. We can recommend it as a useful text-book to those who wish to study the theory of evolution. The author's occasional sneers at those who refuse to worship at the shrine of Darwinism will sufficiently teach the lesson that he has defects of judgment which make him more to be depended on in matters of fact than in matters of opinion.

Making ample allowance for all the defects and extravagances of Professor Haeckel's book, it is, notwithstanding, a very valuable contribution to biological science, often original in matters of actual knowledge, and highly suggestive in matters of theory. The work, as presented to us in its English dress, consists of two volumes, each of which is devoted to a special branch of the subject. In the first the writer defines the descent theory, reviews the historical stages through which it has passed, and finally seeks to resolve the theory into certain fundamental ideas and laws of organic life. In the second volume he supplies a tolerably full sketch of the supposed actual order of descent both of the vegetable and animal kingdom, connecting by an intimate chain of intermediate forms the highest organism, man, with the simplest modes of organic structure, and even with inorganic developments of matter. The most original part of Professor Haeckel's first volume is the hypothesis which he puts forward to explain what has always been a great difficulty in the way of thorough-going Darwinians—the abrupt appearance of new varieties in given species. This

hypothesis we need not further notice at present, as we shall have occasion to refer to it again. It is in his second volume, however, that the author shews most originality, by the minuteness of detail into which he ventures in illustrating his speculations. Professor Haeckel certainly surpasses all living biologists in his capacity for supplying "missing links." The development of the human race, for example, he traces through no less than twenty-two distinct species or stages—from Monera, "living creatures of the simplest kind imaginable; *organisms without organs*," through worms, fishes, gilled amphibiae, tailed amphibiae, and so on—to primary mammals, semi-apes, apes, man-like apes (Anthropoides), ape-like men (Pithecanthropi), to men (Homines.) Every reader of Professor Haeckel's writings will admit that he is a most careful scientific observer; and by his painstaking study of the lower animal forms he has established the fact, that in the case of some of these an actual transmutation of species may take place. His enthusiasm, however, utterly overcomes his prudence when he begins to theorise; and he piles up hypothesis upon hypothesis in the most reckless fashion, evidently utterly unconscious that, in constructing each new theory, the supposed basis of fact on which it is assumed to rest is in reality only pure speculation. Anything more fanciful than some of the genealogical trees by which he professes to connect various species can scarcely be imagined. Indeed in regard to most of his elaborate biological tables, which by some are considered the great merit of his works, we must say, that the proportions in which the delusive stimulant of speculative theory and the solid nutriment of ascertained fact are combined, remind us of nothing so much as Prince Henry's criticism on Falstaff's tavern-bill, "O monstrous! but one halfpenny worth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack."

With all its faults, however, Professor Haeckel's "*Schöpfungsgeschichte*" is a book well worth study by those who wish to examine the evolution hypothesis, either in its relations to demonstrated truth or enthusiastic speculation.

The Unseen Universe is valuable, because it gives in a general way the views of two of our most eminent physicists as to the possibility of reconciling modern scientific thought with our current religious beliefs.

In the essay on *Contemporary Evolution* we have an eminent scientific man, a member of the Roman Catholic communion, implicitly expounding the reasons why his scientific researches do not interfere with his adherence to that form of Christian faith which is supposed to be most antagonistic to science.

We regret that our space must restrict us to an indirect and general rather than a special and detailed criticism of the above works; but we can confidently say, that to those of our readers who subject them to a careful perusal, they will convey a clear idea of what are at present the precise points of collision between religious and scientific thought. Speaking comprehensively, it may be said that these collisions arise from differences of opinion as to the nature and limits of the modern scientific doctrine of continuity.

It is not possible to formulate in a few words all that is implied in the word continuity as at present used in scientific discussion. "The principle of continuity," says a recent writer, "is the principle which leads us, whatever state of things we contemplate, to look for its antecedent in some other state of things also in the universe." "The doctrine of continuity," says another, "asserts that the history of the universe is the history of a gradual unfolding. . . . The present order of things is only a link in a vast connected chain, reaching back to an incalculable past, and forward to an infinite future." It would be easy to find fault with these implied definitions of the word continuity, or with any which we could frame. Although we cannot give a formal definition, we shall at least attempt to explain to some extent what the term implies. In the first place then the doctrine of continuity asserts that the reign of law in all phenomena is much more general and far reaching than is currently supposed, and much more general and far reaching than even the most advanced thinkers of half-a-century ago suspected. It teaches moreover, that natural phenomena are brought about by secondary causes to an extent which many theologians find it hard to reconcile with the government and supervision of a personal God. It furthermore asserts that by the constant law of change in the universe all things progress to greater complexity and greater perfection by a *continuous* upward struggle. And it ascribes to

the human intellect the power of completely grasping and understanding the varied phenomena by which we are surrounded. Some of these phenomena may be very complex, and the laws by which they are governed very obscure and involved: but the difficulty of the problem which they present for our solution is one of *degree* and not of *kind*. All this and a good deal more is implied in the doctrine of continuity: but we can only hope to convey a full conception of its import to those not familiar with the speculations of modern science by degrees as we proceed.

There are a few profound and difficult questions which the higher intellects in all ages have felt themselves compelled to ask, and to which replies more or less plausible have from time to time been given. Out of the attempts to answer these questions the doctrine of continuity has arisen. These questions are such as the following:—How did this universe which we inhabit come into being, and assume its present form? How are the natural forces which pervade it called into play and controlled? Whence the endless variety of living forms, animal and vegetable, which subsist on the earth's surface? Whence did man, the greatest wonder of the universe, arise; and wherein does man differ from the brute? Further, in regard to man, not only *whence*, but *whither*? Does this conscious being, so different from our bodily organism in many of its activities, cease to exist when the body dies? It is only in very recent times that the majority of these problems have been propounded in the domain of science, and attempts made to solve them by scientific methods. Should science propound them and attempt their solution; or should they be relegated to a region too sacred for science to enter? We doubt the ability of science to deal with many of these questions successfully; but nevertheless we think that scientific men will best learn the limits of their power by unshackled research, and in the main we agree with the views expressed by the writers of *The Unseen Universe*.

“Undoubtedly we cannot permit certain events to be set aside by merely human authority as questions into which it is deemed useless or unprofitable for our reason to enter; nay, we are tempted to advance even further than this, and to assert that it constitutes our duty, as well as our privilege, to do our best to grasp the meaning of all events which come before us. Do not all terrestrial occurrences of whatever nature

form that material upon which the intellect of man is intended to work—that earth which man is commanded to subdue—a command equivalent to victory ?”

Theology (using the term in its widest application) has always supplied very definite answers to the questions we have indicated, and it is a curious fact, illustrative of the strange intermingling of the human element with the divine even in the Christian creed, that there has always been a wonderful similarity in the form which these answers have assumed. Glancing first at the old heathen theories of the origin of the universe and the relations of the forces of inorganic nature, as associated with the mythology of Greece and Rome, we find the principle of discontinuity carried to its fullest development. Continuity has no place in the scheme. Nothing is attributed to the gradual action of natural forces working by fixed laws. The sun moves to and from the zenith under the guidance of a presiding deity. Storms blow, because Boreas, Aeolus, Eurus, or Notus, happens to be out of temper. The thunder rolls because Zeus wishes to kill, or terrify, some too presumptuous mortal. The tide rises and falls as Poseidon directs. The very fountains well from their depths, and the rivers glide to the ocean, under the immediate supervision of some nymph or river god. Little change in the principles on which the theories of the universe were based was made when the Christian religion displaced heathenism. Christianity acquired a number of excrescences from heathenism—the celebration of unscriptural religious festivals for one, some anthropomorphic conceptions of deity for another, and unreliable theories of the universe for a third. Of course the view that the physical forces which act in nature are produced by the direct intervention of a plurality of gods was no longer tenable. But we have to come far down the centuries in the history of our era before we find any real approach to an intelligent understanding of natural phenomena. It is much more easy to invent a *Deus ex machina* than to study the action of natural forces: and the love of the marvellous is much more attractive than the patient investigation of the truth. If there be also a tendency to palliate ignorance by associating together intellectual sloth with reverence, and intellectual activity with atheism, as

there has been at times in the world's history, natural knowledge is likely to advance by slow degrees. And it has been by slow degrees that we have arrived at true views of the mode of action of natural forces; and in studying mental progress in this direction we must admit that we rarely meet with theology as an accelerating force. With one single point of difference, however, theologians and men of science are now at one in their acceptance of the doctrine of continuity in so far as the forces and phenomena of inorganic matter are concerned. The displacement of discontinuity by continuity is all but complete. The single point of difference arises in connection with one particular class of phenomena, namely meteorological phenomena, in regard to which there is still a lingering popular belief that they are somehow exempted from the universal reign of law. Many people suppose, that because science is not yet able to predict next week's weather with the certainty with which it can predict next week's sunrises and sunsets, weather phenomena are therefore somehow contingent in a sense in which the rotation of the earth on its axis is not.

But although there is a tolerably complete unanimity between theologians and men of science as to the application of the principles of continuity to the phenomena of inorganic nature: when we come to consider the application of these principles to cosmogony, or to the phenomena of organic nature, we find a very marked divergence of opinion. Discontinuity is as yet the principle largely underlying the replies which theology gives to what may be called the ultimate problems of the universe. Continuity, on the other hand, is the principle which underlies the replies given by science. Can the gradual displacement of the doctrines of discontinuity by those of continuity go on? Does the real fabric of religious truth suffer because one and another erroneous theory as to natural forces and natural laws, which were supposed to be its buttresses, are demolished? Is it possible for theology to retire still further from her positions and accept those indicated by science, without any real loss of strength or dignity? It is clear that these questions are not to be answered hastily; and that to justify the replies we give we must go somewhat into detail.

We approach the consideration of these facts and theories

bearing on the doctrine of continuity which give rise to controversy by rapidly sketching a few which are themselves outside the controversial region, but which have, notwithstanding, an importance that cannot be overlooked. We pass these in review without being careful to arrange them in any special order.

As an instance of results which are considered confirmatory of, or at least favourable to, the doctrine of continuity, we may refer to the proofs of the homogeneousness of the matter which composes the solar and stellar systems, and of the unity and universality of the forces which regulate the phenomena of inorganic nature. Science has within the last few years established some very important generalisations in regard to matter and force. For example, it has been all but demonstrated that there is a perfect unity of chemical nature in the various masses of matter which pervade the universe. Consider first those which compose the solar system. The solar system consists of an intensely heated and luminous central body, and an immense number of smaller bodies revolving round it. Some of these are of very considerable magnitude, and are called planets, others are too small to be visible except when they happen to come within the atmosphere where their friction with the air renders them incandescent, and they become known to us as aerolites or falling stars. Now in so far as it can be judged, and the facts have been very fully investigated, all these bodies from Jupiter, which is 85,000 miles in diameter, down to little globules of meteoric matter not larger than a hazel nut, are composed of the same chemical elements which are found in the earth's crust. The composition of the sun has been investigated by the spectroscope, and spectroscopic observation has also been applied to aerolites in their incandescent state, and in both cases the spectra of known elements, and of known elements alone, has been recognised. And portions of meteoric matter which have fallen on the earth's surface have been subjected to chemical analysis, and proved to consist of the chemical substances with which we are familiar. Extending our observations beyond the solar system, we find throughout the stellar universe that wherever incandescent matter exists this matter displays

the same uniformity of nature. Fixed stars at distances so great that they might be annihilated for centuries before the rays of light which left them last would cease to convey to our sense of vision the impression of their existence, nebulae more distant even than these stars, have been analysed by the spectroscope, and the tale told by analysis has always been the same. Furthermore, we see a unity of force pervading the universe. The heavenly bodies all obey the law of gravitation. Double stars at distances inconceivably remote, revolve round each other and a common centre, under the influence of the same force that retains the moon in its orbit, or causes an apple to fall from a tree. And where we can investigate the action of such forces as that of heat, we find the effects to be everywhere the same. Convection currents occur on the gaseous envelope of the sun, as they occur in the atmosphere of the earth, or as we can produce them on a small scale in our laboratories. And thus on the surface of the sun we have all the atmospheric disturbances analogous to those which cause storms on the earth's surface, and we can observe the progress of these storms as manifested by the huge up-rushes and down-rushes of gas which the spectroscope in the hands of such observers as Mr Lockyer and M. Jansen enables us to study. Furthermore, when we come to examine closely those members of the solar system which most nearly resemble our earth, we find many striking additional proofs of the uniformity of action of natural forces when the conditions of their action are uniform. Many interesting facts bearing on this subject have been disclosed by a study of the planet Mars, the planet most analogous to our earth. Telescopic observations of Mars prove that its surface consists of land and water, and that continents, oceans, seas, islands, lakes, rivers, valleys, and mountain-ridges cover it as they do the surface of our planet. We see before our eyes that winter's cold and summer's warmth, with their accompaniments of snow and thaw, succeed each other on Mars, and we can ascertain that all the atmospheric conditions which exist on the earth's surface are present. There seems little reason, therefore, to doubt that all terrestrial phenomena which are due to the diversified character of the earth's surface and the nature of its atmo-

sphere, has their analogues in Mars. This of course points to the extreme probability of the planet being inhabited by beings very similar to those found on the earth; but without entering on a subject so purely speculative as this, enough has been said to illustrate the proofs of the uniformity of action of nature's forces which the study of this planet supplies. This uniformity being postulated, it is clear that important information as to the early history of our earth may be derived from the observation of other celestial bodies in a less advanced stage of development.

Passing on from the investigations of cosmical physics to the consideration of the relations of the physical forces which we meet with in ordinary scientific investigation, we necessarily note the bearing on the doctrine of continuity of the theory of the correlation of force. The different agencies which we meet with in association with matter, such as heat, light, electricity, and magnetism, being all mutually convertible and capable of being quantitatively connected,¹ must be governed by the same uniform laws.

But the doctrine of continuity implies more than that all natural phenomena conform to fixed and all-embracing laws: it implies also that the normal law of change is not transition *per saltum*, but transition by imperceptible degrees. Now recent research shews that the law of gradual change obtains in many instances where its existence was formerly unsuspected. Of course it has been long known that all the great changes which natural forces effect in regard to those results which are investigated by climatology, physical geography, and geology, are brought about by the continuous action of constant forces. The upheaval of the land at one part of the coast-line of a country and the encroachment of the sea at another, the excavation of the sea caves and the smoothing of the face of the cliff by the billows, the forma-

¹ Of course our readers are aware that the assertion that these forces are all capable of being quantitatively connected is not yet fully verified. The quantitative relation between heat and mechanical force has been fully wrought out; but this is the only case in which the solution of the problem is complete. The recent researches of Mr Crookes on the dynamic properties of light, have rendered it certain that the relations of the different forms of radiant energy will soon be ascertained, and will doubtless furnish further proofs of the universality of the principles of continuity which underlie all inorganic phenomena.

tion of river deltas by the slow deposit of alluvial matter brought down by the streams, the growth of stalactites and stalagmites in caverns by the continuous dropping of water holding lime in solution—all these phenomena furnish instances of the imperceptible degrees by which great results are brought about in the economy of nature. In regard to many physical phenomena however, change *per saltum* seems to be the natural law. As an illustration in point drawn from physical science, we may consider the passage of most bodies from one physical state to another. The majority of solids which can be converted into liquids by the application of heat pass to the liquid state abruptly, and change from the liquid to the gaseous state is also abrupt. But—and this is the point which science has recently established—the researches of Dr Andrews on the continuity of the liquid and gaseous states of matter, as exemplified in the changes of states of carbonic anhydride, seem to open up a line of investigation leading to the conclusion that in all cases change of physical state would be continuous if only certain conditions favourable to continuity could be secured.

Now in regard to all such investigations as those to which we have been referring (and to which we have referred mainly that we may illustrate from what diverse quarters testimony in favour of the doctrine of continuity may be derived), there is no alarm felt by theologians, because these facts have no obvious bearing on our traditional cosmological beliefs. We cannot proceed far, however, in considering the doctrine of continuity even in relation to the solar and stellar systems, without arriving on what, by some, is regarded as debatable ground. What, according to current scientific theories, is the conclusion to which we are led by a consideration of the various aggregations of matter which pervade our universe? None other than that so ably expounded to her “sweet girl graduates” by Lady Blanche:—

“The world was once a fluid haze of light,
Till towards the centre set the starry tides,
And eddied into suns that wheeling cast
The planets.”

There can be no doubt that the recent astronomical observations which confirm the fact that many of the nebulae scattered through space are masses of glowing gas, and the

discovery that the planet Jupiter is now cooling down in precisely the same way that our earth is assumed to have cooled down from a state of incandescence, are powerful arguments in favour of the nebular hypothesis. This hypothesis, rightly or wrongly, has not hitherto been looked upon with much favour in theologic circles: and we do not proceed far in our survey of the positions laid down by the promulgators of the doctrine of continuity until we reach ground that is more than debatable. But perhaps we can best indicate the points of divergence between the cosmogony elaborated irrespective of any considerations except the discoveries of science and the cosmogony which is entwined with our theological beliefs, by rapidly sketching the former.

So far as we can see, all purely scientific cosmogonies must postulate the eternity of matter. At all events they must begin by taking the existence of matter as a fact; and if matter be not eternal, its existence is, to the inquirer, limited to scientific sources of information an utterly inexplicable fact. As to the state of this pre-existing matter there are nominally two theories (though in reality they should not be stated as two distinct theories, but as a larger and a lesser theory, the larger including the lesser): first, that of Laplace, that matter existed as a "fluid haze of light," or, in other words, in the state of intensely-heated and intensely-rarified gas; second, that advocated by Sir William Thomson, that it was originally solid and of low temperature, and consisted of a number of bodies which, drawn together by the force of gravitation, impinged on one another, and in accordance with well-known laws of thermodynamics were resolved into the "fire mist" by the heat of collision.¹ Whatever may be the hypothesis adopted as to

¹ To those who have followed Sir William Thomson's speculations in cosmical physics we need hardly say that his theory furnishes one of the most striking conceptions of cyclic change imaginable. Sir William Thomson has shewn that by the natural working of the forces which now regulate our system the planets must ultimately fall into the sun, the sun cool down, and then sun and planets welded into one cold dark ball, wend their dreary way through space, possibly to meet with some other defunct system, and by a collision with it develop a new "fire mist," and hence a new sun or suns, new planets, new satellites, new forms of animal and vegetable life, and a new cycle of events similar to those which the history of our earth, as read in geologic record, chronicles. And if our system when thus defunct can furnish the source of a new system, analogy would demand that our system originated

the state of the pre-existing matter which now composes our system we must either account for its existence by supposing it eternal, or else fall back on the statement, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth."

The existence of a mass of matter in the state of incandescent gas, and subordinate to the laws of mechanical and molecular force which now obtain, being postulated, it is not difficult to shew that the action of these forces would naturally result in the production of some such collection of bodies as our solar system. And by degrees the action of these forces would render our earth suitable to be the abode of vegetable and animal life. *And then life was.* But here again we are brought face to face with an inscrutable mystery, if we can only call to our aid the light of science, the mystery of the origin of the first living germs. To account for this on the hypothesis that there are no forces except those which now influence inorganic matter, seems impossible. Given any living germ, Mr Darwin has devised a hypothesis to account for the evolution therefrom of all living forms, but how to account for the origin of the first living germ is the difficulty. Three theories to surmount this difficulty have been proposed. The first is what is known as the theory of Abiogenesis, of which Dr Bastian is the most distinguished advocate in Great Britain. Dr Bastian adduces numerous experiments to prove that under certain conditions inorganic matter will, under the influence of ordinary physical and chemical forces, assume living forms. Of course, if inorganic matter can aggregate into germs now, it could have done so in primeval times, and the difficulty as to the origin of life is solved. But unfortunately for this hypothesis, the great majority of our most eminent physicists are of opinion that Dr Bastian's experiments are fallacious, and that the sources of the living organisms observed in these experiments are living germs undesignedly introduced into the matter experi-

in such a state of things, or its death may inaugurate. The endless chain then of which the links are so gigantic would run thus—from cold solid matter to nebulous matter, from that to systems possessing all the properties of our solar system as it now exists, from that through millions and millions of æons to cold dark matter again, thence once more nebulous matter, and so on through the same routine of cyclic change. Sir William Thomson has certainly given us a stupendous generalisation of the aphorism, "There is nothing new under the sun."

mented on. The second theory is that which Professor Huxley admits that there are no facts to justify, but professes to hold as an article of "philosophic faith," viz., that although inorganic matter does not now possess the power of aggregating itself into living forms, it did possess this power in the long bygone ages when life first appeared. It is only necessary to say, in regard to this hypothesis, that it is unverified and unverifiable. The third theory is that propounded independently by Sir William Thomson and Professor Helmholtz, that portions of meteoric matter pervaded by organic germs fell on the earth's surface, and furnished the source from which all the living organisms which now exist have arisen. It is needless to say that this also is an unverified and an unverifiable hypothesis. If germs were found in the meteoric matter which now reaches our earth; it would still be an open question whether they were originally associated with the matter, or were derived from our atmosphere which is now saturated with living germs. And if it were proved that they did belong to the meteoric matter, it would only shift the difficulty a stage back, not solve it. We need say no more to make it abundantly evident that unaided science can give no rational explanation of the origin of life.

The existence of a few simple germs being postulated however, the theory of development accounts for the production of all the endless variety of living organisms—some of them of the highest complexity—which we now behold.

It is needless to say that the cosmogony which we have thus sketched in outline differs essentially from that which has become associated with our theologic beliefs. And the difference does not vanish when we modify the purely scientific view by admitting supernatural agency and interference in the origination of matter and the introduction of life. Admitting, as the great majority of our most eminent scientific men do, the necessity of a Creator, the *modus operandi* of that Creator in creation is the great ground of dispute. We believe that we do not misrepresent the opinions very generally accepted in theologic circles when we state them thus:—"The nebular hypothesis is inconsistent with the Mosaic account of the creation, and we must assume that the solar system was brought into being by the divine *fiat* in a

form very much resembling its present condition. Animal and vegetable organisms were produced in a perfected state from time to time, and other species became extinct as the Creator willed. The different species which exist now are not so correlated with each other as to prevent them from being essentially distinct. External circumstances can produce a change in living organisms, but not such a change as would amount to an alteration of species. Darwinism therefore, not only in regard to its account of the origin of man, but also in regard to all its fundamental principles and applications, is erroneous." In other words, discontinuity arising from the constant interference of a supernatural agent, and not continuity arising from the action of natural forces so adjusted as to need no interference, is the creative plan.

In opposition to both these conflicting doctrines—the purely scientific and the extreme theologic, as we may call them—the extreme doctrine of continuity and that of discontinuity, the position we maintain is this. No scientific cosmogony can be constructed with the materials now at our disposal which does not rest on the following three assumptions :—*First*, Matter is not eternal. *Second*, Life is a separate creation of a time long anterior to the creation of matter. *Third*, In examining the living organisms which we meet with on the earth's surface, we find such a difference between man and any other being as to induce us to place him in a class by himself. But we shall also seek to establish that there is nothing necessarily atheistical or contrary to Scripture in the acceptance of evolution theories ; there is nothing necessarily atheistical or contrary to Scripture in the nebular hypothesis ; there is nothing necessarily atheistical or contrary to Scripture in the theory of development as applied by Darwin to account for the variation of species ; and, finally, the whole tendency of modern discovery is in favour of the acceptance of the doctrine of continuity in a slightly modified form.

Now, is there any necessary antagonism between scriptural teaching and the evolution theories propounded by modern science ? Of course there is the sharpest antagonism if we interpret the opening chapters of Genesis with strict literality. But theologians are now universally agreed that we are not warranted in giving a strictly literal interpreta-

tion to this portion of God's word. If that be so, then we are not obliged to interpret Scripture as inculcating the view of special creations rather than that of creation by development. If day means an indefinite, and probably a very lengthened, period of time, then the creation of any species or order in that day may mean the evolution of that species or order by natural selection from antecedent and less perfectly developed forms. It is only those utterances of science which may be satisfactorily refuted by scientific reasoning that come into real collision with biblical truth. Such an utterance is that which Mr Darwin has so elaborately stated in his *Descent of Man*. There can be no doubt that the teaching of Scripture both in letter and spirit is that man is essentially different from the brutes. But we hold that this is the result to which science, rightly studied, also leads, and we do not argue from unscientific views as to the origin of the human race any antagonism between Scripture rightly interpreted and evolution theories rightly understood and applied. So far, then, as the *direct* teaching of Scripture is concerned, we believe we are free to accept the principles of the doctrine of continuity either as applied to cosmogony or the variation of living beings. But is not the teaching of Scripture *indirectly* opposed to the acceptance of these principles? To the belief that it is, we may trace most of the opposition to, and dislike of, evolution theories shewn by many eminent and earnest men. The difficulties which meet us at this stage of our investigation deserve careful attention.

For example, we are clearly taught in Scripture that God exercises a constant personal supervision over his universe. "Not a sparrow falls to the ground without our Father, and the very hairs of our head are numbered. The eyes of all things wait upon God, and he giveth them their portion of meat in due season." Now, is the conception of the universe, as a great mass of matter evolving itself and developing under the influence of forces originally impressed on the primeval atoms compatible with a belief in this constant personal supervision of the Creator?

Again it is said, that the doctrine that things which are now fitted to fulfil the functions assigned to them have only attained this fitness by slow degrees, is inconsistent with rational views of the divine forethought and wisdom. We are

told in the Bible that God having completed the work of creation, rested from his work, and pronounced the result good. This we accept and believe; and the question arises, Is this belief compatible with the supposition that all living beings have reached their present condition by a painful upward struggle—the favoured individuals of the less perfect developing into the more perfect, before whom the less perfect disappears in the stern conflict for existence, which permits only “the survival of the fittest.” Could all things have been pronounced good in a creation which was only destined to attain its present state by the groaning and travail with which the development of nature, as described by evolutionists, is accompanied? It is unquestionably a gloomy picture which the doctrine of continuity here presents, in so far as the animate creation is concerned. “Nature red in tooth and claw—the race to the swift, and the spoil to the strong everywhere, weakness crushed out of existence, strength standing on the wrecks of shattered organisms pluming its crest, and passing on to new conflicts until it, too, meets the stronger, and goes down with its pride and beauty to the dust.”

To the first objection, that the principles implied in the doctrine of continuity exclude God from his works, we reply that there can be no doubt that to some minds the theory does carry some such idea. If we regard the Deity as a being the same in *kind* as we are, and only surpassing us in *degree*, the objection is unanswerable. With all the immense ingenuity shewn in practical mechanics of recent years, no one has yet succeeded in constructing a machine which shall gradually accommodate its usefulness to a changing use. And we know very well that if we seek to apply an instrument or machine of human device to a purpose for which it was not originally intended, it will not become any better suited to that use by frequent application. We may possibly begin to use it more deftly; and that proves the very thing we wish to establish. God is a Being differing from us in kind as well as in degree. Animals are but machines, it is said, and in a restricted sense this statement is true; and we accept and use it that, with all reverence, we may illustrate the difference between God’s machines and those of man’s device. The former are capable of development by natural selection (or, in other words, they can adapt their

usefulness to a changing use), the latter are not. Employ any set of muscles of the body for a purpose for which they were not naturally intended, and you will find that they *do* become by degrees adapted to the new use. God is not, as extreme special-creationists would have us believe, limited in his working as we are by the properties of matter and force. He is not, as those who utterly repudiate any concession to evolutionists implicitly assert, "altogether such a one as we are." It is a very common thing to hear the charge of irreverence brought indiscriminately against all advocates of the evolution hypothesis. We are tempted to hurl back the charge against those who bring it. The mental constitution of that individual is certainly peculiar who considers it an exalted conception of the Creator to regard him as the great clock-maker and clock-mender of the universe; but a degraded conception to imagine him as a being capable of bringing about natural change in a way which utterly transcends our efforts, and which we are, even now, only beginning dimly to perceive and understand. There is no one, we believe, who has carefully considered the matter who does not see that any intelligible theory of evolution demands behind it a forecasting intelligent will, and a constructive power, far beyond any that we can exercise, or hope to exercise. Creation by law, as has frequently been remarked by our ablest thinkers, is not creation without God. But theologians are not the only individuals to be blamed for giving currency to the contrary opinion. Scientific men also deserve the gravest censure, as we might easily shew by quotations from the works of eminent biologists. Professor Haeckel, for example, defines the evolution cosmogony as the "non-miraculous theory of creation." This definition certainly involves a peculiar view of the nature of a miracle. Surely every one considers that one distinctive peculiarity of a miracle is that it is a work transcending human capacities to effect. If the special creation theory describes a series of works far transcending human powers; most assuredly the theory of creation by evolution, when rightly understood, describes a series of processes still further without the range of our capabilities.

The second objection, that the hypothesis that all things

have reached their present state of fitness for the functions which they fulfil by a continuous upward struggle, is inconsistent with proper conceptions of the divine wisdom and forethought, at first sight appears more formidable. We no doubt associate less or more of ignorance and feebleness with the efforts of the workman who only attains his end by repeated trials and failures, and who has continually to cast aside as worthless a large amount of spoiled work. Can we without irreverence suppose, that this method of trial and error is the plan of working which the Creator has since the dawn of time been continually employing in the world which he then pronounced good? "Certainly not," the superficial mind would answer at once. But is this conclusion not too hasty? Are we competent to pronounce off-hand what is the best plan of working for the Creator, and to decide on the precise properties which entitle any work of his hand to be pronounced good? We all admit that everything, however apparently worthless or even noxious, must have some use in creation. We all believe too, that the physical and moral evils which distress and appal us by their existence, doubtless subserve wise and gracious ends. Are we then prepared to assert, that the law which according to the evolution hypothesis all nature teaches us, that perfection can only be approached by slow continuous effort, by a long, toilsome, upward struggle, is not one likely to be taught under God's moral government? Surely we are not.

And what does nature now teach us as to the probable working of her forces in the dawn of time? The child-life may be more or less accurately conjectured from a study of the life in manhood's prime. Is nature's plan (that is to say that of God working in nature) now to produce the perfect, and nothing but the perfect? Consider the growth and development of vegetable life. Unquestionably the perfectional hypothesis demands the invariable sequence, "first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear." But is this nature's plan? or is it true that—

"Of fifty seeds
She often brings but one to bear?"

Few sights fill the heart more with the conception of present beauty and future promise than a fruit-tree in spring laden with blossom. But bursting bloom has not for its invariable

consequent ripe fruit. Here and there is a blossom less firmly fixed to its stalk than its fellows, and by-and-by the wind wrenches it from its stem. Here and there is one unable to withstand the biting frost. And then when the fruits are formed day by day the weak and shrivelled drop off, leaving the tree better able to supply the nutriment requisite for the support of those whose footstalks fix them firmly to the parent stem. It cannot be said, in our superficial use of the word, that all the torn and withered blossoms, and all the shrivelled fruits, were originally created perfect.

And surely history and experience combine to teach us that all things which are in any limited sense of the term perfect, have attained their measure of excellence by passing through a long probation. The struggle for existence which results in the survival of the fittest, and thence in the gradual advancement and evolution of organic nature, has its analogues in what every day's experience teaches us, and what we learn from the records of the past. We do not find high types of intellectual or moral life either in individuals or communities, or high proficiency in the arts of civilisation reached *per saltum*. The great Governor of the universe, who reserves to himself the right of deciding what is good and best here, permits, and therefore originally provided for, *gradual* progress. It is instructive for us also to note that the path of progress is not only toilsome; it is always metaphorically, often literally, watered with blood and tears. "Who," says a recent writer, "can describe the cost of human development—the stain that reddens the track of civilisation, the masses of victims that lie crushed to bloody clay under the chariot wheels of progress, the holocaust which is offered at the shrine of every improvement, the anguish which writes its record on the faces of the myriads who, too weak for life's struggle, fall out of the ranks of the advancing army, stagger awhile painfully in the rear, and then drop in heart-broken despair." The picture is not an exaggerated one if we consider the wars by which great epochs in human progress have been inaugurated; the triumphs of civilisation on its outmost borders, where whole tribes and nations are continually withering up in the presence of European culture, knowledge, and skill, and "the hard fact that there are ranks and classes whose

bread fails, and who are set face to face with starvation as every step is gained in the art of manufacture." This is the method by which Divine Providence ordains that human progress shall be brought about: and because we are familiar with it, we do not consider that its adoption reflects on his power and wisdom. Why then should the hypothesis, *that the same method which is seen in the advancement of man is seen also in the advancement of lower forms of being*, be deemed atheistical, or at least inconsistent with true views of the nature and perfection of God? If it be true that this world is but a training school for immortality, that nature has lessons for us as immortal beings, that "the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made"—and we surely all accept these propositions—then it would seem that there can be no theory of the universe more consonant with, or illustrative of, God's moral government, as it is actually known to us, than the evolution hypothesis.

In so far as we can see then, there is no reason for the theologian to feel any *à priori* hostility towards the doctrine of continuity. We see nothing to prevent the most devoutly minded man from entering on the consideration of evolution theories with as little prejudice or preconception as he would enter on a consideration of the dynamical theory of heat. The great majority of the questions raised are purely scientific, and must be examined by scientific methods and decided on scientific grounds.

Of course in a paper like the present it is impossible to attempt what might be called a technical examination of the doctrine of continuity, that is, to consider in detail what results tending to confirm it have been established in different fields of scientific investigation, and how these results have been reached. An amount of space would be required for this purpose which would exceed the limits of a review article, and an amount of scientific verbiage inadmissible except in a purely scientific discussion. With a glance at two general arguments in favour of a fuller acceptance of the doctrine of continuity than the majority of theologians seem at present inclined to grant, and some observations in regard to the limits of the doctrine, we must conclude.

The first of these general arguments to which we ask attention is one already referred to, viz. that derived from the analogy of nature. Consider the facts and phenomena of everyday life, and the relations of common things which we see in the world around us—are these suggestive of the doctrine of continuity or of discontinuity? For example, in the most ordinary phenomena of nature is change *per saltum*, or gradual change, nature's law? We can have no hesitation in answering this question. The gradual dawn of morning's light "shining more and more unto the perfect day"—the gradual deepening of evening's twilight into the gloom of night—the gradual bursting of the buds in spring—the gradual painting of summer's landscape with the more sombre tints of autumn, have been enshrined in immortal verse in the literature of our own and every other language:—

" Noiselessly as the daylight comes back when night is done,
And the crimson streak on ocean's cheek grows into the great sun ;
Noiselessly as the spring-time her crown of verdure weaves,
And all the trees on all the hills open their thousand leaves."

Continuity, and not discontinuity, is taught us by the phenomena of the seasons and the changes of day and night. And what does nature teach us in the vegetable world? Do we find to-day a gigantic oak flourishing where yesterday there was smooth unbroken sward? Or is nature's mode of working, that there is first a tiny seedling peering through the soil, which a child could crush beneath its foot; then in the course of years a stout shrub, which a strong man might have difficulty in uprooting; then, when years and years have come and gone, the mighty giant tree, which bids defiance to the storm? Or to take an illustration from animal life, and to take of that life the highest form in its highest manifestations, do we find great statesmen, poets, painters, and men of science springing into being fully developed and glittering, Athenae-like, in all their intellectual panoply? Or is it true that all the men who are now in any capacity leaders of thought, of taste, or of action, were once feeble infants, physically helpless, and with just sufficient mental capacity to have a dim consciousness of being? We state these simple questions which everybody can answer, because, although everybody can answer them, many people do not grasp their significance, and because they lead to a

suggestive line of thought and investigation. We only need to study the matter to see that everywhere around us—in the changes and phenomena of inorganic nature, in the growth of animal and vegetable life, in the growth and development of that intellectual and moral strength which is the highest attribute of the highest form of life—we have continuity everywhere, gradual change, the less perfect developing into the more perfect; developing however, let us note—for it is a truth missed by all the opponents and most of the defenders of the doctrine of evolution—not *without constant care and supervision*, and in many instances not without a hard struggle against adverse environments.

In referring to the argument in favour of the doctrine of continuity derived from the analogy of nature, we may very appropriately refer also to what we learn from a study of nature's workings in regard to the limits of the doctrine. This is a question which has been too much overlooked, and from the neglect to examine which much error has arisen. Whilst the study of nature teaches us that *continuity* is the rule, there are, we believe, facts to warrant the inference that *discontinuity* appears as the exception. Here and there we see breaches of the general routine which, although trifling in themselves, taken collectively, furnish a basis for the elucidation of important truth. We may note a few of these exceptions at random. Take, for instance, the natural law to which we have already referred, that the atmospheric conditions are so arranged on our planet that the fall of night shall be a gradual process:—

“ Now came still evening on, and twilight grey
Had in her sober livery all things clad.”

But we know that under certain conditions this may not be the case. Another poet has given a faithful and graphic description of the approach of tropic night:—

“ The sun's rim dips, the stars rush out,
At one stride comes the dark.”

The rapid transitions of the seasons in high latitudes are also in a certain sense departures from the routine prescribed by the doctrine of continuity. Or consider another of our illustrations of one of the principles of continuity, the gradual process seen in the formation of river deltas. Do we not find here events occurring which produce results not exactly

conformable to the principle of gradual variation? A river, the waters of which are loaded with alluvial matter, pursues for year after year an uninterrupted course to the ocean. A tree uprooted by some mountain torrent is floating down. By some sudden turn of an eddy, its roots or branches catch on a rock near the mouth of the stream. It forms a nucleus for the driftwood to accumulate, then alluvial matter is caught as it filters through, and then the formation of the river delta begins, and proceeds with a regularity which furnishes a basis for the calculations of physical geographers in after ages.

But we cannot multiply illustrations, and shall only refer to one more, viz. the fact which has always been admitted by Mr Darwin and the school of biologists of which he is the founder, to be an inexplicable fact—the sudden changes which appear in species giving rise to what are potentially new varieties. We may allude here to the example which has become classic in the expositions of modern biologists—the origination of the new breed of Ancon sheep, and the occasional appearance of six-fingered individuals in the human race. To account for these facts in strict accordance with the principles of continuity has always been one of the great difficulties of the advocates of the theory of natural selection. Professor Haeckel believes that he has satisfactorily explained them, but it seems to us that his explanation is pre-eminently unsatisfactory. He accounts for these sudden changes in species by *variations in the nutrition of the parent organism*. There are no facts to support this theory. In the case of human parents who have produced six-fingered offspring there is no evidence of any abnormal conditions of nutrition, and it is difficult to see how abnormal nutrition, if it did occur, could take such a form as would render six fingers a desirable possession for the offspring of any individual subjected to these conditions. The study of the breaches of strict continuity which we meet with in nature has not yet received any careful scientific investigation. We need not of course go into detail here, as we cannot hope to make our discussion more than suggestive. But we believe we are justified in asserting, that the result at which every careful student who enters on the investigation which we indicate will arrive, is this, that while the

method of the divine government in both organic and inorganic nature is to work in accordance with fixed and ascertainable laws, still we have at times forthputtings of a power in and behind nature manifesting its independence by acting beside or above these laws. To this conclusion calm scientific inquiry certainly tends to lead.

The second general argument in favour of the doctrine of continuity to which we ask attention is the argument from authority. It is a remarkable fact that, with hardly an exception, scientific men are agreed that there is a basis of solid reality in the development theory. The more fully, for example, the animal and vegetable worlds are examined, the more fully is the value of Mr Darwin's investigations and speculations seen. Although there can be little doubt that most important limitations will be put to the majority of his generalisations, and that when the true theory of the origin of species is fully discovered he will be seen to have grasped the truth in many cases most imperfectly, still we believe there is no one at all familiar with the history of science and the present tendencies of scientific discovery who does not see that Mr Darwin's name is one destined to stand in the first rank amongst the leaders of intellectual progress. The Newton of biological science has yet, we believe, to arise, but scientific men are pretty generally agreed that Mr Darwin must at least be regarded as the Kepler. It is of course hostile to the spirit of true science to give more than a subsidiary place to the influence of authority, but still the almost unanimous opinion of those who really have given honest work to the study of zoology and botany is entitled to much weight. That opinion is in favour of the acceptance, in a more or less modified form, of the doctrine of continuity.

But we must here guard against being misunderstood. Although we express our conviction that the leading principles of Mr Darwin's theory of development are correct in so far as points relating to zoology and botany are concerned, it is not for a moment to be supposed that we pin our faith to all his views and inferences, and still less that we express any sympathy with the opinions of the extreme evolutionist school. Mr Darwin has done a vast amount of scientific work which is very valuable, and has also promulgated a considerable number of speculations which are of no value

whatever. One is not bound to fall in with the latter on account of appreciating the former. An intelligent appreciation of Newton's *Principia* does not bind a man to accept the views of the same author on witchcraft, or even on theology, in which subject Sir Isaac frequently dabbled. We think it highly probable that it will be shewn, that Mr Darwin is right in the supposition that new species can be originated by the influence of the agencies he enumerates. We think it very improbable that the number of original species will be shewn to be as limited as he supposes. And we have a firm conviction that science will demonstrate conclusively that man is a species essentially different from any other either existent or extinct. The study of the limitations of Mr Darwin's theory by those who really do understand natural science, can scarcely be said to have been begun in an unprejudiced scientific spirit. As the history of science shews, there is always in regard to any important scientific theory which introduces an entirely new class of conceptions, first a period of undue scepticism, then a period of too complete acquiescence, then a period when it is formulated in a well-defined and accurate shape. Darwin's theory has as yet only reached the second stage. It will take some time before it can reach the third. There is a natural prepossession in the human mind in favour of theories which give extreme generalisation. As has been well said—

“The desire to conquer the bewildering multiplicity of nature, and find some pervading identity which shall make a woven texture of the whole, is a genuine intellectual impulse which has always had a powerful influence on scientific thought. No sooner does Darwin supply a verified conception which construes the endless differences of organic kinds into a continuous process, than the very relief which he gives to the mind serves with others, if not with himself, as an equivalent to so much evidence.”¹

To assert, then, that Mr Darwin's theory may not after all turn out to be as general as is now assumed, is opposed to scientific prejudice, for there is scientific as well as popular prejudice in the world.

We cannot enter on a detailed discussion of the limitations of Darwin's theory; but one point we cannot pass quite unnoticed, the strength of the evidence which seems to be available to prove that man is separated by a very

¹ Rev. James Martineau, “Modern Materialism,” in *Contemporary Review*.

distinct line of demarcation from any other animal form. We have already examined this evidence at length in a criticism of Darwin's *Descent of Man* published in the issue of this *Review* for January 1872. Since writing that article we have as far as possible tried to examine carefully all new contributions to the discussion of the question made by those of real eminence in natural science, and we must say that it seems to us that the progress of biological knowledge is unfavourable to the hypothesis that the difference between man and the brutes is one of degree and not of kind. We believe that the theory of the development of man from lower animal forms will lose its hold on the scientific mind when the question begins to be studied fully from the psychological as well as the physiological side. Were there no greater difference between the mental capacities of the lower races of mankind and the anthropoid apes than there is between their physical organisations, the gulf which separates them would be easily passed. But in spite of all that has been said and written to the contrary, we feel assured that the mental difference between the most degraded savages and the brutes is infinite. Take the instance relied on most by those who support Darwin's view of the descent of man, the case of the Bari and other degraded African tribes who have not only no conception of any spiritual existence, but no moral conceptions whatsoever, and in whom the poor Austrian missionaries who had their station at Gondokoro on the Nile tried in vain to arouse such a simple feeling as gratitude for unmerited favours. Compare one of these savages, it is said, with any of the lower animals that can be tamed, and the contrast between their mental and moral attributes will not be to the advantage of the former. But although it may be true that nothing can be made of the adult Bari savage, still a marked difference will at once be seen if you subject a Bari child and one of the most intellectual of our domestic animals (say a pure-bred shepherd's dog) to the same intellectual and moral influences. And if Bari children were brought to Europe and allowed to grow up in civilised society, there can be little doubt that their children would be in all moral and intellectual attributes hardly, if at all, distinguishable from those of the Europeans around them. This ignoring of the psychical side of the

question in all attempts to establish an identity of kind between man and the brutes is very strikingly seen in the introduction to the first chapter which Professor Haeckel devotes to the subject in his *History of Creation*. The idea which Professor Haeckel propounds is not new, but he adopts it as expressive of his views. According to him, in commencing the study of the human species we should

“imagine ourselves to be the inhabitants of another planet who, taking an opportunity of a scientific journey through the universe, have arrived upon the earth, and have there met with a peculiar two-legged mammal called man diffused over the whole earth in great numbers. In order to examine him zoologically we should pack up a number of individuals of different ages and from different lands (as we should do with the other mammals selected upon the earth) into large vessels filled with spirits of wine, and on our return to our planet we should commence the study of the comparative anatomy of all these terrestrial animals quite objectively. As we should have no personal interest in man, in a creature so entirely different from ourselves, we should examine and criticise him as impartially and objectively as we should do the other terrestrial animals. In doing this we should in the first place refrain from any conjectures and speculations on the nature of his soul or the spiritual side of his nature, as it is usually called. We should occupy ourselves solely with his bodily structure, and by that natural conception of it which is offered by the history of his individual development.”¹

Now we respectfully submit, that before these supposed scientific observers have got their specimen of that “peculiar two-legged mammal called man” into the spirits of wine, they have got all that essentially differentiates him from other mammals out of him, and that their investigations after that with the object of determining his identity, or non-identity, with these can lead to no reliable result. In spite of all that has been urged on the subject by eminent writers, we see no reason for modifying the opinion that the gulf which separates man from other animals is not only unbridged but unbridgable.

But we must conclude. We have been dealing with subjects which give rise to keen controversy at present. Into any detailed criticism of this controversy we prefer not to enter, because we find much stated both by men of science and theologians of which we strongly disapprove. We find on the part of the former, in many cases, a deliberate and most offensive irreverence in their allusions to our cherished

¹ *History of Creation*, vol. ii. p. 265.

religious beliefs, and an intellectual contempt for their opponents, which is both unwise and unjustifiable. On the part of the latter, we find too often a bitterness unbecoming the gospel of Christ, and a readiness to attribute moral rather than intellectual obliquity to their antagonists, which is as unreasonable as it is uncharitable. It is not difficult to define theoretically, though it may be hard to occupy practically, the attitude which should be assumed at present by the earnest seeker after truth. There are two directions in which we may err by going to extremes. We may be led to join in an unreasoning outcry against science, because it happens at times to jar with some traditional theologic conceptions which have no basis in scripture rightly interpreted, or in reason rightly used, and which are only having their groundlessness exposed. Or we may be led into the opposite and still more dangerous error of accepting new scientific theories too hastily, from a dread of being thought "narrow-minded" and "behind the age." Of course the motto which indicates the true path in which to walk is, "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good."

We can have no doubt as to the ultimate issue of the conflict between religion and science. The history of the past tells us that we need not dread that the religious beliefs of the community will be enfeebled or destroyed by the advance of science. It may tend to displace some of the traditional beliefs which are the excrescences on Scripture truth rightly formulated, but that will be no loss. A century or two ago it destroyed the belief in witchcraft, which up till that time was considered a crucial test in discriminating between a thoroughly orthodox theologian and one with dangerously rationalistic tendencies. In recent times it has taught us to be slow in interpreting literally portions of the Old Testament which unquestionably were not left on record as an exposition of cosmological science. But has the religious life of the people become extinct? On the contrary, we believe that, in spite of all the shame and sorrow, "the want, the care, the sin," of our great cities, there never was more of the true religious spirit pervading society. At least this is the case if we accept the prevalence of works of faith and labours of love as evidence of a Christian spirit. Prac-

tical Christianity is not on the decline. Our contributions to the support of Christian missions, to the furtherance of religious education, to the support of hospitals for the sick and homeless, will compare favourably with those of any preceding generation. There may possibly be a broader theology current amongst many of the benevolent now than there was fifty years ago; but perhaps, after all, they stand no further from realising the blessing, "Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me."

And we have no fear that in the future it will be other than it has been in the past. Very possibly, as years roll on, we may find that the attitude of the religious public towards some scientific theories which are now regarded by many with suspicion and distrust, will be much altered. But we do not anticipate that on that account we will have less of the true religious spirit amongst us, or have a less firm hold on the great central truths of evangelical Christianity. Religion will still be an all-powerful and all-pervading influence in the lives of earnest men. We may reach new and far-reaching generalisations as to the relations of force, and new discoveries of the wonderful properties of matter, but the reverent student of nature will still see behind the manifestations of law a living intelligent will. The unity and continuity of nature will not teach to him blank materialism, or obscure from his view

" One God, who ever lives and loves,
One God, one law, one element,
And one far off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves."

J. R. LEEBODY.

AMERICAN QUARTERLIES.

1. *The Bibliotheca Sacra*. July 1876. Andover: W. F. Draper.
London: Trübner & Co.

This *Review* maintains its very high position among American theological periodicals for the scholarship and permanent value of its contents. More than half of the matter in this issue consists of instalments of long and learned dissertations, most of them continued, not from the last number, but from earlier volumes of the *Bibliotheca*. Of this kind is the first article, or what he calls "The Natural Basis of our Spiritual Language," by Dr W. M. Thomson, author of *The Land and the Book*. He discusses the use, especially in Scripture, of parables and similitudes, and uses his well-known intimate acquaintance with Palestine, its climate, customs, &c., to illustrate in an interesting way the aptness of biblical imagery. The second place is held by a brief discussion of the meaning of the words in John iii. 5, "Born of water and spirit," the writer maintaining that "water" there "is a symbol of the Spirit's agency, and has not the least reference to the rite of baptism," and therefore that the doctrine of baptismal regeneration founded on that text is a delusion. The writer's argument seems to be faulty in two respects, though with his conclusion we to a large extent agree. He combats only the coarsest form of the doctrine, *i.e.* that the water itself is efficacious to the renewing, and he does not seem to see that men may as exegetes see an allusion to baptism in the text without holding that or any form of baptismal regeneration. Then follows an interesting series of documents, *viz.*, the last will of Jonathan Edwards, and the inventory of his estate. It would appear that the great divine, though far from a rich man, had carefully invested his savings in land. He also owned a considerable amount of what is called in the inventory "quick stock," oxen and cows for the most part, but including "a negro boy named Titus," valued at £30. The small number of his books is noticeable—38 folios, 34 quartos, 99 octavos, 130 duodecimos, and 25 volumes of his own works, with some 500 pamphlets, complete the list.

The next article, by Rev. George F. Wright, of Andover, the second of a series on "Recent Works bearing on the relation of Science to Religion," is a very important one. It is on the subject of the origin of species, or, as Mr Wright prefers to term it, "The Divine Method of Producing Living Species." By this title he suggests two thoughts which men of science are too ready to neglect—1. That they only deal with the method visible in the sequence of secondary causes. 2. That God is the author of that method. He points out that the question of the last generation as to the unity of the human race has been changed into the question, whether the whole animal kingdom may not have descended from one progenitor; and proceeds to state, without committing himself to holding, the argument in favour of the evolutionary origin of species. It is impossible to epitomise his terse and lucid paragraphs on the essential meaning of species, the natural power of selection, and so on. The dis-

cussion is reverent, vigorous, and original. The next instalment of what promises to be a work of great value will include a statement of the old or ordinary view of the manner in which species are produced. We hope it may not be long withheld.

Our space forbids us to dwell on the next article, on the importance of Professorships of Missionary Instruction in Theological Seminaries, by Rev. Dr Happer, of Canton. In this country, as indeed wherever the subject is fairly considered, the use of such instruction will be generally recognised. The two following papers are on subjects of Hebrew scholarship. Rev. S. Hopkins begins a series of racy expositions of the original text of Gen. i. and ii. His logic is as keen as his exegesis is precise, and his opinions are decided. The whole article is devoted to the discussion of the first verse of Scripture, which he ends by translating: "In their beginning God did create the (*i.e.* our) aerial heaven and the solid land." He declines to identify "the heaven and the earth" with the material universe, maintaining it to be exegetically necessary to consider the narrative as "embracing only the narrow limits of our own land-world, with its sea and its atmosphere." This position he defends on such grounds as these: That "the heaven" must have one meaning only in these chapters, which cannot be "the sidereal host," without introducing textual absurdities in some places; that the Hebrew word for *heaven* means literally and really the elevated region which we call our atmosphere, while that for *earth* is (Gen. i. 10) identified with "the dry." The continuation of this paper will be looked for with interest. Rev. B. Pick, of Rochester, continues from the April number his "*Horæ Samaritanæ*," or collection of various readings of the Samaritan Pentateuch compared with the Hebrew and other ancient versions. He has now accomplished his task down to the end of Exodus. Professor Kidder, of Drew Methodist Episcopal Theological Seminary, gives an interesting historical sketch of the progress of ministerial education and training in that church since its organisation in 1784. For twenty years before that date Wesley himself superintended the training of the itinerant ministers and local or lay preachers who were needed for his American followers. Wesley had from the first desired to see theological seminaries established both in England and America; but this was not attained even in England till 1834, since which date the three well-known institutions at Didsbury, Richmond, and Headingly have been founded. Till then Methodist preachers and ministers were trained as carefully as possible while already engaged in the work of preaching. In the United States there are now also three Methodist seminaries of importance—at Concord, N.H.; Evanston, near Chicago; and Madison, New Jersey, where the theological training extends over four years, and is very like that at one of our home divinity halls. In two particulars the Methodist student's position is peculiar. On the one hand, he must bring a certificate from a conference to the effect that in the opinion of its members he has received a divine call to the ministry; and, on the other, he is encouraged to preach to a limited extent during his course. It may be right to state in closing, to shew the important effects which this thorough training must have on American christianity that there are in the United States three millions of lay members of the

Methodist Churches, nineteen-twentieths of them Episcopal, with 20,000 itinerant ministers, and 24,000 local preachers.

At the close of the number there are several valuable critical notices by Mr Wright of Andover, already referred to, and others.

2. *The Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review.* July 1876. New York : J. M. Sherwood. Princeton : M'Ginness.

This excellent issue of the *Princeton* opens with a very readable sketch of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, culled from the minutes of their sessions, recently edited by Professor Mitchell and Mr Struthers, whose work is commended. Due acknowledgment is made of the remarkable influence of the five Scotch representatives. At one point in the article, where it is said, "the general view of the Assembly was *high* Calvinism, and such, beyond the shadow of a doubt, is the sense of our standards. Logically and historically, they stand for a limited atonement," one of the editors, Dr Smith, inserts a footnote as follows: "This statement is stronger than the facts. The Westminster Assembly carefully avoided the extremes of Calvinism." Those readers will find the article valuable who cannot obtain the minutes themselves. Next comes a paper on "Theories of Labour Reform and Social Improvement," which shews an intimate acquaintance with a subject of more pressing moment in America even than among ourselves. The writer discusses and shews the weaknesses of the following theories of Reform; the *agrarian* (which proposes to remedy the evils of society by a re-institution of property); the *communistic*; the theory of *governmental aid*; that of *defensive combination*, of *co-operation* or *competitive association*; and lastly, that of *secular morality*. Most of these names explain themselves. The last-mentioned is that of the philanthropists who would have the working-classes elevate themselves by honesty, thrift, and virtuous causes generally, but who see no necessity for a higher heavenly gospel. The writer clearly points out that secular morality fails through its insufficient motive-power. The gospel of Christ in the Spirit's hand must accompany and enforce the best theories of social improvement if they are to succeed. We have next an ingenious paper on the connection between Calvinism and American Independence. Calvinism and Presbyterianism, it would appear, *horribile dictu*, are the real origin of the Declaration of Independence which this year has occasioned so much "centennial eloquence." Some interesting facts are stated in this article, such as the following: that French Roman Catholic agents in America, before the revolt of the English colonists, found in their religious principles the one element of disaffection strong enough to produce a rupture with England, and counselled their government to foster and cherish that disaffection. Again, that a large immigration of French Protestants into America followed the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and that their descendants were prominent in the war of Independence; and again, that a Rev. Mr Craighead, a Scotchman, in the year 1743, at a meeting of Presbyterians in Pennsylvania, renewed the covenants, deposed King George, and swore with drawn swords to defend the gospel of Christ and the liberty of the nation against enemies without

and within. This act had considerable influence in preparing men for the Declaration of Independence.

Professor Cooper, of Rutgers College, N. J., writes on Henry Stephens' *Greek Thesaurus*, which of course he greatly admires. He recommends the production of a new edition, abridged from Didot's Paris one, in nine volumes folio, which he thinks might be condensed into one folio. Dr H. B. Smith, one of the accomplished editors, contributes an able lecture on "Christian Apologetics," in which he sketches the great elements of the conflict between faith and scepticism, and some of the phases through which in past generations it has passed.

Rev. E. Riggs, Missionary of the American Board of Missions in Asia Minor, gives a very dark picture of "the decay of the Turkish Empire," a decay which seems to extend to almost every phase of life—social, political, religious. Writing early in the present season, he seems to have expected atrocities of the kind, if not the amount, which have now stirred the indignation of all Christian Europe. The overthrow of Islam, the false and sensual religion of Mohammed is, he considers, the necessary antecedent of the true reformation of Turkey. On the political duty of Britain he does not commit himself to an opinion.

Want of space compels us to leave unnoticed three brief papers, "On the American Stamp Act," one of the occasions of the Declaration of Independence, on "The Philosophical Method of the Study and Teaching of English," and on "How a Pastor would meet Infidelity."

Dr Atwater of Princeton, one of the editors, sketches the principal proceedings of the last General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, which met in Dr Talmage's tabernacle, Brooklyn. Of course the renewal of friendly communications with the Southern Presbyterian Church, at which so many in Britain rejoiced, is the principal subject discussed. Dr Atwater writes cautiously, but on the whole hopefully, of the prospect of the re-establishment of fraternal relations between the churches. These can only be secured, he implies, if both sides are willing to "let bygones be bygones," and neither ask nor offer humiliations for the past. Other matters of interest were the proposal to reduce the representation to the assembly (which is already very much lower than that of either of our Scotch assemblies); the administration of the sustentation fund, at present too much connected with that for home missions; and the question of re-baptising converts from Romanism, which was referred to a special committee.

The last extended article is by the same pen, and is a very friendly and laudatory review of what must be a charming book, "The Life and Letters of J. H. Thornwell, D.D.," the great southern professor, teacher, and politician, by his hardly less celebrated confrère, Dr Palmer of New Orleans. We admire this review as much for what it leaves unsaid as for its courteous manly treatment of a delicate task.

3. *The New Englander*. July 1876. New Haven: W. L. Kingsley. London: Trübner & Co.

As formerly, the proportion of articles that deal with theological topics

is so small, that we are forced to notice this *Review* more briefly than it deserves. We can only enumerate the secular papers. First, we have a fair, if not very striking, statement of the educational advantages of mathematical study; then a full catalogue, carefully arranged and annotated, of European writers on India. Next, a notice of a recently published record of "The Old Dominion," or rather of the Charles City County of Virginia. Professor Porter of Washington discourses on a linguistic subject, under the extraordinary vague title, "Logos and Cosmos: Nature as related to Language," and Mr G. W. Green of Cambridge, Massachussets, defends the use of athletics at college. The other articles deserve somewhat fuller notice, from their connection with the object of this *Review*. Professor Cooper of Rutgers College, whom we have already had to thank this month for a contribution to the *Princeton Review*, gives us a very favourable estimate of the "Eleusinian Mysteries." He maintains that in the best days of Greece, and on even to the beginning of the Christian era, these mysteries had, on the whole, a decidedly favourable influence on morality, though in their last stage the contrary became the case. The exoteric teaching of the priests of Eleusis included the doctrines of the immortality of the soul, a future state of reward or punishment, and the necessity of a virtuous life. The esoteric teaching, or greater mysteries, cannot indeed be so positively described, owing to the strict secrecy always preserved regarding them; but their great secret, in the writer's opinion, was the rejection of polytheism, and the acceptance of the divine unity. He further maintains that much of the Eleusinian system was indirectly derived from Mosaic revelation and Hebrew tradition preserved among the scattered Jews.

Mr Lyell Adams, United States Consul at Malta, whose vigorous philosophical articles are well known to the readers of this quarterly, has a characteristic paper on "Condillac and the Principle of Identity." Besides tracing in an intelligible way the growth of Condillac's own opinions, and his connection with Cartesianism, he points out a marked resemblance between the great French sensationalist and Mr G. H. Lewes, in their use of identical propositions, as yielding a theory of the universe.

There are some good thoughts on the value of the pulpit in an article of Professor Fisk of Chicago, on "The Unity of the Professions;" and much encouraging information in the last paper, by Rev. Joseph Roy, D.D., of the same town, entitled, "Fifty Years of Home Missions in Illinois." The American National Home Missionary Society this year celebrates its jubilee, and in no State probably can it report greater progress than in Illinois, which had, when it began work, only a dozen or so of pastors, and now counts over four thousand Protestant congregations.

B. B.

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie. 1876. II.

The number opens with a paper by the late Dr Sack, which was the last literary work of the lamented author. It discusses Psalm civ. 4, defending the now unpopular translation, "Who maketh his angels winds, his ministers a flame of fire." With this rendering the author connects a cosmological speculation as to an influence of angels on the forces of nature which may serve to explain special providences without the assumption either of miracle or of a pre-established harmony.

Ludwig Geiger writes on the history of Hebrew studies in Germany, continuing the investigations which were recorded in his book on the study of Hebrew in Germany from the end of the fifteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century (Breslau, 1870). The essay treats (1st) of Matthæus Adrianus, (2d) of Conrad Pellicanus, (3d) of Thomas Murner. Even those who are not specially interested in the subject which Geiger has so thoroughly made his own, may read with pleasure a long extract from the unpublished Latin autobiography of Pellican, in which he describes the way in which he learned Hebrew; how he painfully spelt out his tattered manuscript of the prophets without teacher, grammar, or lexicon, by the aid of the transcription of two chapters of Isaiah in Latin characters in the *Stella Messiae* of Petrus Nigri; how he formed a lexicon and concordance for himself; how he was puzzled as to the right place under which to enter the verbs; how he rejoiced at heart to meet Reuchlin, and receive the solution of this difficulty; how he purchased the Bible of Pesaro for a gulden and a-half, and completed his lexicon with a speedy industry which surprised even the indefatigable Reuchlin, who did not disdain to borrow the work in aid of his own collections, and so forth. The whole narrative is beautifully simple and graphic. It would be difficult to find a more pleasing picture of the better aspects of monastic life at the close of the fifteenth century than the return of the young Pellican from Pforzheim to Tübingen, in company of his teacher, the general vicar, Paulus Scriptoris, who had just procured for him that huge tattered manuscript of the prophets occupying a whole calfskin. "Eum denique codicem propriis suis in humeris Paulus Scriptoris bajulavit, vir ille piissimus et sanctissimus etiam consequenter ad Tubingam usque, parcens mihi teneriusculo fratri et ut eum robustum in via expeditius sequi valerem." Less pleasing is the picture of the daily occupations in the cloister, which relegated the young Franciscan's favourite studies to stolen moments, the lectures in Scotus and Occam, six or seven hours daily in the choir, besides menial and other duties. It is worthy of notice that Geiger comes to the conclusion that the supposed treatise, *de modo legendi et intelligendi hebræa*, which Pellican is generally said to have put forth before the publication of Reuchlin's *Rudimenta*, is a purely imaginary book.

Wagenmann, always on the watch for secular reminiscences, finds a more

than usually happy subject in the Julius University at Helmstedt, which from 1576 to 1809 occupied no small place in the history of German theology. From the first foundation of the university the theological professors were charged to avoid odious and pernicious controversies, and throughout its existence the Helmstedt theology was distinguished by a moderate and pacifically liberal tendency, which was rather helped than hindered even by the great controversies of which it more than once was the centre. The first of these was the Hofmannian controversy (1598-1601), as to the relation of philosophy to theology; the second was the great syncretistic struggle in which, as has been said, "the strife-loving theology of the seventeenth century fought itself to death." Calixtus and Mosheim are the two greatest names of the university, which steadily decayed after the foundation of the Georgia-Augusta at Göttingen, and the transference of Mosheim to the latter school.

The last paper, in a number of much more than average excellence, is an essay by Weizsäcker on the oldest Christian community in Rome. The so-called liberal German theology since Baur has generally taken it for certain that the church to which Paul wrote was composed of Jewish Christians. Weizsäcker admits that the Epistle to the Romans is directed against Judaism in the church; but shews how strongly the epistle itself testifies to the fact that the Christians of Rome were mainly of Gentile origin. The origin of a church almost wholly Gentile is to be explained by the well-known passage in Suetonius, which is now generally taken to refer to discussions and tumults among the Jews on the subject of Christianity, which led perhaps only to a very partial banishment of Jews from Rome, but which, at any rate, must have severed the Jewish and Christian communities. The essayist proceeds to shew that what Tacitus relates of the Neronian persecution also implies that the Jews and Christians were already quite separated. In this connection he refutes the very perverse account of the matter which has been put forth by Hausrath, H. Schiller, and others, who go on the presupposition that the Roman Christians still lived as good Jews. All secondary evidence, in which Weizsäcker includes the last chapter of Acts, is equally opposed to the Baurian view. If now, in spite of this, the Epistle to the Romans has a polemical tendency, the explanation must be that at Rome, as in Galatia, false teachers had entered, and were to be refuted. The character of these persons appears in iii. 8, where we find that they accused the apostle of saying, "Let us do evil that good may come." That is, they declared that the Pauline doctrine of grace led to immorality. The same thing turns up at vi. 1, and elsewhere throughout the epistle. The objections which the apostle from time to time raises and combats are not such as suggest themselves to him in the course of his dialectic. They are objections which had been actually made. Paul's opponents in Rome had said (1st.) that the doctrine of grace destroyed the restraints of the law; (2d.) that it was injurious to the divine institution of the law, to which it ascribed only a hurtful operation. The whole dogmatical part of the epistle is therefore apologetical in plan, directed against teachers who, in their efforts to Judaize the Roman Church, had found it necessary to slander the other great Gentile churches and their apostle. From these

teachers the "weak brethren," who are also Jews or proselytes, but whom Paul treats with so much consideration, are carefully to be distinguished. Dr Weizsäcker next glances at what is said of the Roman Church in the Epistle to the Philippians, and passes on to Peter's residence in Rome, which he regards as probably historical; but absolutely rejects the Tübingen idea that Peter came to Rome as a pillar of antipaulinism. A curious view of John xxi. 18 is put forth. It is suggested that the words have a double sense, and imply that Peter in his later days would fall under the guidance of a new current of influence—that is, that he would be drawn, as it were involuntarily, into the great Gentile mission. Finally, Dr Weizsäcker emphasises the importance of the fact that a church existed at Rome into which Paul and his opponents alike were only seeking entrance when the Epistle to the Romans was written. Such a phenomenon at once breaks through the narrow framework of the Tübingen theory.

Among the reviews of books, a notice by Ritschl of Mangold's edition of Bleek's *Introduction to the New Testament* will repay perusal.

Studien und Kritiken. IV.

An able paper by Licentiate R. Smend discusses the stage of development of the Israelite religion which is presupposed by the prophets of the eighth century. The essay attaches itself to Duhm's *Theology of the Prophets*, of which it is in good measure a criticism and corrective. Its argument cannot therefore be advantageously sketched except in combination with a statement of Duhm's opinions and results. Dr Förster discusses the character and work of Bonifacius, with special reference to the recent works of Ebrard and Werner. His conclusion, in which he is mainly guided by the former of these writers, is that Boniface was no apostolic character, no great mind, no missionary, and no benefactor of Germany. Missionary work was well advanced before his appearance, and was carried on by Culdee teachers on much sounder principles. Boniface was more a legate than a missionary. He worked into the hands of Rome, and destroyed the possibility and prospect of the formation of a German national church. The essay does not seem to be written in a very impartial spirit.

Dr Jacobi, in a note on the *Epistles of Clement*, suggests that the evidently liturgical prayer embodied in the first epistle as now completely published was not an original part of the text, and that its probable place of origin is Corinth, not Rome. Seidemann continues his documentary and bibliographical contributions to the history of the Reformation. Schürer reviews the two recent introductions to the New Testament by Hilgenfeld and Mangold-Bleek. Mangold's work is on the whole very favourably estimated, and the hope is expressed that the editor of Bleek may soon go on to produce an independent manual of introduction, since no editorial additions can make Bleek's book a fit guide to the present state of controversy. Hilgenfeld's book is sharply criticised. The most valuable part is the accumulation of patristic material; but the work has none of the qualities requisite in a manual,

and does not even give a methodical development and adequate demonstration of the author's own views.

Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie. III.

An essay by A. Thoma on the Lord's Supper in the New Testament has for its main object to eliminate from the original significance of the sacrament all reference to a sacrificial death of Christ. A sufficient specimen of the arbitrary way in which this is effected is the treatment of the words, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood." The original words of Jesus are taken to have been [*kos has*] *seh berithi* [*sic*!], and rendered, "This cup is my religion," or more fully, "the religion which is my very heart blood." The disciples are to appropriate the religious energy of their Master's life. Then, as usual, we have Tollin on Servetus again. Rönsch continues his valuable philological studies in the Itala. Hilgenfeld prints, emends, and discusses the newly-found passage of the Latin of the Fourth Book of Ezra. Görres contributes a note on the way in which Sixtus the Fifth expressed himself on the subject of Papal infallibility.

Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie. 1876. II., III.

Pfarrer A. Baur sketches and contrasts the leading ideas of Schweizer's *Glaubenslehre* and Biedermann's *Dogmatik*. Holtzmann gives a survey of the present position of critical questions as regards the epistles of the New Testament. The attitude of the writer is decidedly negative as to most of the writings which have been subject of critical dispute, more so indeed than one was inclined to expect. The survey is very comprehensive and clear, and will be found useful as a guide through the complicated mass of recent critical discussion. There are some good remarks on the date and address of the Epistle to the Hebrews. That the former is not necessarily prior to the destruction of the temple may now perhaps be held as proved. The description of the ritual is so abstract as to deal with the tabernacle instead of the temple, and the use of the present tense goes for nothing in view of the similar usage in later Rabbinical and Christian writings. As to the address there is at present a strong current of opinion in favour of Rome, which Holtzmann naturally refers to with considerable satisfaction, in view of what he wrote on the subject some ten years ago. One has a difficulty, however, in reconciling this view with the fact that the church addressed seems to have suffered no sorer persecution than bonds and loss of goods (x. 32 ff. ; comp. xii. 4). Considerable space is devoted by the essayist to a criticism of Volkmar's analysis of the Epistle to the Romans. Hofmann of Erlangen is noticed in an insulting tone which no difference of opinion can justify.

Holsten continues his elaborate attack on the genuineness of Philippians, and Schrader defends against Wellhausen [see the notice of the latter's essay in the *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie* in our April number] the correctness of the combination which has led Assyriologists to recognise

Azariah of Judah in the Azrijahu, who figures on the monuments as the leader of a revolt of Hamath against Assyria.

In the third number of the journal before us Trümpelmann continues his discussion of Darwinism. Tollin expounds Servetus's doctrine of God-Sonship. Siegfried offers a supplement to his *Analecta Rabbinnica ad Novum Testamentum et Patres ecclesiasticos spectantia* (Leipzig 1875). The most interesting is a parallel to James i. 6 from *Erubin* 65: "He who is not clear in his mind should not pray."

Hagge writes on the Epistles to the Corinthians. Hausrath, it will be remembered, regards the last four chapters of Second Corinthians as a separate epistle, dating between the first and second epistles. Hagge regards this view as untenable after the criticisms of Klöpffer, but seeks to form a new theory of similar character. He forms a separate epistle by combining 2 Cor. i.-vii., ix., xiii. vers. 11-13. He then supplements what remains of the second epistle by passages from the text of the first, and views 2 Cor. viii. as a separate fragment. He supposes that after personal interests in the matter had died away the various epistles were fused for didactic use. In 2 Cor. xi. 4 Hagge conjectures that *ἐν ἑαυτοῖς* should be written as two words, *ἐν ἑαυτοῖς*.

Nitzsch has an essay on the causes which produced the transformation and progress of scholasticism in the thirteenth century. The centre of the new movement lay in the introduction of Aristotelianism, which had previously had little influence, and that mainly in radical circles, but which the church, too powerful to fear any danger from such views, now admitted and directed to her own service. Dr Nitzsch briefly sketches the Arabic and Jewish influences under which the Aristotelian philosophy first reached Western Europe. He then shews that the renewed interest in theology which appears in the thirteenth century was not due to the universities in general, but to the schools of the Dominicans and Franciscans, and to the University of Paris. In this connection some facts that seem inconsistent with the view that Paris was the main point from which Aristotelian studies spread are noticed and explained. It was the influence of Aristotle which led the scholasticism of this period to look at such fundamental questions as whether theology is a science, whether it is a practical or a speculative science, what are its sources, and what the relation of reason to revelation. At the same time the logical form and method of theological discussion were modified, and systematic bodies of theology went side by side with commentaries on the sentences. How far did these changes meet the complaints of those who in the twelfth century had criticised the theology of their day? Alanus ab Insulis had said that the schoolmen dealt too much with authorities, and too little with rational arguments. This complaint was to some extent effective. Authorities were less appealed to in works of an apologetical tendency; but of course dogmatic would have ceased to be scholastic had it ceased to appeal to authority for the proof of doctrines higher than reason. So too John of Salisbury was not heard when he asked for greater simplicity, and had little effect when he asked men to treat theology with more elegance, and study classical antiquity. But it was admitted that he was right in laying stress on the practical side of theo-

logy, and in asking for ethics, natural science, and metaphysic, as well as logic. On the whole the theology of the thirteenth century is not a divergence from the current teaching of the twelfth, but simply a swelling of the same tide.

Otto Pfeiderer has a very readable paper on Hamann, which was originally a lecture, as is the case with a very large proportion of the articles in these Jahrbücher. W. R. S.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY.

The Humiliation of Christ, in its Physical, Ethical, and Official Aspects.

The Sixth Series of the Cunningham Lectures. By ALEX. B. BRUCE, D.D., Professor of Divinity, Free Church College, Glasgow. Pp. 495. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 1876.

These lectures are well worthy of the name they bear, and of their precursors in the series ; and the book in which they are published, with ample notes and references, will be valuable to theologians, supplying a want in the literature of the subject, and containing many fruitful germs of thought. Although the doctrines of the Incarnation and Person of Christ have been so much discussed in Germany in recent times, and so many ingenious and novel constructions of them have been attempted ; it is somewhat remarkable that very little, if anything, has been done in that line by our divines ; and even the most recent and able of our standard works on systematic theology contain little more than a re-statement of the dogmatic formulæ of the seventeenth century. Dr Bruce has grappled with the subject in a much more thorough way, and has given us a book that will really advance the theological understanding of the great truth that forms its subject. He has also treated the subject in a manner that is at once fresh and fruitful, by making the idea of humiliation the leading one, under which the other points connected with the person and work of Christ are subsumed. The reverse arrangement of the topics has usually been adopted by theologians. They have almost universally made the person and work of Christ the general head, under which they have ranged his deity and incarnation, and the execution of his threefold office ; while the doctrines of humiliation and exaltation come in only as subordinate details of his history, in which position they are comparatively superfluous and meaningless. But Dr Bruce has rightly observed, that the great idea of humiliation is one that, in its own nature, and according to the teaching of Paul, comprehends the whole redemptive work of our Lord, and therefore deserves a far more commanding position and real recognition than it has usually obtained ; and he justly holds that great advantages are to be gained by making it the chief head of doctrine, under which the incarnation, obedience, and

sacrifice of Christ naturally range themselves as subordinate parts. By this arrangement the great moral element contained in the idea of humiliation is more fully brought out ; and the intricate and difficult questions in regard to the hypostatic union receive light and warmth from the bearing upon them of that general principle, that the incarnation and work of Christ are to be regarded as the carrying out of his self-sacrificing love.

The first of the lectures before us is occupied with a general statement of the plan of the course, and an exposition of the two leading passages of Scripture in which the humiliation of Christ is brought out (Phil. ii. 5-9, and Heb. ii. 9-18). His exegesis of the former passage will probably be pretty generally accepted, as it agrees on the whole with that of the best modern expositors ; on the passage in Hebrews he differs from the great majority of commentators, and follows Hofmann in regarding the "glory and honour," with which Christ is said to have been crowned, as referring, not to his exaltation, but to his office and work on earth. This suggestion had already commended itself to us as very happy, and throwing light on a passage otherwise very perplexing ; and we are glad to see that Dr Bruce adopts it, and brings Hofmann's merits as an expositor under the notice of English readers. From the examination of these two passages he deduces certain Christological axioms bearing on the working out of the doctrine ; and then he proceeds to discuss it under the three aspects indicated in the title of the lectures—physical, ethical, and official.

The first of these terms is not a very happily-chosen expression for the bearing of the idea of humiliation on the constitution of Christ's person ; and this is discussed in a historical manner in the next three lectures, which give an exposition and estimate of the three great discussions to which the doctrine has been subjected in the Christian Church, in the fourth and fifth centuries, in the sixteenth and seventeenth, and again in the last fifty years. The second lecture exhibits, in a very clear and judicious way, the genesis and nature of the Apollinarian, Nestorian, and Eutychian views, doing justice to the elements of truth which each of these endeavoured, though in a one-sided way, to maintain ; and shewing how the formula of Chalcedon negatived the extreme positions on each side, while at the same time the chief teachers of the church failed positively to do justice to the great reality of the incarnation and humanity of Christ, by allowing some of the essentials of true manhood to be swallowed up by the deity. This defect, it is pointed out, pervades also the doctrine of the two great theologians of the Middle Ages, John of Damascus and Thomas Aquinas ; though the latter has started some ideas that were ultimately helpful in correcting it.

In the third lecture, the Christologies of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches at the Reformation and subsequent age are unfolded ; and the fantastic and baseless character of the former in all its modifications is exhibited, while the latter is justly commended as doing more full justice to the real humanity of Christ than any previous form of the doctrine. In his fourth lecture, Dr Bruce has done what, as far as we know, had not hitherto been attempted by any English theologian ; for he has given

a very able analysis and criticism of the various forms of the theory of *kenosis*, which has been advanced in modern times by so many distinguished Continental theologians. He reduces them to several distinct classes, according to their chief and distinguishing features ; and while he exhibits a thorough sympathy with the spirit and aim of this line of effort to solve the problem of the person of Christ, he points out very acutely some of the difficulties and objections to which it is exposed. It is characteristic of Dr Bruce's turn of mind that those on which he chiefly dwells are such as have an ethical character and bearing, and of his caution and sobriety of judgment, that his conclusion simply is, that the difficulty and mystery of the subject are so great that we must pause before adopting the theory in any of its forms. We question whether Ebrard's Christology is really of the *kenotic* type, and are rather inclined to consider it as a modification of the Reformed doctrine ; and we are disposed to think that his view of the two natures, as not concretes, but *abstracta*, is both correct in itself, and that which was held by some at least of the Fathers and Reformed divines. It seems clear that both the theory of *kenosis*, and Dorner's theory of a gradual incarnation, have been necessitated by the one-sided nature of the Lutheran Christology, and that the doctrine of the Reformed Church on the person of Christ affords many of the advantages that these modern theories seek in so many different ways. Perhaps it may be the case after all that the Reformed Christology, if only it could be thoroughly kept free from the Nestorian tendency that besets it, would supply what the *kenotic* theorists desiderate and seek for.

The fifth lecture of the course treats of the humiliation of Christ in its ethical aspect, and discusses two important and difficult questions that arise in this connection, the possibility of temptation and of moral development for the incarnate Son of God. On the former of these, Dr Bruce vindicates most emphatically and convincingly the reality of temptation for our Lord ; while on the question, whether we ought to ascribe to him in his humiliation an absolute impossibility of sinning, or merely a possibility of not sinning, he speaks with great caution and judgment, and holds that in different aspects both statements are true, and may be combined. Perhaps a somewhat fuller discussion of this interesting, though difficult, subject might have been expected : and it might have been shewn that, on the one hand, on account of the unity of the person, to say that Christ could sin is the same thing as to say God could sin, yet the impossibility, even to the Divine Being, is not of a natural or metaphysical, but of a moral kind, such as does not exclude, but implies, the exercise of will and freedom ; while, on the other hand, by his humiliation, the eternal Son put himself in a position in which that free and holy will was tried to the very utmost, and could only maintain itself through intensest suffering. The act of sin was ever physically in his power ; it was easier by far to his flesh and blood than that of obedience ; and it was only prevented, at each successive moment of his life of temptation, by the constraining power of that love which is the essence of the Godhead. In considering Christ as the subject of moral development, Dr Bruce is completely successful in shewing that

his sinlessness is not inconsistent with that ; but we are not quite satisfied with his waiving the question of the bearing of his deity on this point. For here, again, to say that Jesus increased in holiness, is to say that God did so ; and yet we seem clearly compelled by the gospel narratives, and by the reality of the human life and growth of Christ, to affirm the former of these propositions. Is the solution of this perplexing problem to be found in the thought that the Son of God learned in his incarnate state, and that by degrees, that form of virtue, of which pure deity is incapable, namely, obedience ? This may be truly regarded as a new thing to the eternal Word ; and in this it may be said, that as made flesh, he really grew : he *became* obedient ; and thus the notion of humiliation may be applied even in this relation. We are somewhat doubtful of the correctness of the view taken by Dr Bruce in this lecture (pp. 307-9), that there is a twofold priesthood of Christ spoken of in the Epistle to the Hebrews, one after the order of Melchizedek, in his exaltation in heaven, and the other foreshadowed by the Aaronic priesthood, upon the earth. There seems to be no reason for limiting the characteristics of the Melchizedek priesthood to heaven, unless the mistake of confounding our Lord's kingly office with his state of exaltation be allowed to influence the mind. If it be distinctly understood that Christ executed the office of a king, even in his humiliation, then there seems no difficulty in tracing all that is said of his Melchizedek priesthood even in his life on the earth.

The last lecture of this series is a very admirable discussion of the official or soteriological aspect of Christ's humiliation, in which a very suggestive classification and profound criticism is given of the various theories that have been adopted to account for the sufferings and death of Christ, and the results ascribed to them in Scripture. One result of this is to shew that we can recognise an element of truth in all the various theories that have found any great amount of acceptance ; that the error and danger of each of the false theories has been the exclusive assertion of one element, as if it were the whole ; and that the evangelical doctrine of vicarious satisfaction does not require us to deny what is positive in the other views, but can embrace all these elements of truth, each in its own place, as parts of a greater whole.

Dr Bruce's style is uniformly clear and vigorous, and this book of his, as a whole, has the rare advantage of being at once stimulating and satisfying to the mind in a high degree.

Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and History. By A. M. FAIRBAIRN.
London : Strahan & Co. 1876.

These essays form a very valuable contribution to the study of comparative theology and psychology. We are glad to have them in a collected form. Though they partake of the fragmentary form necessary to a collection of articles reprinted from Reviews, and the limits of space has somewhat hampered the movements of Mr Fairbairn, yet in these studies we have ample proof of wide reading and research, of much deep meditation on the ultimate problems of human history, and of profound philosophical thinking. We trust that Mr Fairbairn will soon resume

this work, evidently so congenial to him, and, taking up the thread of his argument where at present it breaks off so abruptly, give to us a philosophy of history, in which the divine and the human, the supernatural and the natural will both be abundantly recognised and appreciated. Meanwhile we welcome this valuable volume as a kind of first-fruits from the pen of Mr Fairbairn.

We shall make the best use of the space at our disposal if we give our readers a rapid summary of the method and contents of the volume. The method of inquiry which Mr Fairbairn uses is the historical method. In the three greater essays he applies the historical method to investigate the "genesis and development of the idea of God," "the belief in immortality," and "the place of the Indo-European and Semitic races in history." The qualifications needed for such an inquiry are evidently of a very rare order. It is not sufficient that one be learned up to the highest level of what has been accomplished by philological science, and be acquainted with the most recent results of archæology ; it is necessary that the worker in this field should be one who can weigh evidence, balance probabilities, who is acquainted with the workings of human nature, and is gifted with the power of expounding lucidly and in due order the results of his studies. For learning frequently overwhelms judgment, and some exceedingly learned gentlemen are destitute of the assimilative power, and give out their results precisely as they received them, in a form nearly useless to the world at large. We are glad to find, therefore, that to wide and extensive learning Mr Fairbairn adds a cautious and balanced judgment, and powers of lucid exposition of a very high order. One can never mistake his meaning. In the most abstruse and recondite subject he is always clear and lucid. It gives one all the greater confidence in his guidance to find that he knows and appreciates the limits under which the historical method must be worked to give trustworthy results. He does not apply it as a solvent to disintegrate the conceptions with which the experience of humanity has filled up the words used by the early fathers of the race ; nor does he think that he has solved for us the deeper questions of our time, when he has found out what our Aryan forefathers felt and thought regarding themselves, and God and the world. We may have our fresh intuitions of truth as well as they ; and we, at all events, ought to be wiser than they.

The "study" on the idea of God may be looked at as a defence of a true historic method against a false. A false and shallow historical method has given us innumerable "natural histories of religion," the peculiarity of which was, that they left no religion of which a natural history might be given. None of them explain what most needs explanation, why man is religious. Mr Fairbairn shews that all these histories assume—"(1) That man was originally destitute of religious belief ; (2) that delusions due to ignorance, fear, or dreams were the causes of his earliest faith ; and (3) that the primitive religion was one of terror, a series of rude attempts to propitiate unfriendly beings." None of these can explain the impulse which makes man a religious being. If the question cannot be settled on such easy terms, is there a method and way

by which a solution can be obtained? Mr Fairbairn thinks there is; and the first study is an attempt at a solution. After a short statement of the fundamental difference between the Indo-European and the Semitic ideas of God, he limits himself, in the first part, to an inquiry into the primitive conception of God in the Aryan family before their dispersion. Our space forbids us to detail the steps of his argument; but the conclusion he arrives at we give in his own words:—

“We may now attempt to formulate the primitive Indo-European idea of God. We can at once exclude the fancy that it was a fetich or an idol-god, such as the savages of the South Sea Islands may now worship. The God of our fathers was no ghost of a deceased ancestor seen in feverish dreams. They stood in the primeval home in the highlands of North-Western Asia, looked as Abraham once did at the resplendent sun flooding the world with life and light; at the deep, broad, blue heaven a bosom that enfolded earth, bringing the rain that fertilised their fields and fed their rivers, and the heat that ripened their corn; at the glory its sunlight threw upon the waking, its moonlight upon the sleeping earth; at the stars that ‘globed’ themselves, and went and came and shone so sweetly on man and beast; and they called that far yet near, changing but unchangeable, still but ever moving, bright but unconsumed and unconsuming Heaven, *Deva*—God. To Indo-European man Heaven and God were one, not a thing but a person, whose *Thou* stood over against his *I*. His life was one, the life above him was one too. Then, that life was generative, productive, the source of every other life, and so, to express his full conception, he called the living Heaven Diespiter, Dyauspitar—Heaven, Father.”

Then follows the development of the idea in the second part, of which we cannot resist quoting the noble concluding sentences:—

“In the fulness of time the idea the world needed was revealed. The Christian idea, which held in it the noblest elements of the Indo-European and Semitic conceptions, the pure monotheism of the one blended with the fatherhood of the other, unity, yet plurality, distinction from the world, yet immanence in it, absolute divinity, yet not excluding union with humanity, was given as the most direct revelation of God man could receive. This idea, the only one which can at once commend itself to the speculative reason, and maintain itself as a living power in the heart, abides amid all the fluctuations of thought ‘without variableness or shadow of turning.’”

The third essay is a full and valuable account of the belief in immortality. A short account of the relation which the various philosophies bear to the belief in immortality—a glance at the origin and development of the doctrine and its significance for modern thought—introduces us to the historical treatment of the subject. The inquiry is limited to the history of the belief in India and in Greece; but within the assigned limits the discussion is remarkably full and ample. The first essay and this should be read together. One of the most valuable results of the whole discussion is this, that the higher and purer the idea of God is to which man has come, the more definite and sure is the personal hope of immortality. The belief in immortality fades into vagueness with the advance of polytheism, and gathers form and power with the return to monotheism. “The two ideas develop side by side, constitute indeed

the two poles or sides of the same thought." The course of modern speculation amply illustrates the truth to which his historic studies have brought Mr Fairbairn ; and Comte, Spencer, and Matthew Arnold are cases in point.

The fourth essay is on the place of the Indo-European and Semitic races in history. It is divided with four parts—1. Comparative psychology and the philosophy of history ; 2. The races in civilisation ; 3. The races in religion ; 4. The races in religion and philosophy. In his progress along these lines, Mr Fairbairn has to touch on many questions of great and abiding interest. Comparative psychology and its problems, the statement of the problems involved, the relation of mind to nature and of nature to mind, the influence of great ideals and of great men, the psychology of peoples, and the relation of this to other comparative sciences, these are the themes of the first part. But here space again compels the author to limit himself to the two great families, the Indo-European and the Semitic. It is unfortunate in many respects ; but we trust that at no distant period we shall have the subject treated on a wider basis to results even more satisfactory than the present. The races in civilisation gives occasion to a description of civilisation, of the relation of modern to ancient, and of the individual to society. We have then a vivid description of the two olden races, their prehistoric state and their respective contributions to civilisation ; the differences between the olden civilisations and the new, with an analysis of the influence of geographical position and ethnic relations on Assyria and Phœnicia, Greece and Rome. What elements have the two races contributed to religion ? What is the relation of religion to man, what the causes of the universality and variety of religions ? What were the religions of the races, their respective contributions to Christianity, and the parts of Hebraism and Hellenism in the *Preparationes Evangelicæ* ? these are the themes of the discussion on the races in religion. And in the last part we have a discussion of the part played by these races in literature and philosophy, of which we cannot say more at present, that in it Mr Fairbairn endeavours to cast a bridge over the dark interval which separates the old philosophy from the new, and to trace the connection by way of Alexandria and Spain, from the problems which faced the ancient world to those which are the abiding questions of the modern world. Some of these positions are open to criticism, and some other are only tentative ; but the whole discussion is eminently suggestive and instructive. Let us quote here a passage from the section on Hellenism and Hebraism :—

"Neither was complete in itself. Hebraism needed Hellenism to soften and humanise it, to translate it from an austere and exclusive theocracy into a gentle and cosmopolitan religion, which could illumine the homes and inspire the hearts of men with its own sweet spirit. Hellenism needed Hebraism to pour into its blood the iron of moral purpose and precept, to keep it from falling into impotence under its own unsubstantial abstractions, and set it barefooted, as it were, upon the living God as an everlasting rock. . . . One had sprung up in the hot and blistering desert, amid thunders that seemed the voice of God, had, swollen by many a prophetic rill, forced its way around the boulders of native infidelity between the banks now overhanging, and again meet-

ing, of foreign oppression, and had come into a clear and open place ; the other had started from the foot of Mount Olympe, had flowed onward, answering with woven and mystic music the multitudinous laughter of the Algean, through the heroic fields of epic, and the amorous glades of lyric song, had stolen through the woods sacred to tragedy, now dark and fearful as midnight, now gleaming with light that never was on sea or shore, had glided past 'the olive grove of Academe,' and under the porch of the Stoics, until it had broadened into a soft and limpid lake, and in the fulness of time the long converging streams joined. In obscurity and suffering a new faith arose, had as its founder the sweetest, holiest of beings, in whom its own and after ages saw, God as well as Man. His death was everywhere preached as the basis of a new but permanent religion of humanity, and time has only served to define and strengthen its claims."

We have reserved to the last the essay which stands second in the volume, partly because the method and subject are different, and partly because in the present state of opinion we think the essay fitted to be of great value. It is on a subject on which much has been said and written in recent years. But nothing has been written more fresh and vigorous than the present essay. "Theism and Scientific Speculation" will form the subject of much earnest thought in years to come. How shall we conceive the relation of God to the world? Is God simply a name for the unknown and the inscrutable? The question is raised from every side, and all schools of thought are forced to face it. Even the followers of Comte cannot get rid of it; and G. H. Lewes, who wrote a history of philosophy to shew that philosophy is a mistake, has in these latter days been forced to say that a fresh solution must be attempted. Every such attempt must, Mr Fairbairn shews, accept two things. In his own words—" (1) Any interpretation of nature that leaves out any creative energy or force must be inadequate; (2) any conception of God that leaves out his active qualities, his energies and their action, must be insufficient." The polemic of Mr Fairbairn against those who have accepted the title of Agnostics is vigorously conducted. Specially effective is his treatment of Herbert Spencer, and his exposure of the way in which Spencer, after affirming that all we can affirm of God is, that he is unknowable and inscrutable, very quietly translates his unknowable into known terms of science. He names the unknowable, calls it force, and thus gives an air of reality to his unknown substance. We should like the Agnostic to face Mr Fairbairn's argument, which, as an argument against Spencer, is unanswerable.

The present volume speaks well for our Scottish scholarship. The country which can produce and equip Mr Fairbairn for his task need not despair of finding men fitted to do the work she requires for every emergency. Nor is Mr Fairbairn a solitary worker, nor a singular phenomenon. In all the churches there are true, earnest, competent workers, who are alive to all the results of philosophic and theologic inquiry in our own and other lands. We name no names here. But everywhere there are manifest signs that Scotland is to take her rightful place among the nations in theology and philosophy. We welcome Mr Fairbairn's book as one of these signs.

J. I.

Das Protestantische Dogma von der Unsichtbaren Kirche. Von ALFRED KRAUSS, Doctor u. Ordeutlicher Professor der Theologie zu Strassburg. Gotha : F. A. Perthes. 1876. Pp. 290.

The doctrine of the invisible church, which may rightly be called a specifically Protestant one, is here subjected to a careful and searching investigation, in various points of view, historical, biblical, and doctrinal ; and in this work Dr Krauss shews much learning and acumen, and on the whole, fairness and candour in representing different views and opinions. His treatise is divided into three parts, the first of which is occupied with an account of the origin and development of the doctrine. He traces its beginnings in Wickliffe and Huss, but shews that it was first brought out in a complete form by the Reformers, especially Zwingli and Luther ; and he points out, with much acuteness, the shades of difference in the idea, as held by each of them, and as afterwards modified by their followers. Zwingli regarded the invisible and visible churches as two distinct things, to which the same name happened to be given ; Luther, on the other hand, considered the predicates invisible and visible as indicating two different aspects of one and the same church. Again, Zwingli regarded the church mainly as the community of Christians ; Luther, as the institution for the salvation of men. This latter contrast has generally been maintained in the dogmatics of the two Confessions. In regard to the former however, our author shews that the Zwinglian notion of two different churches was unconsciously adopted by the Lutheran divines, and made part of their system. He has also indicated, though without dwelling much upon it, that Luther's view of the two aspects of the one church has been adopted by many Reformed divines, and precisely by those who have wrought out the subject most thoroughly. On this point however, Krauss holds Zwingli to have been more true to the fundamental principle of evangelical Protestantism ; and he considers that the mistake that led to most of the subsequent confusion was using the term *invisible church*, instead of *kingdom of God*, a mistake into which he thinks the Reformers were led by the reverence they retained for the Apostolic Creed, which, according to him, embodies in its article on the church the Roman Catholic principle. The result of the history of the doctrine in the Protestant churches is, he thinks, to shew, that while the Reformers had the right object in view, in what they put in place of the outward church, yet by giving it the name of invisible church, they attempted to form a conception that involves contradictory elements. Accordingly, in his second part, he goes back to the New Testament, and investigates the use and meaning of the phrases "church" and "kingdom of God," with their cognates. The result to which this biblical inquiry leads him is, that in all but a few of the epistles the word church is always used of an outward society ; and that it is the term kingdom of God, or of Christ, that denotes the spiritual fellowship of the saved. Then, in his third part, Krauss constructs systematically what he derives from this biblical inquiry as the true view of the subject. The kingdom of God is what the Reformers called the church invisible, and it is a purely spiritual society at present, an object of faith, not of

sense, but in the end to be perfected and made outwardly apparent. The church, on the other hand, is not to be called invisible, but is entirely a thing of the earth. It is indeed subservient to the kingdom of God, as the institution by means of which that spiritual society is to be realised and promoted ; but as being in itself of this world, it is necessarily connected with the State, and subject to its superintendence and control. The Free Church theory is discussed and rejected with a degree of bitterness that is somewhat surprising, and without any special reference to the phase of the question that has appeared in Scottish church history. The practical conclusion to which Dr Krauss thus comes is a natural, if not necessary, consequence of his new construction of the doctrine of the church ; and certainly his doctrinal theory, could it be established, would afford a strong support to thorough-going Erastianism. There are, however, several points in which his doctrinal argument seems to halt or fail. In the first place, it is not quite clear that he has succeeded in shewing that the conception of the invisible church involves contradictory elements. It is true, there has been a good deal of variation, and sometimes confusion, in the way of stating it ; and it may be that, in the Lutheran dogmatics, which insist on the absolute necessity of the external means (Word and sacraments) to salvation, there is an inevitable necessity of reducing the true church, after it has been defined to be invisible, to an external society after all. But on Reformed principles, if we firmly hold the visible and invisible to be but two aspects of one and the same church, and fearlessly maintain the possibility of salvation by sovereign and efficacious grace, apart from all outward means, there does not seem to be any real danger of contradictory elements ; as indeed our author has hardly any serious fault to find with Heidegger's statement of the doctrine. Then, in regard to the biblical teaching, Dr Krauss admits that the idea of the church as the body of Christ is to be found, not only in the Creed, but also in the epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians and the first to Timothy, and unless their authority be got rid of in one way or other, the idea of the church invisible must be regarded as having apostolic sanction. Farther, we cannot see how the truly Christian character of the church as an outward society can be secured, unless it be placed in a far closer connection with the body of the saved than Krauss' view of its relation to the kingdom of God exhibits. Only on the view of its being, not merely a subsidiary and preparatory institution, but the actual manifestation on earth, and to the eyes of men, of the true *cætus fidelium*, have we a guarantee in its conception for the church being distinctly Christian. Again, the subordination of the church to the State is utterly monstrous, if the State be heathen ; and any general theory of the relation of the two must provide for such a case, unless it be held that the State, as such, is founded on grace as well as the church. Finally, it must be remembered that there is a mass of evidence in the New Testament for the right and duty of the church to perform those functions and acts in which her independence consists—direct evidence against Erastianism, which Krauss has not discussed at all. On these grounds, we still think that the idea of the church invisible must be maintained ; and we cannot see our way

to the new construction of the doctrine here proposed, much less to the practical conclusions drawn from it. But there is much in the book that is true and good. Its historical statements are comprehensive and accurate; its doctrinal criticisms are appreciative and acute; and its whole treatment of the subject is fitted to give greater clearness of view and width of insight into the bearings of the doctrine, even to those who cannot accept the author's conclusions.

The Deep Things of God. By WILLIAM BATHGATE. Glasgow: James Maclehose. 1876. Pp. 238.

The title of this volume is taken from 1 Cor. ii. 10; and the author rightly gathers from that passage, that what Paul calls the deep things of God are not utterly inscrutable mysteries, but the things revealed in Christianity, truths about God and his relation to his creatures, that are pre-eminently called deep, because they are spiritual, and can only be understood by the teaching of the Holy Spirit. After indicating the manner and frame of mind in which these things are to be studied, and the nature of them, Mr Bathgate treats in successive chapters of the revelation of spiritual realities, the personality of God, the Light of the World, the fatherhood of God, his Providence, his kingdom on earth, and the Christian immortality, as some of the things that are included under his title. These subjects are discussed in a very intelligent and reverent manner; and many interesting and suggestive thoughts are thrown out. The author has a thorough faith in the gospel of Christ, and a devout and meditative spirit; while at the same time he shews considerable independence of thought and boldness in following out his ideas. The book, as a whole, is one likely to exert a salutary influence, especially on thoughtful young men, whose minds are directed towards the religious and theological problems connected with the subjects it treats; and even for professed theologians there are things in it that may be useful and suggestive. Even some of the author's deviations from accepted doctrine are not a little instructive. Thus, his open avowal of a twofold personality in Christ (pp. 80, 185) may indicate a dangerous tendency of some of our popular theological teaching. Again, while he maintains a divine fatherhood of men, founded on their creation in the image of God, he sees so clearly that this makes the divine Sonship of Christ an inconvenient superfluity, that he expresses serious doubt as to the truth of that doctrine (pp. 146-8), and is rather inclined to reject it as at least not clearly revealed. May not this suggest to theologians the question, whether the assertion of a creation-sonship, in any real and proper sense, is not at bottom inconsistent with the eternal Sonship of Christ? Mr Bathgate's treatment of the subject of Providence is also to our mind not quite satisfactory, though it is based upon an ordinary theological view of the doctrine, which virtually makes nature a machine with inherent powers and laws, and every answer to prayer a concealed miracle, a view that seems to us defective and untenable. The chapters on "The Kingdom of God on Earth" and "The Christian Immortality" are exceedingly good, as well as the earlier ones on "The Personality of God," and "Christ

the Light of the World ;" and the whole tone and practical tendency of the book is wholesome and elevating. It reminds one more, in some respects, of some of the best essays of Isaac Taylor than anything we have read for a long time.

Why the Cross of Christ ? An Essay on the Legal and Moral Theories of the Atonement considered in relation to their Common Aspects. By WILLIAM MERCER, B.A. London : John Snow & Co. 1875. Pp. 132.

The idea on which this essay is based is a true one, that the various views that have been taken of the Atonement are not mutually exclusive, but each contain elements of truth that may all be combined, and that this great doctrine should not be made to rest on a single point, but on a broad and comprehensive foundation. More particularly, Mr Mercer thinks that the legal and moral views of the sufferings of Christ may be, and indeed must be, combined, in order to do justice to the teaching of Scripture. He holds that God's nature and law require that sin shall be followed with suffering, and that it cannot be forgiven without the endurance of suffering as a satisfaction to these claims. By this admission, he thinks that he does justice to the legal view of the Atonement. But, on the other hand, he holds that the suffering needful to make forgiveness possible is not inflicted or endured directly for that purpose, but is the very suffering involved in the work of recovering and renewing sinners from the power of sin. In working out this idea, while he certainly shews a right appreciation of the claims of holiness and justice, and the necessity of their vindication ; he seems to regard the laws of God dealing with his intelligent creatures too much under the analogy of mere natural laws, and not sufficiently as moral or judicial ; and hence his view has some appearance of affinity to that of Dr John Young, though it is much more cautious and scriptural. In other respects again, he approaches Bushnell's position, especially in a virtually Sabellian view of the persons in the Godhead, ascribing the atoning suffering as much to the Father and to the Spirit as to the Son. The inadequacy of his basis for the combination of the different aspects of the Atonement appears more distinctly, in his finding himself obliged to deny the Reformation doctrine of a justification once for all on the ground of the imputed righteousness of Christ, and maintain that justification is a thing of degrees exactly paralled to sanctification, being based apparently in his view on faith. Probably this result is to be traced to an inadequate appreciation of the relation of God to man as moral governor, lawgiver, and judge. But while this essay cannot be held to be successful in the object it aims at, it is an effort in a right direction ; and we are glad to see that one who feels so strongly the truth that is contained in the moral theory of the Atonement should see so clearly that that theory is one-sided and defective, unless supplemented by the truth that the sufferings of Christ had a real efficacy Godward, as well as an influence on men. In such a direction of thought as that of this essay, we may hope that men, starting from different positions, may be led to a truer because fuller and more all-sided view of the meaning and purpose of the cross of Christ.

And this should lead to a more general recognition of the evangelical doctrine of the Atonement ; for that doctrine, as Dr Bruce has well shewn in the last of his Cunningham Lectures, has the advantage of including the various elements of truth that are one-sidedly emphasised in each of the diverging theories. The book is written throughout in a clear and interesting style, and in a fair and reverent tone.

The Great Problem : Can it be Solved ? By G. R. GLEIG, M.A., Prebendary of St Paul's. William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1876.

The main interest of this book on Christian apologetics lies in the fact of its being the work of an octogenarian who has distinguished himself in other walks of literature. The age of the writer may partly account for the point of view adopted and the method of argument pursued. In both the author belongs largely to a bygone generation—indeed, we may say to a bygone century. The conception of Christianity reminds one of the apologists of the eighteenth century, who regarded the religion they defended as a sort of police force to keep the masses within the bounds of moral decency by a system of future rewards and punishments, whose certainty was based, partly on the teaching, but mainly on the resurrection of Christ. “For a great moral purpose, the reality of a future state must be brought home to the convictions of mankind.” The moral purpose is to make the multitude virtuous ; for while it cannot be denied “that within the very limited circle of minds which deserve to be spoken of, as well as regulated, duty has in every age supplied a motive strong enough to restrain from evil and direct to good ;” it is, our author holds, and ever must be, altogether otherwise with the vast majority of mankind. This being the great purpose of the Christian religion and revelation—to keep men in order by eternal hopes and fears—great stress is naturally laid on the resurrection of Christ, as the one reliable proof of the reality of a life hereafter. While ready to give up other miracles, such as the plagues of Egypt and the passage of the Red Sea, the writer insists on this one, because he “can discover no ground on which to anticipate, either for myself or others, a state of conscious existence in a world beyond the grave, if my faith in the resurrection of my Lord be shaken.” Such being the author’s conception of the Christian religion and its design, one can conjecture what the problem to be solved is. It is not to weigh the respective merits of the various theories of the universe in vogue, or to estimate the worth of attempts made by modern unbelief to dissipate the idea of revelation, and resolve Christianity and its sacred literature into purely natural products. It is a proposal on the part of a good-natured, genial old gentleman to get men of all schools to agree to differ on all other conceivable topics except this—the importance of a faith in the life to come in its bearing on the interests of morality, and the necessity of upholding, as the basis of such a faith, the truth of Christ’s history, at least in so far as it is the story of a supremely good man who was crucified, and who rose from the dead. To put it in his own words :—

“Cannot all who are conscious of their responsibility to a higher power

—who look forward to a future life which, for good or for evil, shall take its colouring from the present, who find in Christianity ‘the one thing necessary for humanity,’ ‘a religion based upon purity of heart and the brotherhood of man’—agree to keep their differences so far in the background as that the young and comparatively uninstructed may not be driven, through sheer inability to decide among them, into just such an epicurean indifference as made ancient Rome what she was under the first of the Cæsars? You follow Christ because you regard him as the most perfect moral teacher the world has ever seen. I follow him likewise, because I believe that he was a teacher sent from God. You say that because he gave to the world ‘the true religion,’ he merited the divine rank that has been conceded to him. I say that his nature was divine, and that in rendering to him divine honours, we give to him only what is due. Why should you, who feel as acutely as I that in proportion as Christianity becomes the rule of life to man, men’s happiness will be promoted, go out of your way to create doubts in minds, which, being trained to connect certain metaphysical postulates with moral truth, will certainly not abandon the one without abandoning the other also?”

This is virtually a proposal to *feign* faith in Christianity for reasons of prudence or utility. Under such a scheme it does not matter what men’s real opinions are, and an apologetic argument in favour of Christianity seems superfluous, for after all it is not the truth, but the usefulness, of this religion that is to be considered. Our respected author, having such an end in view, might have saved himself the trouble of writing a book, and contented himself with inditing a letter to free-thinkers, exhorting them to prudential silence. It was not even necessary that he should tell us his own opinions, but simply to declare that he regarded it as highly beneficial to the interests of morality that the *multitude* at least should believe in a hereafter, and in order to that, in the resurrection of Christ, and in Christ himself as the messenger of God to men. But he has chosen to tell us his opinions very frankly, with a genial garrulity that will please all readers, and with such a mixture of faith and scepticism in the substance of his creed as will please neither orthodox believers nor thorough-going unbelievers. Contrary to Max Müller, he favours the idea of a primitive revelation. He regards the story of the patriarchs and of Moses, as related in the Pentateuch, as in the main historical, accepting the five books as reliable sources of information, whoever was their author. Among the books of undoubted authority in the New Testament he reckons the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, all the Epistles of St Paul, the first Epistle of St Peter, and the first Epistle of St John, in defiance, or more probably in ignorance, of all that has been said by Tübingen against the greater number of the books just enumerated. He accepts without hesitation the fourth gospel as the work of the apostle John. On the other hand, our author expresses himself pretty freely on other points. The early chapters of Genesis, we are told, contain mythological elements. Plenary inspiration is treated with little favour, and the Vedic hymns, or some of them, are considered to be as truly inspired as the Psalms of David. On the dogmas of Christianity, and especially on the atonement, very free and easy views are professed. On the whole, our verdict is that this book may be read with interest as a curiosity of apologetic literature, and with kindly feelings towards the writer; but that if any one goes to it with expectation

of help in perplexities connected with religious belief, he will be disappointed.
A. B. B.

The Christian Doctrine of Sin. By JOHN TULLOCH, D.D., &c. William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London.

The plan of Principal Tulloch's book is good. First, especially by illustration of contrast with non-Christian philosophies and theosophies, he defines the nature, and indents the significance, of sin as sinful, moral evil as distinguished from merely natural evil. Then he goes on to shew that the universal prevalence of sinful action on the part of individuals can be accounted for only by the supposition of an inborn sinful disposition, character, tendency, or bent in the race of mankind. He concludes with a discussion of the question of original sin. This good plan is worked out with spirit and ability, such as must have made his lectures interesting to the miscellaneous audience to whom they were delivered. The literary execution, too, is outwardly good. But beyond that we can say nothing in praise of this book. In relation both to the records and to the contents of the revelation, we observe with pain a prevalent tendency to negativism. We do not find in the book any really impulsive and quickening power of thought, such as makes some negative thinkers to be effective educators, by giving peculiarly emphatic utterance to difficulties, and thus compelling attention to the difficulties, and consequently to the principles of solution of the difficulties. Even the style of thought and utterance, superficially good, we find to be fundamentally meagre. The sounding sentences which fill the ear are found on close inspection to be only mellifluous commonplaces—often of a bad school. We see no reason for going into detailed criticism. If any one choose to know what a clever man, who happens to be a theological professor, can say about sin without outrageously violating his ordination vow, let him read this book. If he wish to see what a really strong man thinks about the subject, or what the subject is as regarded by a really strong man, orthodox or heterodox, let him read some other book.

M.

An Analysis of Religious Belief. By Viscount AMBERLEY. London: Trübner & Co. 1876.

In several respects this work must be an object of great interest to students, and even to the general public. First of all, it is the work of a nobleman, son of a well-known veteran statesman yet living; secondly, it has the melancholy interest attaching to posthumous publications, especially to such as are written by authors who die young; thirdly, it possesses to a certain extent autobiographical value, shewing us the final phase of belief exhibited by a mind that had evidently been intently occupied with religious problems, and in the course of years had passed from acquiescence in the established creed to the extremest form of unbelief; fourthly, it is devoted to a department of inquiry which for some time past has much attracted the attention of scholars, and which will continue to do so for some time to come, viz. the comparative study of the religions of the

world. In this last respect the work under review may be classed along with *Supernatural Religion*, as not less than the latter dealing with a subject of cardinal importance, and of burning interest at the present time. And if not so able in reasoning or so trenchant in style as that anonymous publication devoted to the defence of the Tübingen theory of the origin of Christianity and of the New Testament writings, the present work is superior in its moral tone, exhibiting, amidst deplorable aberrations, a truth-loving spirit, a sincerity, and a candour to which the author of the other antichristian writing cannot lay claim with equal right.

The Analysis of Religious Belief represents the antichristian use of the facts brought to light by recent studies in the science of comparative theology. It was to be expected that both an apologetic and a sceptical use would be made of these facts, and that strong views would be entertained and expressed as to the importance of this new department of inquiry, whether as bearing on the defence or on the attack of Christianity and its special claims. It is probable that the expectations on both sides will turn out to be extravagant. Meantime it is easy to see how the results of the science referred to are susceptible of being turned either way with at least a shew of reasoning. Are resemblances between Christianity and other religions discovered? The opponent of Christianity points to these in proof that what were supposed to be peculiarities of the one true revealed religion are common to all religions, and are merely natural products of the human mind active within the religious sphere. On the other hand, the apologists regard these resemblances as "the unconscious prophecies of Heathendom" as parhelions which "do not proclaim everything else to be an optical illusion, but announce, and witness for, a sun that is travelling into sight."¹ Or are differences discovered? The apologist insists on these as shewing the need of a revelation to guide men to a true and certain knowledge of God, and as evincing the superiority of the religion divinely given as compared with all other religions. The assailant, on the other hand, insists on these same differences to shew that there is no such thing as certainty in religion, the only thing certain being the religious sentiment common to all religions, and embodying itself in these endlessly varied forms. In this controversy Lord Amberley sides with those who apply the comparative study of religion to Christianity in a sense adverse to its claims. And in endeavouring to make good his position, he proceeds to work very systematically, and enters at considerable length into detail. He divides the means by which intercourse between mankind and the higher powers is effected into two classes; those which serve for communication upwards from mankind to God; and those which serve for communication downwards from God to mankind. The former class embraces consecrated actions, consecrated places, consecrated objects, consecrated persons, consecrated mediators; the latter class embraces holy events, such as omens, miracles, dreams, &c., holy places, holy objects, such as relics, holy orders; priests, holy persons; prophets, holy books. It will be seen that these numerous topics present a wide field of inquiry demanding voluminous treatment on any method, and specially on the comparative method; and bulky as the work before us is, consisting of two

¹ Hulsean Lecture for 1846. By Archbishop Trench.

thick volumes, each containing about 500 pages, it cannot be regarded as exhausting the subject or indeed, as doing much more than dipping into each of the many topics treated of. Not that there is any ground for charging the writer with imperfect acquaintance with his subject. On the contrary, the lists of works cited, and the manner in which these works are used, point to a very long-continued, earnest, and painstaking study of the literature relating to the religions of the world. Under each head, consecrated actions, places, and so forth, the reader will find in a condensed form a large amount of curious information, interesting for its own sake, apart altogether from the use to which it is put. We have therefore no complaint to make against the author on the score of insufficiency as to the amount of fact-knowledge communicated. He has supplied quite enough for his purpose, which is to institute a comparison between other religions and Christianity, with a view to strip the latter of its exclusive pretensions. Such a purpose of course implies that the holy persons and books of Christianity should be criticised at much greater length than those of any other religion ; and so accordingly they are. One-half of the first volume is devoted to the central Personality of the Christian faith ; and of that portion of the second volume which treats of holy books, very nearly one-half is occupied with the books of the Old and New Testaments. Probably to most readers the author's opinions on these two supremely important subjects will constitute the principal attraction of the work. The section devoted to Jesus Christ contains seven sub-divisions, entitled "The Historical Jesus," "The Mythical Jesus," "The Ideal Jesus," "What did the Jews think of Him?" "What did he think of Himself?" "What did his Disciples think of Him?" "What are we to think of Him?" In the last of these sub-divisions the writer discusses the teaching and character of Christ in a very free manner, which cannot but offend believers, comparing him with Buddha and Confucius ; and, with an affectation of scientific dispassionateness, representing him as in this respect superior and in that inferior to one or other of these two pagan worthies. Some of the criticisms are paltry enough, to say nothing of the blasphemy ; but in justice to this latest critic of the Son of Man, we must state that he has managed the business of fault-finding about as well as any of the unbelieving fraternity who have attempted it ; and to those who say, Could he not have left that business alone altogether ? we reply, No ; he was bound by his philosophy and by his chosen task to make out a case against the author and object of the Christian faith. Naturalism cannot admit an absolutely perfect character, for that is a miracle. In the naturalistic theory of the universe it is an axiom that the real is relative, that the ideal of goodness cannot be absolutely realised in any historical individual. It is therefore a matter of course that Jesus Christ should be regarded as an imperfect, though eminently wise and good man. Doubtless a sceptic might be content with that general position, and excuse himself from the attempt to prove that as matter of fact Christ was at fault in this and the other particular, on the ground that the documents are fragmentary, and do not supply sufficient material for a conclusive judgment. But that would be a rather weak position, because the believer might very fairly say, The four gospels

supply a pretty full and life-like account of this great subject, and if you decline the task of criticising the character as represented, you confess yourself to be in presence of one whom, but for your philosophy, you would own to be without sin. Hence most adherents of a naturalistic philosophy, when writing concerning Christ, undertake to shew that in some particulars he erred in judgment, or sinned in spirit and conduct. Francis Newman, Pecaut, Renan, Keim, Strauss, Theodore Parker, have all tried their hand at the task, and have left Lord Amberley, and others who may come after, little to do. It is a sorry, pitiful business in the hands of one and all; and if the latest sceptical writer cuts a poor figure as a critic of Jesus of Nazareth, it must be acknowledged that he does not stand alone. The whole coterie of sceptical critics stand much in need of the compassionate regard of him whom they criticise, and who benignantly said, "Whosoever speaketh a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him."

It remains to add that, having in a first book considered what are called the external manifestations of religious sentiment, the author in a second book, which constitutes but a small fraction of the whole work, discusses the religious sentiment itself under four chapters, entitled respectively, "The Ultimate Elements," "The Objective Element," "The Subjective Element," "The Relation of the Objective and Subjective Elements." In this book the writer unfolds his own religious position, what he dignifies by the name of *faith*, as distinguished from the innumerable conflicting beliefs of mankind. This faith consists of the fundamental assumptions which underlie all beliefs, the universal element common to all religions. These assumptions or postulates involved in the religious idea are three:—First, that of a hyperphysical power in the universe; secondly, that of a hyperphysical entity in man; thirdly, that of a relation between the two. These three postulates as universal the writer accepts. He believes in a great hyperphysical unknowable Somewhat, which announces its existence to a hyperphysical somewhat—call it soul, mind, spirit—in man; but of which we know only the existence, *that* it is; *what* it is, being an inscrutable mystery. Religion consists in a "communing of the mind with its unknown source." And we are confidently told that "the consolations of the new religion would far surpass in their strength and their perfection all those that were offered by the old." The faith of the Agnostic who worships an unknown God is "a faith of perfect peace." For "the disappearance of a single life is but a ripple on the ocean of humanity, and humanity feels it not." Hence the worshippers of the unknown will meet their end sustained and soothed by an unfaltering trust,

" Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams."

What chance is there of this "universal religion" commending itself to the heart of humanity, and becoming universal indeed? A. B. B.

MISCELLANEOUS.

An Introductory Hebrew Grammar, with progressive exercises in Reading and Writing. By A. B. DAVIDSON, M.A., LL.D. Second Edition. Edinburgh. 1876.

It is a good sign for the progress of Hebrew studies among us, that Dr Davidson has so soon been called upon to prepare a second edition of a grammar which, though designed for beginners, is thoroughly scientific, and shirks no difficulties. In the new form in which it now appears, the book ought to acquire increased popularity. The first edition was indifferently printed, but an excellent large Hebrew type has been now adopted. The English notes and rules are also printed in three sizes of type, so that the gradation of matter more or less important to the beginner is clearly brought out. This has occasionally involved slight transpositions; but on the whole the order and method of the first edition are closely followed.

The matter of the book has undergone careful revision, but the alterations which have been found desirable are confined to minor points. Those which I have observed are almost always decided improvements. Examples are, the omission of some doubtful analogies to modern languages, the return (for simplicity's sake) to the usual paradigm for the uncertain passives of נִלְּ verbs, the simplification of what is said about nominal forms from the same class of roots, the introduction of a brief account of Baer's rules for Metheg, which are not accessible to most readers in the original memoir, and above all the omission of the supposed reciprocal sense of Niphal. In this last matter it might perhaps have been wise to go still further, and give up the definition which regards Niphal as the reflexive of Qal in the same sense in which Hithpael is reflexive of Pael. In Arabic, as is well known, the VIIth form never takes the proper reflexive sense of doing a thing for oneself; and neither נִשְׁאַל (1 Sam. xx. 6) nor נִשְׁבַּרְתִּי (Ezek. vi. 9) is sufficient to prove that it was otherwise in Hebrew. In Hebrew, as in Arabic, the primary and characteristic sense of Niphal is presumably that the subject suffers something to be done to it by some external agency; cf. Jer. xxxi. 17, Gen. xiii. 16, Hag i. 8, "accept the honour done me." This explains the use of the formation to express painful and involuntary actions, and also to convey ideas corresponding to the Latin adjective in *bilis*. Professor Davidson has probably refrained from introducing this view of the Niphal from a desire to avoid complicated explanations, seeing that the general usage of the formation simply corresponds to our passive. But it is hardly correct to say that the proper sense of the form is reflexive. Medial would be a much better word.

In one or two cases changes introduced in the new edition may be open to question. The association of ׀ with ׀ is one of these. The relations of ׀, ׀, ׀ certainly form one of the most puzzling points in Hebrew philology; but surely the sibilant which is produced with the tongue in the same place as for ׀ is not ׀, but ׀. The place of ׀ in the alphabet, and its primitive form connect it with the Greek ׀. The softening of X to a

smooth sibilant is seen in other cases, for example in Italian; and the connection of **ד** with **ז** seems to be recognised, as Lagarde has somewhere pointed out, in such transcriptions as Syriac **ܕܥܝܢܐ** (*saifā*) for *Ξίφος*.

A change of some interest occurs at p. 12, where Professor Davidson now gives the rule that the 2d pers. perf. fem. sing. of verbs, whose third radical is a quiescent, takes *sheva* under the final Tau. This corresponds with the usage in Baer's editions, but it might have been well to mention that editions vary, especially as Norzi, in more than one passage of his critical commentary, expressly condemns the *sheva*. The paradigms have not been made to conform with the new rule.

The greatest changes have been made in the exercises. The Hebrew-English exercises have been shortened, and a glossary to them has been added. The English-Hebrew exercises have been somewhat extended. All these are undoubted improvements.

As one of the most valuable features of this grammar is its recognition—so far as is possible in an elementary book—of the genesis and original significance of grammatical phenomena, I may close this notice by venturing to question the statement that the Poel of geminant verbs was originally a Pael with conative sense. On this question the remarks of Noeldeke in the Z.D.M.G. xxix. 326; xxx. 184, are well worthy of notice. A considerable collection of examples from the Syriac, which the Strassburg Orientalist brings forward, seems to shew that it is impossible to separate the Poel of geminant verbs from the corresponding intensive in hollow verbs. Thus Poel would not properly be a Pael, but a Pawlel.

In conclusion, I have to thank Dr Davidson, in the name, I am sure, of many teachers and learners of Hebrew, for the care spent on this new edition, and to hope that a third edition may soon be required, when perhaps the author may be willing to give a somewhat fuller list of the anomalous nouns and a list of common defective verbs. Both these additions would be useful.

W. R. S.

Priesthood in the Light of the New Testament. The Congregational Union Lecture for 1876. By Rev. E. MELLOR, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Ritualism, Romanism, and the English Reformation. By the late Rev. W. E. JELF, B.D. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1876.

Dr Mellor has been more happy in the choice of a subject than of a title for his lectures. He acknowledges that the term "Priesthood" is not wholly free from ambiguity, and the expansion of the title page—"in the Light of the New Testament," does nothing to remove the vagueness of the word. We should have thought *Sacerdotalism*, *Priestliness*, or even Arnold's expression, "the priestcraft heresy," would have occurred to the lecturer as giving more correct conceptions of the design and scope of his work. For it is with priesthood in its usurped, non-Christian, or anti-scriptural signification that Dr Mellor concerns himself throughout, the universal priesthood of believers being only faint and indirectly developed. The lectures are thus controversial, and form a Nonconformist's contribution to that controversy which the Oxford movement brought into promi-

nence, and which subsequent movements have kept in the front. The controversial cast of the volume may be gathered from the contents of the eight lectures of which it is composed. In the two opening ones, proof is led to shew that the priesthood is "not an order in the New Testament;" in the third lecture the "alleged orders and lineage" of the Christian priesthood so called, are examined; and the five remaining lectures treat of the priest "at the altar," in the "Confessional," or, as Sacrificer and Confessor. The field as thus mapped out is somewhat limited, and the lecturer would seem to have felt this, as a considerable space is devoted to the discussion of questions connected with his subject rather than to the treatment of the subject itself, and he often travels beyond the New Testament, although he sets out with stating that it is the only region within which evidence is admissible in this discussion.

But taking Dr Mellor's lectures for what they are, we welcome them as a timely contribution to the discussion of a small section in a wide field. The Congregationalist minister displays several qualities as a polemic which it would be well if Churchmen and Dissenters shared more largely with him. He is uniformly courteous in his treatment of opponents, writing in a flowing, graceful style, which is not marred by any of the bitterness of the controversialist; he is candid in his concessions, as in his examination of the difficult passage in John xx. 22, 23, at page 323; and he gives the pleasing impression to his readers of a man contending for what he deems the truth rather than for mere victory. While always pleasing in composition, the lectures rise now and again into true eloquence, as in the description of superstition in Lecture II., and at no infrequent intervals we come upon sentences of terse point and antithetic force of which this may be taken as a specimen: "Priests are no more, because temples are no more; and temples are no more, because altars are no more; and altars are no more, because propitiatory sacrifices are no more; and propitiatory sacrifices are no more, because Christ hath offered Himself once for sins for ever."

Our only difficulty in assigning Dr Mellor's work its proper place in the controversial writings of the day arises from not knowing exactly whom the lectures are likely to benefit. With all their fairness we fear they are not likely to lead Romanists or Anglican High Churchmen to abandon or even reconsider their position; and we apprehend they are rather too diffuse to be of much service to Protestant students in grappling with what is plausible and subtle in Romanism and Ritualism. What is in many respects an admirable book may thus fail to secure for itself more than a casual recognition, in consequence of being neither exclusively professional nor entirely popular in the treatment of its topic. With the literature of his subject Dr Mellor shews himself creditably acquainted. Our only surprise is that when quoting so freely, some may think rather too freely in Lecture III., from such modern writers as Whately, Macaulay, Davidson and Lightfoot, the lecturer should make no reference to Dr James Martineau's paper, "Christianity without Priest and without Ritual" in his *Studies of Christianity*,—a paper in which, while doubtless he would find much from which he would dissent, Dr Mellor could not fail to light upon much corroborative and suggestive matter.

Mr Jelf's book, the title of which also stands at the head of this notice, is thus placed along side of Dr Mellor's, simply because the subject of which they treat is similar, and not because we regard them as works of equal value. For Mr Jelf's book is of the slimmest possible nature. Indeed, with all respect for the writer of the preface, whose partiality is more than excusable, considering the close relation in which she stood to the deceased author, we doubt if there was any call to give these posthumous and unfinished pages to the public. Whatever the writer might have made of them, had he been spared to elaborate and expand his material, the seven chapters which form the bulk of the book cannot be said to be less fugitive in their nature than the articles from the *Times* which occur in the Capel-Liddon correspondence.

This newspaper controversy, extending from 24th December 1874 to 16th January 1875, is placed at the end of their volume, but is the really valuable text of it, and as such might surely have been dealt with as the preacher does when he gives out his text before proceeding to discourse upon it. To watch the workings of human nature, and the windings of ecclesiastical minds as these unfold themselves in the letters of Monsignor Capel, Canon Liddon, Rev. T. T. Carter, an "English Dignitary," and others, is instructive, and we must add, saddening. Canon Liddon does not appear to advantage in the correspondence, giving too much ground for the sarcasm, that the only fault of his letters is, that they altogether miss the point at issue; but the correspondence taken as a whole gives confirmation to the judgment which a former editor of this *Review*, and the greatest Calvinist of his day, was wont to pronounce upon the Church of England, to the effect that it was the least and the worst reformed of all the churches of the Reformation. M-K.

Dean Colet's Letters on the Mosaic Account of the Creation, together with other Treatises. Now just published, with a Translation, Introduction, and Notes. By J. H. LUTTON, M.A. London: George Bell & Sons. 1876.

John Colet, the friend and correspondent of Erasmus, is styled by Burnet "one of the best men in that age." He is deserving of the praise thus given him by the Bishop of Sarum. For by reading lectures at Oxford, not on Aquinas and Scotus, but upon Paul's epistles, by preaching and expounding the Scriptures when Dean of St Paul's, and establishing a perpetual divinity lecture on three days of the week, and by laying the foundation of St Paul's school, Dean Colet did not a little to pave the way for the Reformation. Dying in 1519, at the comparatively early age of fifty-three, he had not lived in vain, but had rendered good service to the cause of evangelical religion, of church reform, and of sound education in England.

With this volume the painstaking editor brings to a close his series of the hitherto unpublished works of the Dean, a series begun in 1867, and consisting of five volumes. Of the four treatises which form the concluding volume two are imperfect—the *Letters on the Mosaic Creation*, and the *Exposition of St Paul's Epistle to the Romans*; and one, the *Commentary*

on 1 Peter, is of doubtful authenticity. These "*opuscula quædam theologica*," as Mr Lupton well terms them, are valuable rather to the student of church history than to the expositor of the written Word. There is little exegesis in them, and what little there is will not stand the test of modern scholarship. As interpreter of Scripture Colet does not consider himself called upon to "examine words over-minutely;" and when we find him gravely explaining the meaning of *transgressor*, or *prevaricator* by a reference to *varicose* veins, the cure of which, as hazardous, "physicians are wont to *transgress* or pass by, so that to *prevaricate* means to transgress," we conclude the less he played "the part of a grammarian" the better for his "young friend Edmund." But Colet's expositions of Scripture are valuable in other respects. The modern tone of thought on many subjects to be found in these pages is remarked upon by the editor as evinced, when Moses is spoken of as writing Genesis, "after the manner of some popular poet, that he may the better study the spirit of simple-minded rustics; imagining a succession of events and works, and times, such as could by no means find place with so great an artificer." The sound divinity that pervades the Dean's other and more doctrinal writings is equally noteworthy. In his definition of the church as "a society of men in Christ Jesus, begotten again by the Spirit of God," in his statements bearing upon the lost condition of the human race, the inability of man to raise himself, salvation by the grace of God alone, the effects of the death of Christ in discharging debt and setting free for a life of holiness, we catch the true ring of Reformation doctrine, and are not surprised to learn that, although in communion with the Church of Rome, the evangelical preacher was regarded by the contemporary clergy as little better than a heretic.

To Mr Lupton, the editor, our warmest thanks are due for the highly creditable way in which he has completed "a task which has absorbed for a good many years now most of the few leisure hours afforded by the laborious occupation of a schoolmaster." The introduction and notes are admirable specimens of conscientious scholarly editing. We think Mr Lupton might have spared himself the trouble of translation, seeing that all who care to acquaint themselves with Colet's writings are likely to be furnished with an amount of Latinity sufficient to enable them to read his scholastic Latin with ease; but we can find no fault with an editor who does all in his power to acquaint English readers with the writings of one who had something to do with what the author of the *Short History of the English People* has described as "the awakening of national Christianity."

M-K.

Quicksands; or, Prevalent Fallacies in Belief and Worship pointed out with their Remedies. By the Rev. STEPHEN JENNER, M.A. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1875. Pp. 512.

We have here a collection of essays on subjects having a general connection, and somewhat vaguely defined in the title, such as Truth, Sacramental Efficacy, Symbolism in Worship, &c., and they are vigorous popular discussions, from the evangelical point of view, of some of the

questions at present most debated in the Church of England. The volume seems likely to do good, though it does not offer much of a scientific theological character.

Memorials of a Ministry on the Clyde, being Sermons Preached in Gourock Free Church. By the late Rev. ROBERT MACELLAR. With a Biographical Notice by the Rev. A. B. BRUCE, Professor of Theology, Free Church College, Glasgow. Glasgow: Maclehose. 1876.

Professor Bruce has given a brief but interesting and life-like sketch of his friend's life, and the sermons printed in this volume bear out what he says of his excellent qualities of head and heart. They are distinguished by freshness and vigour of thought, a power of seizing the central idea of the text or subject, and a scholarly use of the original text of Scripture, without any pedantry or affectation, which must have made him a very attractive and instructive preacher. They are also pervaded with a warmth of feeling and spirituality of mind that would make them go to the heart of his hearers. With some of the unavoidable defects of a posthumous publication, the volume will doubtless be valued and loved by many besides those who knew the author.

Heavenly Love and Earthly Echoes. Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglass.
The Cross and the Crown. Paisley: J. & N. Parlange.

The Kinsman-Redeemer; or, Readings in Ruth. London: T. W. Partridge & Co.

The Highway of Salvation. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

By H. K. WOOD ("A Glasgow Merchant").

Deeming it the function of this *Review* to acquaint its readers with what is fresh and serviceable in evangelical literature, we do not consider we are travelling beyond its province when we draw attention to these writings of "a Glasgow Merchant." They are not theological treatises, they lay no claim to being profound or recondite; yet in their own department they are of quite unique excellency. Aiming at the presentation of evangelical truth in a form fitted to arrest and interest, Mr Wood brings to his loving labour a warm heart and genial fancy, while he draws his illustrations from a store of personal experience and racy anecdote which seems inexhaustible. Of bright and happy, sound and sappy reading for young and simple folks, the whole circle of non-professional religious books does not contain a greater amount than is to be found deftly stored, like honey in the comb, in these tastefully got up volumes. Though using the pen of a ready writer, Mr Wood's resources give no indication of becoming impoverished, for in his latest and largest work, *The Highway of Salvation*, there are two chapters—"The Lily of Testimony, Bells and Pomegranates"—which are as fresh and fascinating as anything in his earlier writings. May the fragrance of the lilies Mr Wood has gathered in the garden of divine promises be felt, and the tinkle of the golden bells which he has drawn from gospel messages be heard, not only in "a city of merchants," but far and near "in the fields of the wood."

M-K.

History of the Reformation in Europe in the Time of Calvin. By the Rev. J. N. MERLE D'AUBIGNE, D.D. Translated by WILLIAM R. CATES. Vol. VII. Pp. 701. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1876.

The numerous readers who have been instructed and delighted by the former volumes of D'Aubigné's *History of the Reformation*, will be gratified to find that his lamented death has not left this great work an unfinished fragment, but that his editor, M. A. Duchemin, of Lyons, has been able to give to the public now a second posthumous volume, while a third and concluding one is promised before the end of the year. The nature and excellences of the work are so well known from the previous volumes that it is hardly necessary to say anything about them as they appear in this one; and the work seems to have been left in such an advanced state of preparation by the author, that we scarcely feel in reading it the disadvantage of a narrative that has not received his finishing touches. The same fulness of detail, vividness of description, sympathy with the spirit and principles of the Reformation, and just and discriminating observations, are to be noted here, as in the volumes published by the author himself. This volume contains, first, the end of book xi., carrying on the narrative of the Reformation in Geneva down to the time of Calvin's return from exile in 1541, and resumption of his work there; then, in book xii., an account of the Reformation in the Scandinavian countries—Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; and lastly, a similar account of the evangelical awakening in Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, and the Netherlands, in book xiii. The minuteness of D'Aubigné's narrative is, we think, fully justified and of much value in those parts of his history that trace the life and work of Calvin, and do something towards supplying that desideratum of theological literature, a thoroughly good biography of that great Reformer. D'Aubigné, as his editor remarks, was perfectly familiar with the writings of Calvin, and thoroughly imbued with his spirit: and his life-work forms one of those great and epoch-making passages in church history that deserve to be fully and carefully studied. But we doubt whether the particular incidents of the Reformation in the other countries treated in this volume are worthy of such minute chronicling. In ecclesiastical as well as in civil history, the modern and commendable method of making copious use of original documents and archives has led sometimes to a prolixity of narrative which only great importance in the events, or great genius in the historian, can make permanently interesting; and D'Aubigné has hardly perhaps escaped this snare entirely. He might especially have reduced within narrower limits the accounts of the merely political events of the time, such as the early adventures and struggles of Gustavus Vasa in Sweden, and the wars of Solymán against Hungary and Austria. Also a more concise narrative even of events properly belonging to church history, and occasionally a more masculine tone of reflection, would have been more to our taste. But it is an ungrateful task thus to criticise the work of one who is gone, and who has done such admirable service to evangelical Protestantism and its literature. No work of man is perfect; and probably without some of what seem to us defects, this history could not have displayed those eminent qualities of minute accuracy, lively nar-

rative, and enthusiastic love to his theme, by which it is so remarkably distinguished.

The Preaching of the Cross, and other Sermons. By THOMAS J. CRAWFORD, D.D., late Professor of Divinity in the University, and formerly one of the Ministers of St Andrew's Church in the City of Edinburgh. William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1876. Pp. 374.

By the death of Dr Crawford the Established Church of Scotland lost one of her ablest and most valuable divines, whose sincere evangelical faith, sound judgment, and literary ability were of great service to the cause of truth, and enabled him to produce one of the most useful works on the subject of the Atonement that have appeared in modern times. That is, we think, his best book; and those who are acquainted with it, and his other publications, will find in this volume of sermons, published posthumously, very much what these might lead them to expect. The sermons were prepared by Dr Crawford, as we are informed in a prefatory note, while he was minister of St Andrew's, Edinburgh; and are published to meet the wishes of many of his students and friends, as well as of his former congregation. They treat of many of the cardinal themes of pulpit discourse, doctrinal and practical; and they exhibit an appreciation of the great doctrines of the gospel, caution and reverence in handling the Word of God, vigour of thought and felicitous elegance of style in enforcing and applying the truths taught. It cannot indeed be said that there appears in these sermons much of that exegetical insight into the meaning of divine Scripture that opens up fresh views of its inexhaustible stores, or of that profound acquaintance with the human soul and its workings that gives some preachers a mastery over men's minds, or of the rich imagery and impassioned eloquence that enhance the power of others; they can hardly, therefore, be placed in the first rank of pulpit oratory, but they are not without excellences of their own that will commend them to many minds. They are rather too much merely able intellectual expositions of certain truths and lessons of Scripture, and hardly do justice to the higher and more emotional side of Christian life. Sometimes indeed they tend to present it in too legal an aspect, as in the sermons entitled "Earnest Religion not Madness," and "Retribution a Law of God's Moral Government." Again, while in two sermons on the "Unbelief of Thomas, and its Removal," we have a very able and judicious exposition of the lessons conveyed by that incident, we should desiderate a fuller treatment of the spiritual feelings and experience expressed in his confession, "My Lord and my God." Some of the sermons however please us much better, especially the one on "Christ's Living Epistles;" and on the whole, they are such as to give us no reason to be ashamed of the Scottish pulpit in respect of intellectual ability or practical usefulness.

The Intercessory Prayer of our Lord: an Exposition of the Seventeenth Chapter of St John's Gospel. By the late Rev. JAMES SPENCE, M.A., D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1876. Pp. 291.

This is an excellent series of expository discourses on one of the most

solemn and profound parts of Holy Scripture. They are based on a careful and scholarly study of the original text, and bring out with good sense, simplicity, and earnestness the great thoughts contained in it. If at first Dr Spence's exposition appears somewhat commonplace, he seems as he advances to be elevated by his lofty theme; and certainly his plain and sober style of thought is more suitable to what has been justly called the very holy of holies of the Bible than a more ambitious mode of treatment. Some of Dr Spence's expositions in point of detail may be open to question; and in particular we do not think the Father's gift to Christ of his people can be satisfactorily explained apart from the doctrine of the eternal covenant; but on the whole this work of an author, who has been removed before its publication, is likely to be acceptable and profitable to the religious public.

Ἑρμηνεία εἰς τὴν Καινὴν Διαθήκην ὑπὸ Νικολάου Μ. Δαμαλα. Τόμος Α. περιέχων τὴν εἰσαγωγὴν εἰς τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ταύτην. Ἐν Ἀθήναις. 1876. Pp. 732.

To most of our readers it will probably be new to hear of a modern Greek Introduction to the New Testament; but this volume is worthy of attention, not only for its novelty to us, but for its intrinsic excellence. It is the first volume of a larger work on the exegesis of the New Testament, and is entirely occupied with what is technically called Introduction, giving first an account of the origin, character, and circumstances of each of the New Testament books in detail, then more briefly discussing the formation of the canon, and the preservation and history of the text. The author shews a very considerable acquaintance both with the ancient sources of information and with the modern discussions on the subject; and his own opinions are, on the whole, sensible and judicious, abiding on all essential points by the general belief of the church, and supporting it in a very satisfactory way. In regard to the gospels, he holds that of Matthew to have been the first written, originally in Hebrew, and in its present Greek form about the time of the siege of Jerusalem. Mark he considers to have written originally, before the death of Peter, and from his preaching, a collection of incidents in our Lord's history, and subsequently, on becoming acquainted with the gospels of Matthew and Luke, to have worked that up into the present form of his gospel. The apocryphal gospel according to the Hebrews, was a corrupted edition of the original Matthew; and the *Κήρυγμα Πέτρου* of the original Mark. He maintains the Johannine authorship of the fourth gospel; but ascribes the Revelation not to the apostle, but to the presbyter John. The Epistle to the Hebrews he thinks not to be Paul's, but probably Apollos'. On the whole the book is very creditable to modern Greek scholarship and theology, and quite equal to the average of similar works. The language, except in a few grammatical points, differs very little from classical Greek, and can be read with ease by any ordinary Greek scholar.

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